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LET FREEDOM RING

CURRICULUM GUIDE FOR HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE



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In “The Story of American Freedom,” Eric Foner wrote: “No idea is more fundamental to Americans’ sense of themselves as individuals and as a nation than freedom.” But, freedom was not a right given to all people. Freedom had to be fought for by every generation. Claims to freedom have also been contradictory. The rhetoric of freedom was central to the abolitionist movement and to slave owners who claimed the freedom to own their “property.”

“The Let Freedom Ring” curriculum is made up of seven lessons that teach students about struggles for freedom and the conflicts that ensued, bringing freedom to life through the analysis of primary sources. The lessons show how the meaning of freedom is contextual and changes over time. Each lesson looks at a particular moment of history to see how freedom can be redefined, taken away or expanded, and driven by the political, social and economic forces of the time.

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Milestones of American Freedom

August 20, 1619 Twenty Africans are brought by a Dutch ship to Jamestown for sale as indentured servants, marking the beginning of slavery in Colonial America.

November 11, 1620 The Mayflower Compact is signed on Cape Cod, establishing a government for the colony.

April 23, 1635 Boston Latin School is established as the first public school in America.

June 1636 Roger Williams founds Providence and Rhode Island. Williams had been banished from Massachusetts for “new and dangerous opinions” calling for religious and political freedoms.

March 22, 1638 Anne Hutchinson is banished from Massachusetts for nonconformist religious views that advocate personal revelation over the role of the clergy. She then travels with her family to Rhode Island.

September 7, 1654 The first Jewish immigrants in North America flee Portuguese rule in Brazil and settle in New Netherland (New York). The Dutch West India Company allows them to stay, over the opposition of Governor Peter Stuyvesant.

March 4, 1681 Pennsylvania is founded by William Penn, a Quaker. Because of his religious principles, the colony becomes a religious haven.

1705 In Virginia, slaves are assigned the status of real estate by the Virginia Black Code.

August 5, 1735 John Peter Zenger is brought to trial for seditious libel, after his newspaper criticized New York Governor William Cosby, but is acquitted after his lawyer successfully convinces the jury that truth is a defense against libel.

March 22, 1765 The British Parliament passes the Stamp Act, imposing a direct tax on the American colonies for the first time, to offset the high costs of the British military after the Seven Years’ War. It is repealed a year later after mass protests in the colonies.

November 20, 1767 The British Parliament passes the Townshend Revenue Acts, imposing a new series of taxes on the colonists to offset the costs of administering and protecting the American colonies. In response, patriots boycott British goods throughout the colonies. The British Parliament repealed the act in 1770.

March 5, 1770 The Boston Massacre occurs when a mob harasses British soldiers who then fire their muskets into the crowd. The soldiers kill five and injure six.

December 16, 1773 In response to a tax on tea and the granting of a monopoly to the East India Company, the Boston Tea Party occurs. Sons of Liberty disguised as Mohawk Indians board ships with East India tea and dump all 342 containers of tea into the harbor.

March–May 1774 In response to the Boston Tea Party, Parliament passes the Coercive or Intolerable Acts shutting the port of Boston, ending self-rule by colonists, and protecting royal officials from being sued in colonial courts. The Quebec Act also inflamed colonists by creating a centralized government and tolerating Catholicism.

April 18, 1775 Paul Revere and William and Dawes send out a warning that British troops are on their way to destroy the patriots’ weapons depot in Concord. The minutemen of Massachusetts mobilize and defeat the British at the Battle of Lexington and Concord, the first battle of the Revolution.

January 9, 1776 Thomas Paine’s “Common Sense” is published in Philadelphia. Enormously popular, the 50-page pamphlet attacks King George III and builds support for independence.

July 4, 1776 The Continental Congress votes to declare the United States’ independence from Great Britain.

June 14, 1777 The flag of the United States, consisting of 13 stars and 13 white and red stripes, is mandated by Congress.

October 19, 1781 It has been said that the band of the British Army played the ballad, “The world turned upside down,” as the soldiers marched out and surrendered at Yorktown. It was the last major battle in the War for Independence.

July 8, 1783 The Supreme Court of Massachusetts abolishes slavery in that state.

September 3, 1783 The Treaty of Paris is signed by the United States and Great Britain, ending the War for Independence.

August 6, 1787 The Constitutional Convention finishes writing the U.S. Constitution.

December 15, 1791 The Bill of Rights is ratified and becomes part of the U.S. Constitution.

February 10, 1799 Rioters protest the Alien and Sedition Acts, which limited the rights of immigrants and suppressed criticism of the federal government.

August 13, 1831 Nat Turner leads an insurrection of slaves. Turner's group kills 57 whites, including many women and children. White vigilantes kill dozens of slaves and force hundreds of free people of color into exile.

July 19, 1848 The first women's rights convention is held in Seneca Falls, N.Y., where Elizabeth Cady Stanton authors the convention's Declaration of Sentiments, based on the Declaration of Independence. It demands women's equality and suffrage.

January 25, 1851 Sojourner Truth addresses the first Black Women's Rights Convention held in Akron, Ohio.

March 6 1857 Dred Scott v. Sanford: The U.S. Supreme Court rules that Dred Scott, a slave brought to a free state by his master, remains a slave.

January 1, 1863 President Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing all slaves in territories held by Confederates and calls for the enlistment of black soldiers into the military.

July 18, 1863 African-American troops of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment led by Colonel Robert G. Shaw assault Rebels at Fort Wagner, S.C. Shaw and half of the 600 men in the regiment lose their lives.

November 19, 1863 President Lincoln delivers the Gettysburg Address at a ceremony dedicating the battlefield as a National Cemetery.

December 6, 1865 The 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is ratified, abolishing slavery in the United States.

July 9, 1868 The 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is ratified, establishing citizenship for all people born in the U.S. and ensuring equal protection under the law.

May 22, 1869 The National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) is formed in New York City with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as its first president.

May 27, 1869 The American Woman Suffrage Association is formed in Boston by Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell and Julia Ward Howe. The AWSA and the NWSA join in 1890.

February 3, 1870 The 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is ratified, declaring that citizens cannot be denied the right to vote based on "race, color or previous condition of servitude."

February 25, 1870 Mississippi Republican Hiram Revels becomes the first African-American to be elected a U.S. Senator.

November 5, 1872 Susan B. Anthony and 11 other women are arrested in Rochester, N.Y., for voting in the presidential election.

March 1, 1875 The Civil Rights Act is approved by the U. S. Congress. It banned racial discrimination in hotels, theaters, public transportation and jury selection. The Act is nullified by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1883.

March 5, 1875 Mississippi Republican Blanche K. Bruce, son of a slave mother and a white planter, becomes the first African-American elected to the U.S. Senate to serve a full term, 1875 to 1881.

May 6, 1882 The first Chinese Exclusion Act bars Chinese laborers from entering the United States and bars Chinese immigrants from becoming citizens through naturalization.

November 3, 1884 The U.S. Supreme Court rules in Elk v. Wilkins that Native Americans, although born in the United States, were not wholly subject to the jurisdiction of the United States government, and not protected by the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

July 10, 1890 Wyoming becomes the first state to grant women full suffrage rights.

January 1, 1892 Ellis Island opens as the gateway to America for immigrants. Three quarters of newcomers from 1892 to 1932 are inspected here when they enter the port in New York City.

May 18, 1896 The Supreme Court decides 7-2 in Plessy v. Ferguson that segregation is constitutional if separate but equal facilities are maintained, legitimizing Jim Crow.

March 28, 1898 Resolving a lawsuit brought by Wong Kim Ark, a Chinese-American, the Supreme Court determines that children born in U.S. are citizens, regardless of parents' race or nationality.

February 12, 1909 Participants in the National Negro Conference, including W.E.B. Du Bois, settlement house leaders Lillian Wald and Mary White Ovington and anti-lynching crusader Ida B. Wells-Barnett, founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

November 22, 1909 After a rousing speech at Cooper Union by Clara Lemlich, a young Jewish immigrant, 20,000 women garment workers strike for better wages and union recognition.

1913 California enacts an Alien Land Law, which prohibits Asian immigrants from owning land and other forms of property. The law will be strengthened in 1920 and other states will pass similar laws.

October 16, 1916 Margaret Sanger opens the first birth control clinic in Brooklyn, N.Y., and is jailed for violating the Comstock Act (an anti-obscenity law).

November 7, 1916 Jeanette Rankin, Republican of Montana, is the first woman elected to Congress.

November 5, 1918 Al Smith is elected the first Irish Catholic governor of New York.

1918–1921 Palmer Raids. U.S. Attorney General Alexander Mitchell Palmer stages a series of raids on suspected radicals. Tensions increase after bombings by suspected anarchists occur in eight American cities in 1919. Thousands are arrested and imprisoned without charge. Immigrants in particular are targeted. None of the organizations or individuals rounded up or deported are tied to any terrorist activities.

August 19, 1920 The 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is ratified, guaranteeing women the right to vote.

May 31, 1921 The murder trial of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti begins. Though most of the evidence against them is circumstantial, Italian immigrants Sacco and Vanzetti are found guilty of murder and executed on August 23, 1927.

November 13, 1922 The Supreme Court rules, in *Takao Ozawa v. United States*, that people of Japanese heritage are not eligible to become naturalized citizens.

1924 The Society for Human Rights in Chicago is the country's earliest known gay rights organization.

June 2, 1924 The Snyder Act, or Indian Citizenship Act, grants Native Americans the full rights of citizenship without having to give up their tribal affiliations. However, many western states restrict voting by Native Americans.

November 4, 1924 Nellie Tayloe Ross of Wyoming and Miriam A. "Ma" Ferguson of Texas are the first women elected governors.

July 12, 1932 Hattie Wyatt Caraway of Arkansas becomes the first woman elected to the U.S. Senate in a special election to succeed her deceased husband.

July 5, 1935 The Wagner Act, named after Senator Robert F. Wagner, is signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, granting workers the right to collective bargaining.

April 9, 1939 Marian Anderson sings to an audience of more than 75,000 at the Lincoln Memorial after the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to allow her to sing at Constitution Hall because she was black.

February 19, 1942 After the Attack on Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt signs Executive Order 9066, resulting in the internment of 120,000 Japanese and Japanese-Americans.

December 17, 1943 The Chinese Exclusion Act is repealed, making people of Chinese ancestry eligible for U.S. citizenship.

April 15, 1947 Brooklyn Dodger Jackie Robinson becomes the first African-American to play in a major league baseball game.

November 11, 1950 The Mattachine Society, the first national gay rights organization, is formed by Harry Hay, considered by many to be the founder of the gay rights movement.

June 30, 1952 The Walter-McCarran Act grants all people of Asian ancestry the right to become citizens. However, the act sets restrictions on the number who can immigrate.

May 17, 1954 In a unanimous decision, the Supreme Court rules in *Brown v. Board of Education* that "separate but equal" in education is inherently unequal.

September 21, 1955 Daughters of Bilitis, the first national lesbian political organization in the U.S., is founded by Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin.

December 1, 1955 Rosa Parks is arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a bus in Montgomery, Ala., touching off the modern civil rights movement.

November 7, 1956 Dalip Singh Saund, a Democrat from Riverside County, Calif., is the first South Asian to be elected to the U.S. Congress.

August 22, 1959 Republican Hiram Fong is the first person of Chinese descent to be elected to the U.S. Senate.

March 11, 1959 Lorraine Hansberry becomes the first African-American to write a drama performed on Broadway when “A Raisin in the Sun” opens.

April 16–17, 1960 Ella Baker, a longtime civil rights activist, invites students involved in protest sit-ins to a conference in Raleigh, N.C. The group organizes the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a major force in the modern Civil Rights movement.

March 29, 1961 The 23rd Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is ratified, granting residents of Washington, D.C., the right to vote in U.S. Presidential elections for the first time.

May 4, 1961 Freedom Riders leave Washington, D.C. on a campaign to desegregate interstate busing.

February 19, 1963 Betty Friedan publishes “The Feminine Mystique,” a precursor to the women’s liberation movement.

June 12, 1963 Civil Rights leader Medgar Evers is assassinated by a white supremacist in Jackson, Miss.

August 28, 1963 The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom brings 250,000 Americans to the capital, setting in motion the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. gives his famous “I Have a Dream” speech.

January 23, 1964 The 24th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is ratified, ensuring that the right to vote in all federal elections cannot be taken away by the United States or any states due to failure to pay any poll or other tax.

June 21, 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer volunteers Michael Schwerner, a Columbia University graduate student, James Chaney, a young Mississippi activist and Andrew Goodman, a student at Queens College/ CUNY, are murdered. Eighteen men were charged with conspiracy to commit murder. Seven were indicted on civil rights violations. One man was convicted of murder almost 35 years later.

July 2, 1964 The Omnibus Civil Rights Act is passed, making it illegal to discriminate based on race, religion or gender in places and businesses that serve the public.

August 22, 1964 Fannie Lou Hamer, chairwoman of the integrated Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, gives testimony to the Democratic Party National Convention in Atlantic City, N.J. She unsuccessfully demands that the M.F.D.P. be seated as the Mississippi delegation in place of the racist all-white delegation.

November 3, 1964 Patsy Takemoto Mink becomes the first woman of color as well as the first Pacific Islander elected to the House of Representatives.

March 7, 1965 The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and SNCC (the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) lead a peaceful demonstration against unjust voter registration tests in Selma, Alabama. Under the direction of Governor George Wallace, law enforcement officers brutally attack hundreds of demonstrators with clubs and tear gas, in the infamous “Bloody Sunday.”

March 21–25, 1965 March on Montgomery, Ala. led by Martin Luther King, Jr. The four-day march ends with a rally outside the state capitol in Montgomery on March 25, attended by 25,000 people.

July 1, 1965 The Hart-Celler Immigration Act of 1965 is signed by President Lyndon Johnson on Liberty Island, eliminating the racist quota system of the National Origins Act of 1924.

August 6, 1965 The Voting Rights Act is passed, authorizing the U.S. Attorney-General to send federal examiners to register black voters, and suspend all literacy tests in states where less than 50% of the voting-age population had been registered or had voted in the 1964 election.

November 1, 1966 Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts is elected the first African-American U.S. senator since Reconstruction.

June 30, 1966 The National Organization for Women (NOW) is formed to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women.

November 8, 1966 Barbara Jordan becomes the first African-American to serve in the Texas state senate since 1883. She later serves in the U.S. Congress.

August 30, 1967 Thurgood Marshall becomes the first African-American to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court.

November 7, 1967 Carl Stokes is elected mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, the first African-American mayor of a major city.

February 14, 1968 United Farm Workers President Cesar Chavez begins a 25-day fast to organize support for migrant farm workers.

June 27, 1969 The Stonewall riots begin, when patrons of the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York's Greenwich Village, fight back during a police raid. The gay rights movement becomes a mass movement for equal rights.

May 1, 1970 Lesbians in the women's liberation movement form a "Lavender Menace" action to protest homophobia at a National Organization for Women (NOW) conference.

August 26, 1970 Betty Friedan leads the Women's Strike For Equality in New York City on the 50th anniversary of women's suffrage.

November 3, 1970 The Bronx elects Herman Badillo the first Puerto Rican to the U.S. Congress.

March 22, 1971 The Equal Rights Amendment was proposed by Congress after a 48-year struggle. It has never been ratified.

March 23, 1971 The 26th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution gives 18 to 20-year-olds the right to vote.

September 26, 1971 Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm announces she will run for the presidency, the first African-American woman to run for the office.

June 23, 1972 Title IX bans sex discrimination in educational institutions that receive federal financial assistance.

August 12, 1972 Wendy Rue founds the National Association for Female Executives (NAFE), the largest business women's organization in the U.S.

January 22, 1973 Roe v. Wade is decided by the U.S. Supreme Court. The court ruled that laws prohibiting abortions violate a constitutional right to privacy. Texas attorney Sarah Weddington argued the case.

September 20, 1973 Billie Jean King defeats Bobby "No broad can beat me" Riggs in the battle of the sexes tennis match.

August 6, 1975 The Voting Rights Act is amended to include rights for those with little or no proficiency in the English language.

July 7, 1981 President Ronald Reagan nominates Sandra Day O'Connor as the first woman to serve as U.S. Supreme Court Justice.

December 14, 1985 Wilma Mankiller is sworn in as principal chief of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma. She is the first woman in modern American history to lead a Native American tribe.

August 29, 1989 Ileana Ros-Lehtinen is the first Latina woman as well as the first Cuban-American elected to Congress.

June 1, 1990 The Hispanic Federation is founded. It has registered tens of thousands of voters in New York City under the leadership of Lorraine Cortes-Vazquez.

November 4, 1992 Carol Moseley Braun becomes the first African-American woman elected to the Senate; Nydia Velázquez becomes the first Puerto Rican woman elected to Congress.

March 12, 1993 Janet Reno becomes the nation's first female Attorney General.

May 20, 1993 The National Voter Registration Act is signed by President Bill Clinton, which allows voter registration at the same time as an application for renewal of a driver's license or motor vehicle registration. In addition, it provides for voter registration opportunities for those seeking services from all state offices and state-funded programs, and voter registration by mail.

October 8, 1993 Toni Morrison becomes the first African-American to win the Nobel Prize for literature.

December 17, 1993 Judith Rodin is named president of the University of Pennsylvania; she is the first woman to head an Ivy League institution.

January 23, 1997 Madeleine Albright becomes the nation's first female Secretary of State.

May 20, 1997 Major General Claudia Kennedy is promoted to Lieutenant General; she is the first female three-star general in the U.S. Army.

October 1, 1997 Virginia Apuzzo becomes the highest ranking openly lesbian official in the Clinton Administration when she is appointed Assistant to the President for Administration and Management.

October 26, 2001 In response to the 9/11 attacks, legislation known as the Patriot Act is passed with little debate, giving federal agencies broad new powers that may impinge upon the civil liberties of citizens and non-citizens.

March 24, 2002 Halle Berry becomes the first African-American woman to win an Academy Award® for Best Actress.

June 26, 2003 The U.S. Supreme Court rules 6–3 in *Lawrence v. Texas* that sodomy laws in the U.S. are unconstitutional.

September 20, 2003 Nearly 1,000 Immigrant Workers Freedom Riders begin their cross-country journey to highlight the struggle for immigrant and labor rights.

May 17, 2004 Same-sex marriages become legal in Massachusetts.

May 1, 2006 Hundreds of thousands of immigrants and their supporters attend nationwide rallies and skip work, school and shopping to influence immigration legislation and build support for immigrant rights.

January 4, 2007 Nancy Pelosi becomes the first woman elected to serve as speaker of the House of Representatives.

November 4, 2008 Barack Obama, U.S. Senator from Illinois, is elected the first African-American president of the United States.

LET FREEDOM RING

Women and the Revolutionary War

How did women participate in the American Revolution?

PART 1 is also suitable for units on non-violent protest and women in politics.

PART 2 could be used in examining women and war.

NEW YORK STATE SOCIAL STUDIES CORE CURRICULUM, GRADE 11: UNITED STATES AND NEW YORK STATE HISTORY

UNIT ONE *Constitutional Foundations for the United States Democratic Republic*

Chapter 1 The Constitution: The Foundation of the American Republic

<http://www.emsc.nysed.gov/ciai/socst/pub/sscore2.pdf> (p. 125)

These questions and documents can be used in conjunction with the New York State Education Department standard curriculum for grade 11 Social Studies: United States History and Government. Students will be able to discuss the American Revolution: its causes, and how women's roles changed during the Revolution.

These lessons are appropriate for units on The American Revolution.

Students will be able to:

- describe the involvement of women in the American Revolution
- explain how women's involvement both conformed to and challenged traditional female roles and assumptions of their capabilities
- analyze primary documents, support conclusions with evidence from materials and share findings with other students

VOCABULARY

boycott; revenue; Townshend Duties; Tea Acts; genteel

Additional terms are listed with each set of materials.

LET FREEDOM RING

WOMEN AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR — PART 1

Slavery and Luxury, or Liberty and Sufficiency?

NOTE: This lesson is best suited for use after students have learned about the American colonial relationship with Britain and the reasons for the Declaration of Independence as the included materials relate and refer to events and issues such as the Townshend Duties and Boston Tea Party.

ACTIVITIES

- I. **Opening activity.** Student free writing. (See the assessment for an alternate opening activity.) How do you see women involved in politics and war today? Give specific examples. Should women's involvement be the same as that of men? Explain the reasons for your answer.
- II. **Discuss the opening activity.** Have volunteers share responses and write them on a board or paper visible to the entire class. What patterns, similarities or difference appear in responses? Give students the opportunity to respond to answers.

Read with students the student handout, "Roles and rights of women during the Revolutionary era."

III. Group activity

- A. Introduction: The British ended the policy of salutary neglect after the French and Indian War (1754 – 1759) as they sought to make the American colonists pay what the British saw as their fair share of the costs of the war and running the British Empire. The British Parliament passed a series of acts to gain additional revenue from the colonies. The Sugar Act (1764), Stamp Act (1765) and Townshend Duties (1767) placed taxes on items of daily use. They were met by protests, boycotts and rising anger from the colonists who cried "No taxation without representation" because they had no elected representatives to speak on their behalf in Parliament. In 1773, the Parliament passed the Tea Act, which actually reduced the price of tea in an effort to resuscitate the East India Company, but American colonists viewed the Act as a ploy to get them to buy more tea and pay taxes. The Boston Tea Party, in which the tea aboard several ships was thrown into Boston harbor, is the most famous response to British taxation, but as the sources you read will demonstrate, women were also active in opposing British taxation and rule.
- B. Break the class into groups and explain that each group will be receiving materials about the involvement of women in the American Revolution and should designate a reader, materials handler, recorder and reporter. Each group is responsible for closely examining the materials, completing the accompanying tasks and reporting to the class how women participated in the American Revolution and (if it was addressed in their materials) how their actions were viewed.
- C. Distribute four sets of materials:
Tea Group A Tea Group B Group C: Edenton Resolves Group D: Clarke Letter

LET FREEDOM RING

D. Groups examine materials and complete tasks for them.

IV. Share learning: One student from each group shares what has been learned about the actions taken by women during the American Revolution, how they conformed to or challenged women's accepted roles and the reactions to them. Students take notes on the findings of each group.

V. Discuss group findings. What similarities and differences exist between the types of involvement presented in each of the sources? What do the reactions to women's involvement reveal about the status of women in early American society?

VI. Assess findings. The illustration and questions 1, 2 and 5 could be used as the opening activity for this lesson.

A. Examine the illustration "A Society of Patriotic Ladies at Edmonton in North Carolina."

B. Respond to the following questions:

1. Who and what is present in the illustration? (Be aware of sex, race and social class.)
2. What are they doing? (Pay attention to all the activities.)
3. How does this illustration relate to the activities of women in the American Revolution?
4. What do you believe to be the artist's opinion of these patriotic ladies? On what do you base your conclusion?
5. What questions and comments do you have about the illustration?

LET FREEDOM RING

Roles and rights of women during the Revolutionary era

Girls were educated at home with the emphasis on raising them to be good wives and mothers. Female literacy was valued for religious instruction (reading the Bible), for reading necessary to household affairs and for providing children with basic education.

All property and earnings of a married woman belonged to her husband. A husband was legally entitled to hire out his wife for work and collect all her wages.

A man had the legal right to beat his wife and children but not permanently disable or kill them.

Women did not have the right to leave their husbands, who could place ads in newspapers if they ran away.

Divorce was almost non-existent and when divorces were granted the father almost always gained custody of the children.

Husbands and wives incapable of peacefully living together sometimes led mutually agreed upon separate lives, occasionally even in different households.

It was considered completely inappropriate for a woman to address men publicly, such as in a speech or sermon.

See “Founding Mothers: Women of America in the Revolutionary Era”
(Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co. c1975) by Linda Grant De Pauw for more information.

LESSON I, PART 1

LET FREEDOM RING

Tea Group A: A copy of “The Agreement of the Ladies in this Town, against drinking Tea, until the Revenue Acts are Repealed”

VOCABULARY TO KNOW

genteel; Townshend duties; boycott; ancillary; revenue; tactics; repeal; abstain

Directions: With your group members, review the vocabulary above. Look up the meaning of the words that you do not know. Read the introduction to the document and the document itself and answer the following questions related to it. Be sure to write key words or phrases from the document to support your answers where necessary.

	Your group's response	Evidence to support your response
When was this document written?		
Who are the authors of the document? (Be certain to identify social class and location of authors.)		
What action does the document state the authors will take? How does this conform to or contradict the accepted roles and rights of colonial women?		
What has led to this action?		
What is the goal of this document and the action that it announces?		
What is your reaction to this document? Does it seem like the actions it announces would be effective for achieving their goal? Why do you think that the authors chose to take this particular action?		(fill in if appropriate)

LET FREEDOM RING

Tea Group A

VOCABULARY TO KNOW

repeal; abstain

**“The Agreement of the Ladies in this Town,
against drinking Tea, until the Revenue Acts are Repealed”**

January 31, 1770, Boston Gazette, February 12, 1770

At a time when our invaluable rights and Privileges are attached in an unconstitutional and Most alarming Manner, and as we find we are reproached for not being so ready as could be desired, to lend our assistance, we think it our duty perfectly to concur with the true friends of Liberty, in all the Measures they have taken to save this abused country from Ruin and Slavery: And particularly we join with the very respectable body of Merchants and other inhabitants of the Town, who met in Faneuil Hall the 23rd of this instant in their Resolutions, totally to abstain from the use of Tea: And as the greatest Part of the Revenue arising by virtue of the last Acts, is produced from the Duty paid upon Tea, which revenue is wholly expended to support the American Board of Commissioners: We the subscribers do strictly engage that we will totally abstain from the use of that Article, (sickness excepted) not only in our respective families: but that we would absolutely refuse it, if it should be offered to us upon any Occasion whatsoever. This agreement we cheerfully come into, as we do hereby oblige ourselves religiously to observe it, till the late Revenue Acts are Repealed.

To this above agreement, the Mistresses of their respective families (only) are Come in, to the number of 100.

N.B. In the above number, the worthy Ladies of the highest Rank and Influence (that could be waited on in so short a time) are included.

LET FREEDOM RING

Tea Group B: “A Lady’s Adieu to her Tea Table”

VOCABULARY TO KNOW

adieu; Tea Act; monopoly; Parliament; rallied (past tense of rally); gentrification; prosperous; gaudy; equipage; detestable

Directions: With your group members, review the vocabulary above. Look up the meaning of the words that you do not know. Read the introduction to the document and the document itself and answer the following questions related to it. Be sure to write key words or phrases from the document to support your answers where necessary.

	Your group's response	Evidence to support your response
When was this poem written and where did it appear?		
Who is the “Lady” of the poem? (Be certain to identify social class and location of speaker.)		
What action does the document state the “Lady” will take? How does this conform to or contradict the accepted roles and rights of colonial women? What has led to this action?		
What is the goal of this action?		
What do you think was the purpose of the poem and printing it?		
What do you think was the opinion of the author regarding the “Lady”’s actions?		

LET FREEDOM RING

Tea Group B

“A Lady’s Adieu to her Tea Table,” Virginia Gazette, January 20, 1774

Farewell the Tea Board, with its gaudy Equipage,
Of Cups and Saucers, Cream Bucket, Sugar Tongs,
The pretty Tea Chest also, lately stor’d
With Hylen, Congo, also and best Double Fine.
Full many a joyous Moment have I sat by ye,
Hearing the Girls’ Tattle, the Old Maids talk Scandal.
And the spruce Coxcomb laugh at – maybe – Nothing.
No more shall I dish out the once lov’d Liquor,
Though now detestable,
Because I’m taught (and I believe it true)
Its Use will fasten slavish Chains upon my Country,
And LIBERTY’s the Goddess I would choose
To reign triumphant in AMERICA.

LESSON I, PART 1

LET FREEDOM RING

Group C: A Statement of North Carolina Citizens and The Edenton Resolves

VOCABULARY TO KNOW

patriot; scorn; loyalist; scoffed; indifferent; resolve; welfare; adherence

Directions: With your group members, review the vocabulary above. Look up the meaning of the words that you do not know. Read the introduction to the document and the document itself and answer the following questions related to it. Be sure to write key words or phrases from the document to support your answers where necessary.

	Your group's response	Evidence to support your response
When was this document written?		
Who are the authors of the document? (Be certain to identify social class and location of authors.)		
What action does the document state the authors will take? How does this conform to or contradict the accepted roles and rights of colonial women?		
What has led to this action?		
What is the goal of this document and the action that it announces?		
What is your reaction to this document? Does it seem like the actions it announces would be effective for achieving their goal? Why do you think that the authors chose to take this particular action?		(fill in if appropriate)

LET FREEDOM RING

Group C

A Statement of North Carolina Citizens, August 22, 1774

Resolved, That we will not directly or indirectly after the first PART of January 1775, import from *Great Britain* any *East India* goods, nor any merchandise whatever, medicines excepted nor will we after that PART import from the *West Indies*, or elsewhere, any *East India* or *British* goods or manufactures, nor will we purchase any such articles so imported of any person or persons whatsoever, except such as are now in the country, or may arrive on or before the first PART of *January*, 1775.

...*Resolved*, That we will not use, nor suffer *East India* tea to be used in our families, after the tenth PART of *September* next, and that we will consider all persons in this Province, not complying with this resolve, to be enemies to their country.

“For The Publick Good”

The Edenton Resolves, October 1774, quoted in Peter Force, comp., American Archives (Washington, D.C., 1834), 4th ser., 1, p. 891.

As we cannot be indifferent on any occasion that appears to affect the peace and happiness of our country, and as it has been thought necessary for the publick good to enter into several particular resolves, by meeting of Members of Deputies from the whole Province, it is a duty that we owe not only to our near and dear relations and connections, but to ourselves who are essentially interested in their welfare, to do everything as far as lies in our power to testify to our sincere adherence to the same; and we do therefore accordingly subscribe this paper as a witness of our fixed intention and solemn determination to do so.

Signed by fifty-one Ladies
[Anonymous]

LESSON I, PART 1

LET FREEDOM RING

Group D: An excerpt of a letter by Charity Clarke

VOCABULARY TO KNOW

abound; Amazons (spelled amozones in the text); swains; Arcadia; banish; sufficiency

Keep in mind that some of the words in the document are spelled irregularly, but can be understood if sounded out.

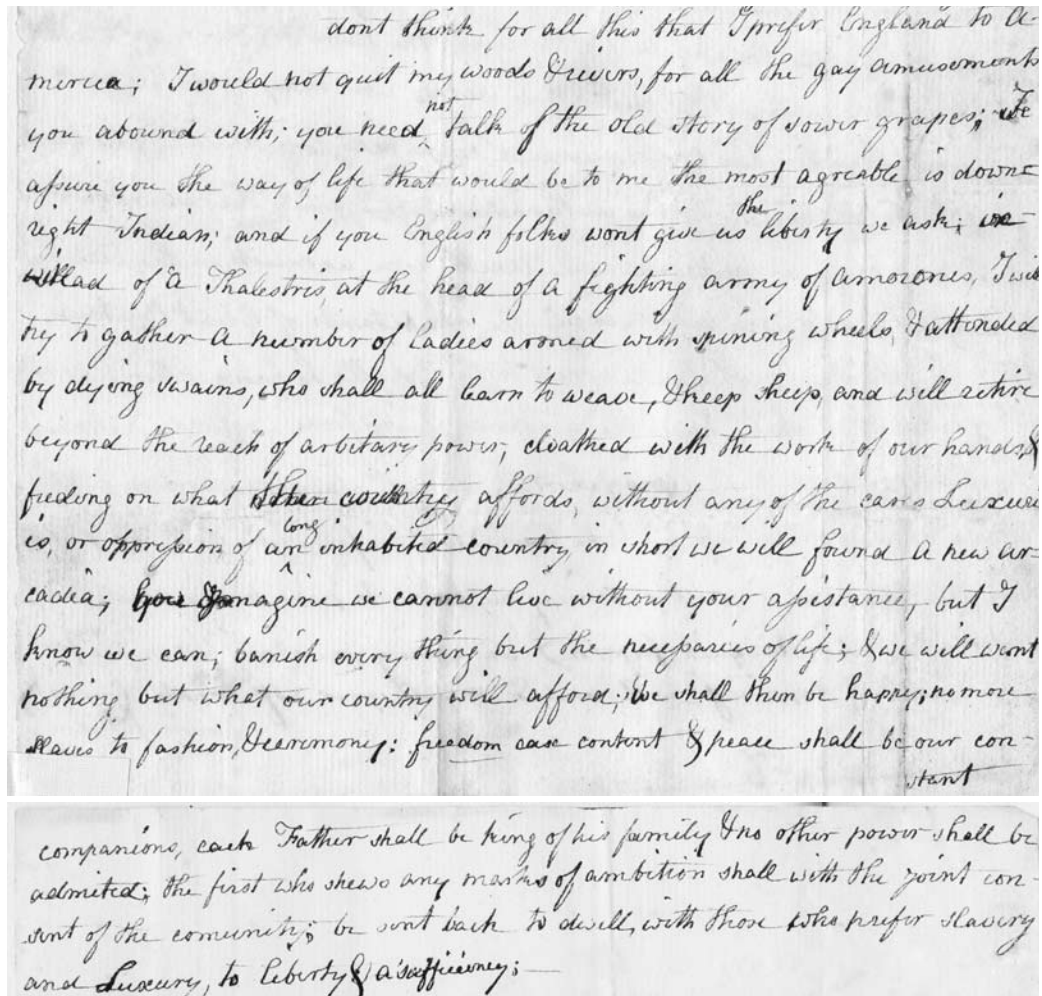
Directions: With your group members, review the vocabulary above. Look up the meaning of the words that you do not know. Read the introduction to the document and the document itself and answer the following questions related to it. Be sure to write key words or phrases from the document to support your answers where necessary.

	Your group's response	Evidence to support your response
When do you think this document was written?		
Who do you think Charity Clarke is?		
To whom do you think the letter is written? (Be certain to identify social class and location.)		
What action does the document state the author will take? How does this letter conform to or contradict the accepted roles and rights of colonial women?		
What has led to this action?		
What is the goal of this document and the action that it announces?		
What is your reaction to this document? Does it seem like the actions it announces would be effective for achieving their goal? Why do you think that the authors chose to take this particular action?		(fill in if appropriate)

LET FREEDOM RING

Group D

An excerpt of a letter by Charity Clarke.



June 16, 1769.

...don't think for all this that I prefer England to America; I would not quit my woods & rivers, for all the gay amusements you abound with; you need not talk of sower grapes; I assure you the way of life that would be to me the most agreeable is downright Indian; and if you English folks won't give us the liberty we ask; instead of a Thalestries, at the head of a fighting army of amozones, I will try to gather a number of ladies armed with spinning wheels, & attended by dying swains who shall all learn to weave and keep sheep, and will retire beyond the reach of arbitrary power; clothed with the work of our hands & feeding on what the country affords,

without any of the cares, Luxuries or oppression of an long inhabited country, in short we will found a new arcadia; you imagine we cannot live without your assistance, but I know we can; banish every thing but the necessities of life; & we will want nothing but what our country will afford; we shall then be happy; no more slaves to fashion & ceremony: freedom ease content & peace shall be our constant companions, each Father shall be king of his family & no other power shall be admitted; the first who shews any marks of ambition shall with the joint consent of the community, be sent back to dwell with those who prefer slavery and Luxury, to Liberty & a sufficiency . . .

*Thalestries has been written of as a queen of the Amazons, warrior women of Greek mythology.

LESSON I, PART 1

LET FREEDOM RING

WOMEN AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR — PART 1
Slavery and Luxury, or Liberty and Sufficiency?

“A Society of Patriotic Ladies at Edenton in North Carolina,” March 25, 1775



LET FREEDOM RING

WOMEN AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR — PART 2

“Who Was Molly Pitcher?”

VOCABULARY

petition; pension

ACTIVITIES

I. Opening activity: visual analysis

Instruct students to examine carefully the two illustrations of Molly Pitcher and list similarities and differences. What can they conclude about Molly Pitcher from the images?

II. Discuss the opening activity.

Hypothesize who Molly Pitcher was based on the illustrations. What is the significance of the name “Pitcher”? (If necessary, point out the bucket in each illustration.)

III. Read description of Molly Pitcher to students.

Thousands of women served in the Continental army during the War for Independence as nurses, cooks, laundresses, ammunition runners and water carriers. It is unknown how many women fired artillery or were in combat positions. The term Molly Pitcher is a generic term referring to any woman who carried water to men on the battlefield and a legendary character of the American Revolutionary War who is a composite of many actual women who served the artillery or enlisted as soldiers disguised as men. Margaret Cochran Corbin, Mary Ludwig Hayes and Deborah Sampson Gannett originally spelled “Samson”) are the three most widely known individuals whose participation in the War for Independence contributed to the Molly Pitcher legend.

“Will the Real Molly Pitcher Please Stand Up?”, by Emily J. Teipe,
<http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1999/summer/pitcher.html>

IV. Group activity

A. Introduction

Break your class into groups. Explain that each group will be receiving material about a Molly Pitcher and should designate a reader, materials handler, recorder and reporter. Each group is responsible for closely examining the materials, completing the accompanying tasks and reporting its findings to the class.

B. Groups examine materials and complete tasks.

V. Share learning: Each group reports its findings to the class.

VI. Closing discussion

1. Why did the women need to disguise themselves as men?
2. What attitudes and stereotypes did Americans of the Revolutionary and post-Revolution eras have regarding women in the military?
3. What discrimination and inequality did female soldiers face after the war?
4. How did the women who fought during the War for Independence fulfill and challenge the accepted views of women of the era?

LET FREEDOM RING

VII. Assessment options:

1. Write a speech on female contributions to the military during the War for Independence that would be presented at a war memorial ceremony.
2. Write an obituary for Mary Cochran Corbin or Deborah Sampson.
3. Design a plaque or memorial to women who served in the Continental army.
4. Respond to one of the quotes on Women and War using the information that you gained from this lesson (additional option: use the voice and perspective of Margaret Cochran Corbin or Deborah Sampson).

VIII. Extension activities:

1. Write a letter as if you are a patriot living during the American Revolution (be sure to determine whether the author is male or female and his/her opinion on women's proper place in society). Describe how women are involved in the Revolution, the reactions they are receiving and why.
2. Write a journal as if you are a patriot woman who is considering which way(s) to support the Revolution. Evaluate the different forms of participation and select at least one, explaining the reasons for your choice.
3. Draw a cartoon illustrating the participation of women in the American Revolution.
4. Write an essay in which you compare women's involvement in the American Revolution to that of women today in America's "war on terror."

Any of the activities should include:

- descriptions of at least three ways in which women were involved in the American Revolution
- analysis of how each form of female involvement conformed to or conflicted with the socially accepted roles of women of the era and how the activity was regarded by others

LET FREEDOM RING

WOMEN AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR — PART 2 “Who Was Molly Pitcher?”

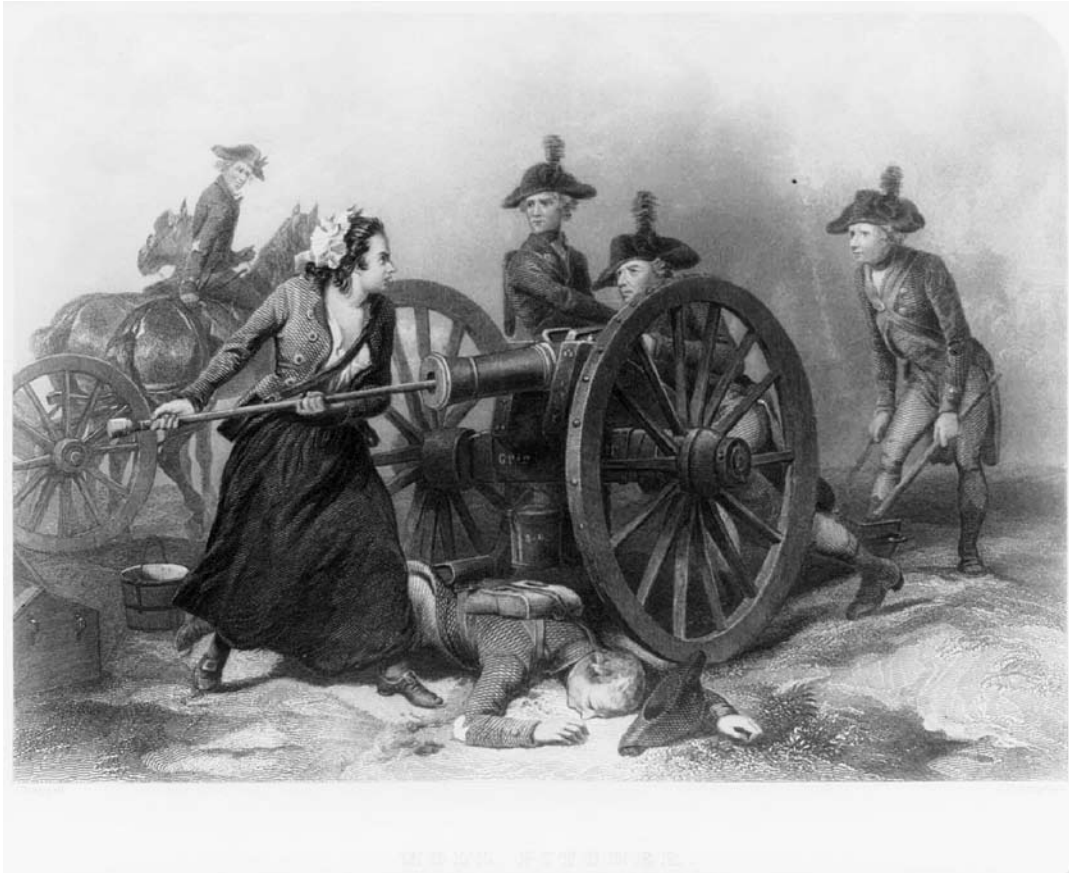
Molly Pitcher firing cannon at Battle of Monmouth, by E. Percy Moran, c. 1911.



LET FREEDOM RING

WOMEN AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR — PART 2 “Who Was Molly Pitcher?”

“Molly Pitcher,” An Engraving by J.C. Armytage from a painting by Alonzo Chappel., c. 1859.



LET FREEDOM RING

Group A: Deborah Sampson – Living Down the War

VOCABULARY TO KNOW

petition; augment; maneuver; social convention; swerve; abound; deviant; escapade; chastity

Directions: Read the background information on Deborah Sampson Gannett. Read the excerpts from “Will the Real Molly Pitcher Please Stand Up?” by Emily J. Teipe.

Answer the following questions:

- A. What did Deborah do to add to her family’s income after the war?
- B. How was this activity a challenge to accepted roles for women at the time?
- C. How was a woman joining the military a challenge to accepted female roles of the late 1700s?
- D. How did Deborah Gannett’s performances and her biography show awareness of public criticism of her wartime activities and try to placate (quiet) it?

LET FREEDOM RING

Group A

Excerpts from: “Will the Real Molly Pitcher Please Stand Up?” ©1999 by Emily J. Teipe.

In 1792, Deborah petitioned the state of Massachusetts for her back pay.Her petition was approved by the legislature and signed by Governor John Hancock that same year. She is also very likely the first American woman to appear on the theatrical stage. In an effort to augment her income, Deborah Gannett performed in Boston and New York theaters, charging seven dollars an appearance. In 1802 the *Mercury and New England Palladium*, a Boston newspaper, advertised that “Mrs. Gannett equipt in complete uniform will go through the Manual Exercise. The whole to conclude with the Song and Chorus of ‘God Save the Sixteen States.’” It was later reported that she had marched through twenty-seven maneuvers, wearing her blue and white uniform, armed with a musket, followed by a speech that was largely an apology for having “swerved from the flowery path of female delicacy.” Breaking social convention in more ways than one, Deborah Sampson’s stage appearances, which predate those of early female abolitionists and feminists, are notable for making her the first American woman to give public lectures to mixed audiences of men and women.

.....

It is significant that Deborah felt it necessary to apologize on stage for having swerved from the path of femininity By disguising herself as a man, running away from home alone, and joining the army, Deborah had broken all the rules of social convention. Until the twentieth century, a young lady had only two legitimate reasons for leaving home—her marriage or the death of her parents. It was unthinkable for a single woman to be on her own without risking damage to her reputation. Popular literature abounded with horror tales of female deviants who had suffered the consequences of leaving home and living on their own. They met with the resulting moral deterioration of illegitimate childbirth, prostitution, or even death. Taken from this cultural perspective, Deborah’s biography can best be understood not as an exaggerated account of her military exploits but as an apology to her community. Her biographer Herman Mann emphasized repeatedly that throughout all of Deborah’s wartime escapades, she had maintained her chastity.

<http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1999/summer/pitcher.html>
Summer 1999, Vol. 31, No. 2

LET FREEDOM RING

Group B: Letter on Behalf of Deborah Sampson Gannett

VOCABULARY TO KNOW

habit; apparel; effeminate; meanest

Directions:

1. Read the background information on Deborah Sampson Gannett.
2. Read Paul Revere's letter written on behalf of Deborah Sampson Gannett. Paul Revere was a well-respected patriot, a leader of the Sons of Liberty and perhaps best known today for his horseback ride in 1775 warning Americans of approaching British troops. He was also a skilled silversmith who created anti-British engravings, helped supply the patriot army with musket balls and cannons and created the first Continental currency.
3. Answer the following questions:
 - A. According to Revere, why does Gannett need a pension? Why does she deserve one?
 - B. How did Revere view female soldiers prior to meeting Deborah Gannett?
 - C. What characteristics about Gannett does Revere stress in arguing that she should be awarded a pension? Why do you think he stressed those attributes?
 - D. Why do you think that Gannett sought assistance from Revere in her effort to receive a pension? Why do you think she had still not received a pension 21 years after the war?

LET FREEDOM RING

Group B

Background information on Deborah Sampson Gannett.

Physical examinations and proof of identity or age were not required to join the Continental Army. On May 20, 1782 Deborah Sampson, 5 foot 7 and a half inches tall, disguised herself as a man and enlisted with the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment under the name Robert Shurtleff. She gave her age as 19 rather than her actual 21 to avoid suspicion over lack of facial hair. She served on patrols and saw combat in upstate New York. She was wounded in a battle near Tarrytown and cared for her own wounds rather than be found out. In 1783, while hospitalized in Philadelphia for a fever, an army surgeon discovered she was a woman. She was never punished for masquerading as a man. On October 23, 1783, she was honorably discharged by General Henry Knox at West Point. After the war she married Benjamin Gannett, had three children and adopted a fourth.

Sources:

[http://www.paulreverehouse.org/gift2/details/46-51.pdf#search=paul%20revere%20deborah%20pages 39-41](http://www.paulreverehouse.org/gift2/details/46-51.pdf#search=paul%20revere%20deborah%20pages%2039-41)

“Will the Real Molly Pitcher Please Stand Up?”, by Emily J. Teipe,
<http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1999/summer/pitcher.html>

LET FREEDOM RING

Group B

A letter from Paul Revere to Congressman William Eustis

William Eustis Esq
Member of Congress
Washington

Canton Feby 20 1804

Sir

M^{rs} Deborah Gannet of Haver
informs me, that she has inclosed to your Care a petition
to Congress in favour of Her. My works for manufacturing
of Copper being a Canton, but a short distance from the Neighbourhood where she lives; I have been induced to enquire her situation, and Character, since she quitted the Male habit, and Soldiers uniform, for the more decent Apparel of her own Sex; Since she has been married and become a Mother. — Humanity, & Justice obliges me to say, that every person with whom I have conversed about Her, and it is not a few, speak of Her as a woman of handsome talents, good Morals, a dutifull Wife and an affectionate parent. — She is now much out of health; She has several Children; her Husband is a good sort of a Man, tho of small force in business; they have a few acres of poor land which they cultivate, but they are really poor.

She told me, she had no doubt that her ill health is in consequence of her being exposed when she did a Soldiers duty; and that while in the Army, she was wounded.

We commonly form our Idea of the person whom we hear spoken off, whom we have never seen; according as their Actions are described. When I heard her spoken off as a Soldier, I formed the Idea of a tall, Masculine female, who had a small share of understanding without education, Poor, of the meanest of her Sex. — When I saw and discussed with I was agreeably surprised to find a small, feminine, and conversable Woman, whose education enabled her to a better situation in life.

I have no doubt your humanity will prompt you to do all in your power to get her some relief; I think her case much more deserving

than hundreds to whom Congress have been generous.

I am Sir with esteem
Y^r respect
your humble servant
Paul Revere

LET FREEDOM RING

Group B

Transcript of a letter from Paul Revere to Congressman William Eustis

Canton, Feby 20 1804

William Eustis, Esq
Member of Congress
Washington

Sir

Mrs. Deborah Gannett of Sharon informs me, that she has inclosed to your Care a petition to Congress in favour of Her. My works for manufactureing of Copper, being a Canton, but a short distance from the Neighbourhood where She lives; I have been induced to enquire her situation, and Character, since she quitted the Male habit, and Soldiers uniform; for the more decent apparel of her own Sex; & Since she has been married and become a Mother. – Humanity, & Justice obliges me to say, that every person with whom I have conversed about Her, and it is not a few, speak of Her as a woman of handsom talents, good Morals, a dutifull Wife and an affectionate parent. – She is now much out of health; She has several Children; her Husband is a good sort of a man, 'tho of small force in business; they have a few acres of poor land which they cultivate, but they are really poor.

She told me, she had no doubt that her ill health is in consequence of her being exposed when She did a Soldiers duty; and that while in the Army, She was wounded.

We commonly form our Idea of the person whom we hear spoken off, whom we have never seen; according as their actions are described, when I heard her spoken off as a Soldier, I formed the Idea of a tall, Masculine female, who had a small share of understandg, without education, & one of the meanest of her Sex. – When I saw and discoursed with I was agreeably surprised to find a small, effeminate, and converseable Woman, whose education entitled her to a better situation in life.

I have no doubt your humanity will prompt you to do all in Your power to git her some releif; I think her case much more deserving than hundreds to whom Congress have been generous.
I am sir with esteem & respect your humble servant

Paul Revere

LET FREEDOM RING

Group C: Deborah Sampson Gannett – Petitioning for Pensions

VOCABULARY TO KNOW

retroactive; indigent; inventory; relinquish; per annum; render; hasten

Directions:

1. Read the background information on Deborah Sampson Gannett.
2. Read the excerpts from “Will the Real Molly Pitcher Please Stand Up?” by Emily J. Teipe.
3. Answer the following questions:

A. How did the pension that Deborah Gannett received in 1809 compare to that of male veterans?

B. What was Deborah Gannett’s financial condition in 1818?

C. What arguments did Deborah’s husband make demonstrating he deserved a pension for himself after her death?

D. How did Benjamin Gannett’s pension compare to his wife’s? What do you think may account for the difference?

LET FREEDOM RING

Group C

DEBORAH SAMPSON – PETITIONING FOR PENSIONS

In 1809, after twenty years of petitioning the federal government, Deborah received a disability pension of four dollars a month. (Male veterans claiming disability received five dollars a month.) In large part due to Revere's intervention, the pension amount was made retroactive to 1803. With this money, the Gannetts were able to build a clapboard home on their acreage and plant a few trees. However, the pensions Deborah received never relieved their poverty or debt. Shortly after receiving the pension, Deborah wrote to thank Paul Revere and asked to borrow ten dollars. When the 1818 pension bill was passed by the Monroe administration, she applied again. The 1818 pension, designed specifically to help indigent veterans, promised government relief to those still struggling thirty-five years after the war. It required applicants to submit a personal inventory of their assets and net worth including real estate and household goods. (The government did not require that the value of clothing and bedding be estimated in the inventory.) In the application, Deborah Gannett, fifty-eight years old and mother of three children, claimed total assets of twenty dollars, which included her clothing. In order to qualify for the new pension, she had to relinquish the former disability pension of forty-eight dollars per annum as well as a state pension of four dollars a month. Deborah received the seventy-six-dollar stipend for about seven years.

After her death in 1827, her husband (believed to be the only widower to file for a pension) could not qualify for benefits since they had not been married until 1784. In 1831 Gannett, aged eighty-three, was sick and impoverished. He depended upon local charity for survival and decided to petition the government for a pension. Gannett's pension affidavit describes Deborah's life after the war. He stated that she had been honorably discharged and rendered an accurate account of her military service. He also believed that her discharge papers were lost. According to Mr. Gannett, her war wound, a musket ball lodged in her thigh for forty-six years, "followed her through life and hastened her death." Another witness, Mr. P. Parsons, testified that Deborah had been unable to perform any labor due to her wound. Consequently, Benjamin had been subjected to heavy medical expenses for more than twenty years before Deborah started receiving a pension. In 1831 Gannett still owed physicians six hundred dollars for her treatment. On March 4, 1831, a special act of Congress awarded Benjamin Gannett a more generous pension than Deborah had ever received. This stipend of eighty dollars a year was to continue "for and during his natural life." Four years after Deborah Samson Gannett's death, Congress stated in the pension granted to Benjamin, "the whole history of the American Revolution records no other similar example of female heroism, fidelity and courage."

Excerpts from: "Will the Real Molly Pitcher Please Stand Up?" ©1999 by Emily J. Teipe
<http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1999/summer/pitcher.html>
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LET FREEDOM RING

Group D: Margaret Cochran Corbin's Pension

VOCABULARY TO KNOW

artillery; provision; gallant; deplorable; public stores; cannoneer; camp follower; exhume

Directions:

1. Read the excerpts from the Journals of the Continental Congress.
2. Read the background information on Margaret Cochran Corbin.
3. Answer the following questions:
 - A. Why was the Board of War discussing Corbin in 1779?
 - B. What did the 1779 Congress grant her as a result of her wartime activities? How long was she to receive this?
 - C. What is the nature of Corbin's injury according to the Congressional reports?
 - D. What additional award was granted Corbin by the 1780 Congress and why?

LET FREEDOM RING

Group D

MARGARET COCHRAN CORBIN'S PENSION

FROM JOURNALS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774-1789 TUESDAY, JULY 6, 1779

A letter from the Board of War, was read; Whereupon,

[Note 3: 3 This letter is in the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 147, III, folio 501.]

Resolved, That Margaret Corbin, who was wounded and disabled in the attack on Fort Washington, whilst she heroically filled the post of her husband who was killed by her side serving a piece of artillery, do receive, during her natural life, or the continuance of the said disability, the one-half of the monthly pay drawn by a soldier in the service of these states; and that she now receive out of the public stores, one complete suit of cloaths, or the value thereof in money.

JOURNALS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774-1789 TUESDAY, JULY 25, 1780

A report from the Board of War was read; Whereupon,

At a Board of War, July 24, 1780

Present Col. Pickering, Mr. Peters, Col. Grayson, Genl. Scott, Genl. Ward

The board having received information that Margaret Corbin (for whom Congress made provision in their act of July 6. 1779 for her gallant conduct in serving a piece of artillery when her husband was killed by her side) still remains in a deplorable situation in consequence of her wound, by which she is deprived of the use of one arm, and is in other respects much disabled and probably will continue a cripple during her life, Beg leave to report

Resolved, That Margaret Corbin receive annually, during her natural life, one compleat suit of cloaths out of the public stores, or the value thereof in money, in addition to the provision made for her by the act of Congress of July 6, 1779.

[Note 2: 2 This report is in the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 147, IV, folio 460.]

American Memory, Library of Congress

http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:1:/temp/~ammem_iIp4

LET FREEDOM RING

Group D

Margaret Cochran Corbin's Pension

Background information on Margaret Cochran Corbin

Margaret Cochran was born in 1751 in Franklin, Pennsylvania. In 1772 she married John Corbin, who four years later joined the First Company of Pennsylvania Artillery and became a cannoneer. Margaret, like thousands of other women, became a camp follower.

On November 16, 1776, Fort Washington on Manhattan Island was attacked by Hessian mercenaries fighting for the British. Margaret assisted handling ammunition and cleaning and loading the cannon. When John was fatally shot, Margaret took over firing the cannon until she herself was shot, seriously wounded in the chest, jaw and left arm (which was almost severed) and captured. She was disabled the remainder of her life due to her wounds. She lived and worked near the U.S. Military Academy at West Point until she died in 1800. In 1926 the Daughters of the American Revolution had her remains exhumed and reburied in West Point Cemetery.

Sources:

"Margaret Corbin Circle", Your Park, New York City Department of Parks & Recreation,
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"Margaret Corbin & Mary Ludwig Hays Mc Cauley," U.S. Army Women's Museum – Fort Lee, Virginia,
http://www.awm.lee.army.mil/Army_Women_Notable/margaret_corbin.htm

Renner, James. "Margaret Cochran Corbin," Washington Heights & Inwood Online, May 2003,
http://www.washington-heights.us/history/archives/margaret_cochran_corbin_78.html

LET FREEDOM RING

DISCOVERING HISTORY IN TODAY'S NEW YORK TIMES

1. Read several personal profiles published in The New York Times, such as the articles in the series *One in 8 Million* and *The Saturday Profile*. Focus on how the reporter interviewed and portrayed the subject. Then, using what you learned, interview a woman you know about the roles and rights of women today. You might, for example, show your subject the “Roles and rights of women during the Revolutionary War” list and ask her to compare it with women’s status in contemporary America. What would your subject put on a list reflecting modern American mores with respect to acceptable gender roles?
2. Find the “Women at Arms” series of articles and multimedia on NYTimes.com, exploring the experience and impact of female military personnel serving in Iraq and Afghanistan. How do these stories compare with stories about “Molly Pitcher” and other women involved in the American Revolution? Write a letter to one of the servicewomen featured in “Women at Arms” about what you learned from her story. Include references to what you know about how women participated in the Revolutionary War and how they were treated.
3. What sacrifices have women made during times of war throughout American history? Use NYTimes.com to do historical research about the contributions and sacrifices women have made — both voluntary and involuntary — in times when the U.S. has been at war, starting with the Civil War. Plot your findings on an annotated timeline.
4. How are women portrayed in the news? Read through The New York Times on paper and/or online for a week, paying close attention to such aspects as what stories featuring women are prominently featured, how women are referred to and described, how they are shown in photographs and how many female reporters write for The Times. Develop additional criteria for your analysis. Be sure to look at similar coverage of men for the sake of context and comparison. Then write an analytical paper about how women are depicted and represented in The Times.

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Cherokee Removal: The Trail of Tears and the Loss of Freedom

**NEW YORK STATE SOCIAL STUDIES CORE CURRICULUM, GRADE 11:
UNITED STATES AND NEW YORK STATE HISTORY**

UNIT TWO *Constitutional Foundations For The United States Democratic Republic*

II. The Constitution Tested: Nationalism And Sectionalism

2. Equal rights and justice: expansion of franchise; search for minority rights; expansion of slavery; abolitionist movement; the underground railroad; denial of Native American Indian rights and land ownership

c. Native Americans

(1) History of Indian relations from 1607

(2) Native American cultural survival strategies (cultural adaptation, cultural revitalization movements, Pan-Indian movements, resistance)

(3) The removal policy: Worcester v. Georgia, 1832

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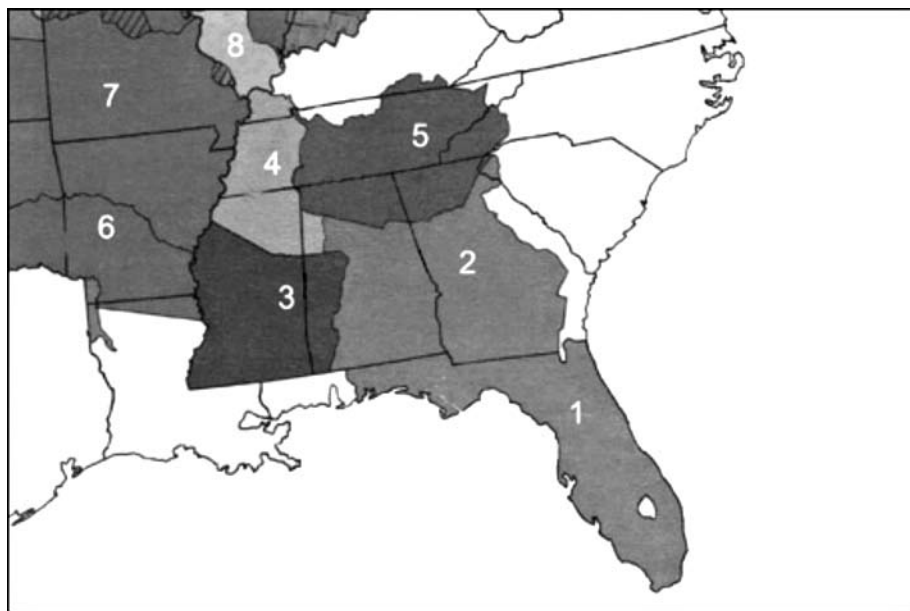
Cherokee Removal: The Trail of Tears and the Loss of Freedom

INTRODUCTION

The Cherokee were considered to be part of the “Five Civilized Tribes,” which also included the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole. They were historically an agrarian people who lived in settled communities and were considered “civilized” by Americans because they assimilated into white culture, adopting European dress, farming and homebuilding. Some Cherokee, like Americans, owned slaves. Sequoyah, a Cherokee leader, created a syllabary, a Cherokee written language, in 1821. Literacy quickly spread among the Cherokee and The Cherokee Phoenix newspaper was published. In 1827, they had created a government modeled after the U.S. Constitution.

At the same time the Cherokee were assimilating many of the ideas of whites, gold was discovered on Cherokee territory and with the expansion of cotton production, many Georgians wanted to take control of Cherokee land.¹

Map 1: Land occupied by Southeastern Tribes, 1820s.



(Adapted from Sam Bowers Hilliard, “Indian Land Cessions” [detail], Map Supplement 16, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 62, no. 2 [June 1972].)

Key:

- | | |
|--------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Seminole | 5. Cherokee |
| 2. Creek | 6. Quapaw |
| 3. Choctaw | 7. Osage |
| 4. Chickasaw | 8. Illinois Confederation |

¹ For background information on the Cherokee and the Trail of Tears, go to <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-2722>

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Relations between the Cherokee and the United States had been regulated by the Treaty of Hopewell, signed in 1785. It set the boundaries of Cherokee land and made American citizens subject to Cherokee laws within their land, but future treaties further reduced the land controlled by the Cherokee. In response to demands of whites for Cherokee land, Georgia passed laws extending its jurisdiction over it. President Andrew Jackson took office in 1829, supporting resettlement of Cherokee across the Mississippi into what is now Oklahoma.

GROUP ACTIVITY

For the debate on Indian Removal, break the students into small groups and give each group one document. Each group should respond to the questions below and present answers back to the full class.

The teacher can write the key points on the board and the class can debate which arguments are stronger and why.

1. Who is the author of the document?
2. In what year was the statement made?
3. Who was the audience for the statement?
4. What are the three main reasons the Indians should or should not be removed according to this author?
5. What evidence (if any) does the author present to support his reasons for or against removal?
6. What does the author predict will happen if relocation does or does not take place?
7. How does the author address the benefit of relocation for the white settlers?
8. How would you characterize the author's attitude or assumptions about the Indian population or the white population?

WORCESTER V. GEORGIA (1832)

The Cherokee took their grievances to the Supreme Court when Georgia passed laws which took land from them and abolished their political institutions and laws. Initially in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), Chief Justice John Marshall rejected the Cherokees's claims because the Court did not have jurisdiction over what he called a "domestic dependent nation." This ruling established the sovereign claims of the Cherokee.

The following year, a new case was brought by Joseph Worcester, a missionary, who worked closely with Cherokee leaders and had advised them on their rights under the U.S. Constitution and Federal-Cherokee treaties. The Georgia government recognized Worcester's and other missionaries' importance to Cherokee resistance and passed a law banning white persons from Cherokee territory who had not first declared their loyalty to the state of Georgia, beginning March 1, 1831. Eleven days later, Georgia arrested Worcester and other missionaries for violating the law. Georgia eventually convicted Worcester and sentenced him to four years of hard labor. He appealed the decision with financial support from the Cherokee Nation.

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QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. How does the ruling define the Cherokee Nation?
2. What does the concept of sovereignty for Cherokee imply?
3. What is the role of the U.S. government in relation to the Cherokee Nation?
4. What authority does Georgia have in the Cherokee Nation territories?
5. After Marshall's decision, President Jackson is said to have responded, "The decision of the supreme court has fell stillborn. . . . The arm of the Government is not sufficiently strong to preserve [the Indians] from destruction."¹ What does this say about political power, and specifically as it relates to the Supreme Court and the President?

WORCESTER V. GEORGIA (1832)

Available online: <http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/resources/archives/two/worceststr.htm>

From the commencement of our government Congress has passed acts to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indians; which treat them as nations, respect their rights, and manifest a firm purpose to afford that protection which treaties stipulate. All these acts, and especially that of 1802, which is still in force, manifestly consider the several Indian nations as distinct political communities, having territorial boundaries, within which their authority is exclusive, and having a right to all the lands within those boundaries, which is not only acknowledged, but guaranteed by the United States

The Cherokee Nation, then, is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force, and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter but with the assent of the Cherokees themselves or in conformity with treaties and with the acts of Congress. The whole intercourse between the United States and this nation is, by our Constitution and laws, vested in the government of the United States.

The act of the State of Georgia under which the plaintiff in error was prosecuted is consequently void, and the judgment a nullity The Acts of Georgia are repugnant to the Constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States.

They interfere forcibly with the relations established between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, the regulation of which according to the settled principles of our Constitution, are committed exclusively to the government of the Union.

They are in direct hostility with treaties, repeated in a succession of years, which mark out the boundary that separates the Cherokee country from

¹ Jackson convinced the governor of Georgia to pardon Worcester and the other ministers, but he made no attempt to enforce the decision of the Supreme Court.

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Georgia; guarantee to them all the land within their boundary; solemnly pledge the faith of the United States to restrain their citizens from trespassing on it; and recognize the pre-existing power of the nation to govern itself.

They are in equal hostility with the acts of Congress for regulating this intercourse, and giving effect to the treaties.

NEW ECHOTA TREATY AND THE TRAIL OF TEARS

Cherokees continued to press for their rights in negotiations with the Federal Government. From 1833 to 1835, Principal Chief John Ross proposed a number of solutions, including sale of part of the Cherokee lands with Cherokees receiving the rights of whites in Georgia, including the right to vote, own property, hold office, and the right to testify at trial. When the government rejected this proposal, Ross offered to sell all Cherokee holdings for \$20 million. But by this time, the Georgia government had nearly taken over all the Cherokee land and Ross had little time to negotiate before the land was gone.¹

At this time, a minority faction of the Cherokee organized the Treaty Party and began negotiations with the U.S. Government. An unelected group without authority, they believed removal was inevitable and signed the New Echota treaty with the U.S. Government in which the Cherokee would receive payment² for all their lands east of the Mississippi River and move to what is now Oklahoma. But they took the New Echota Treaty, as it came to be known, to the Cherokee National Council where it was rejected and then to a general meeting of the Cherokees, where it received 114 votes out of the thousands in attendance.

Nonetheless, Ridge and the other leaders of the Treaty Party signed the document and the U.S. Government narrowly ratified the Treaty. Ross organized the Cherokee against it, but that failed to stop its implementation.

In 1838, General Winfield Scott arrived in Georgia with approximately 7,000 men to enforce the provisions of this treaty, which forced the relocation of over 15,000 Cherokee to what is now Oklahoma. Approximately one-fourth of the Cherokees died en route in what became known as the “Trail of Tears.”

DOCUMENTS

- F: Map of the route taken by the Cherokees
- G: Account by John Burnett
- H: “A Native of Maine,” *The New York Observer*, Jan. 1839
- I: Evan Jones, Baptist Missionary Account
- J: Oral Accounts from Cherokee families
- K: Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock

¹ One way in which the state of Georgia sought to compel the Cherokee Indians to leave their homeland was to pass a state law in 1832 that established a lottery by which the “fortunate drawers” would obtain Cherokee land that had been divided into numbered lots. Chief John Ross, the leader of the Cherokee Nation lost his extensive homestead in this manner in 1835. (Theda Perdue and Michael Green, “The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears” (New York: Penguin Books, 2007), 99-100, 104-105.

² The Cherokees were supposed to receive \$5 million for their lands. Many years later they would only get a small amount of money distributed to individual members.

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QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER ABOUT THESE SOURCES:

1. Who is the author and what was his or her role or relationship to the event?
2. How long after the event was this account supplied?
3. How could memory affect the telling of the story?
4. If the story was not a first-hand account, what information does it convey about the meaning of the event to the individual who is telling the story?
5. Who recorded or was the audience of the account?
6. How could the intended audience or recorder affect the telling of the story?
7. What other sources would you need to provide the fullest picture of the event?

HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT

Write a 200 to 300-word newspaper account of the event, questioning and attributing the sources.

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Cherokee Removal: The Trail of Tears and the Loss of Freedom



President Andrew Jackson

President Andrew Jackson, elected in 1828, was the first westerner and the first who didn't come from a privileged background to ascend to the White House. He built his reputation as a military leader during the War of 1812, the Creek War (1814) and the First Seminole War (1817–19). Ironically, during the War of 1812 and the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, Jackson fought alongside Cherokee Principal Chief John Ross, who would become the leading figure in the fight against Cherokee removal.

President Jackson sent this message to Congress as it began to debate a bill to give him the power to remove the Cherokee and all Native Americans west of the Mississippi River.

It gives me pleasure to announce to Congress that the benevolent policy of the Government, steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements is approaching to a happy consummation. Two important tribes have accepted the provision made for their removal at the last session of Congress, and it is believed that their example will induce the remaining tribes also to seek the same obvious advantages.

The consequences of a speedy removal will be important to the United States, to individual States, and to the Indians themselves. The pecuniary [monetary] advantages which it promises to the Government are the least of its recommendations. It puts an end to all possible danger of collision between the authorities of the General and State Governments on account of the Indians. It will place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters. By opening the whole territory between Tennessee on the north and Louisiana on the south to the settlement of the whites it will incalculably strengthen the southwestern frontier and render the adjacent States strong enough to repel future invasions without remote aid. It will relieve the whole State of Mississippi and the western part of Alabama of Indian occupancy, and enable those States to advance rapidly in population, wealth, and power. It will separate the Indians from immediate contact with settlements of whites; free them from the power of the States; enable them to pursue happiness in their own way and under their own rude institutions; will retard the progress of decay, which is lessening their numbers, and perhaps cause them gradually, under the protection of the Government and through the influence of good counsels, to cast off their savage habits and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community . . .

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The present policy of the Government is but a continuation of the same progressive change by a milder process. The tribes which occupied the countries now constituting the Eastern States were annihilated or have melted away to make room for the whites. The waves of population and civilization are rolling to the westward, and we now propose to acquire the countries occupied by the red men of the South and West by a fair exchange, and, at the expense of the United States, to send them to a land where their existence may be prolonged and perhaps made perpetual. Doubtless it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers; but what do they more than our ancestors did or than our children are now doing?

Rightly considered, the policy of the General Government toward the red man is not only liberal, but generous. He is unwilling to submit to the laws of the States and mingle with their population. To save him from this alternative, or perhaps utter annihilation, the General Government kindly offers him a new home, and proposes to pay the whole expense of his removal and settlement . . .

May we not hope, therefore, that all good citizens, and none more jealously than those who think the Indians oppressed by subjection to the laws of the States, will unite in attempting to open the eyes of those children of the forest to their true condition, and by a speedy removal to relieve them from all the evils, real or imaginary, present or prospective, with which they may be supposed to be threatened.

Jackson, Andrew. "Second Annual Message to Congress, 1830" from A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents. Ed. James D. Richardson. New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1897. 1083-1086. Available online at <http://lincoln.lib.niu.edu/teachers/lesson5-groupa.html#second>

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Cherokee Removal: The Trail of Tears and the Loss of Freedom

CATHARINE BEECHER PROTESTS INDIAN REMOVAL

With the availability of new printing techniques in the 1830s, circulars, or political statements became a popular and inexpensive means of distributing information. Covering two sides of one large page, circulars could be easily distributed at meetings or in post office boxes or mailed with letters. Although this circular was published anonymously, Catharine Beecher¹ claimed authorship in her autobiography. The circular's ideas came from the well-known Christian reformer and Indian rights advocate, Jeremiah Evarts, who had recently published his essays in the Washington, D.C., newspaper the National Intelligencer.

"Circular Addressed to Benevolent Ladies of the U. States," December 1, 1829. Printed in Christian Advocate and Journal, December 25, 1829, pp. 65–66 (American Periodical Series, 1800–1850, Microfilm, Reel 1749).

Addressed to benevolent Ladies of the U. States.

The present crisis in the affairs of the Indian nations in the United States demands the immediate and interested attention of all who make any claims to benevolence or humanity . . .

The following are facts of the case: This continent was once possessed only by the Indians, and earliest accounts represent them as a race numerous, warlike, and powerful. When our forefathers sought refuge from oppression on these shores, this people supplied their necessities, and ministered to their comfort; and though some of them, when they saw the white man continually encroaching upon their land, fought bravely for their existence and their country, yet often, too, the Indian has shed his blood to protect and sustain our infant nation . . .

Ever since the existence of this nation, our general government, pursuing the course alike of policy and benevolence, have acknowledged these people as free and independent nations, and has protected them in the quiet possession of their lands. In repeated treaties with the Indians, the United States, by the hands of the most distinguished statesmen, after purchasing the greater part of their best lands, have *promised* them "*to continue the guarantee of the remainder of their country* FOR EVER." And so strictly has government guarded the Indian's right to his lands, that even to go on to their boundaries to survey the land, subjects to heavy fines and imprisonment . . .

But the lands of this people are claimed to be embraced within the limits of some of our southern states, and as they are fertile and valuable they are demanded by the whites as their own possessions, and efforts are making to

¹ For more information on Catharine Beecher, go to: <http://www.pbs.org/onlyateacher/beecher.html>.

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dispossess the Indians of their native soil. And such is the singular state of concurring circumstances, that it has become almost a certainty that these people are to have their lands torn from them, and to be driven into western wilds and to final annihilation, unless the feelings of a humane and Christian nation shall be aroused to prevent the unhallowed sacrifice . . .

Unless our general government interferes to protect these nations, as by solemn and oft-repeated treaties they are bound to do, nothing can save them. The states which surround them are taking such measures as will speedily drive them from their country, and cause their final extinction.

By enactments recently passed in some of these states it is decided that the laws of these states shall be extended over the Indian territory in the course of the next year (1830). And the following specimen of their laws will show what will be the fate of the Indian when they take effect . . .

A small tract of wild and uncultivated land has been apportioned to them principally beyond the Arkansas — a territory found by examination to be deficient both in wood and water, which are articles of indispensable necessity to emigrants and from whence the Indians who have been persuaded to depart, are returning with dissatisfied complaints. To this wild and unpromising resort it is proposed to remove 60,000 people, of all ages, sexes, and condition; to break up all their existing social, political, and religious associations; to expose them to the hunger, nakedness, sickness, and distress of a long and fatiguing journey through unfrequented wilds; to crowd into this narrow space different tribes, speaking divers languages, and accustomed to different habits of life; and to place them under the government of white agents, to be appointed by government. Here they are expected to take up their residence, with no other hope than that they have made their lands valuable by cultivation, they again must be driven into still more distant wilds; for if our government cannot fulfill its treaties, and protect them now, well they know it could not do it then. Is the thing possible, that these 60,000 Indians can thus be stripped of all they hold dear on earth, and in direct violation of oft-repeated treaties, and yet quietly and unresistingly submit to such oppression and robbery? Does not the very statement show that in effecting this wicked project, the “voice of our brothers’ blood” would cry unto God from this guilty land?

December 1, 1829.

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Cherokee Removal: The Trail of Tears and the Loss of Freedom

VOCABULARY

burthensome, tranquility, aggregate, degradation, beggary

Speech of Senator Forsyth of Georgia on Indian Removal

THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1830.

The Senate resumed the bill to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians, and at three o'clock Mr. FORSYTH concluded in reply to Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN.

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GALES & SEATON'S REGISTER

SENATE.]

The Indians.

[APRIL 15, 1830.]

Yet, doubting, as I do, the effect of this measure as a means of civilization, I shall vote for it, with a hope of relieving the States from a population useless and burthensome, and from a conviction that the physical condition of the Indians will be greatly improved by the change: a change not intended to be forced upon them, but to be the result of their own judgment, under the persuasions of those who are quite as anxious for their prosperity and tranquillity, as the self-constituted guardians of their rights, who have filled this Hall with essays and pamphlets in their favor. That all the Indians in the United States would be benefited by their removal beyond the States, to a country appropriated for their exclusive residence, cannot be doubted by any dispassionate man who knows their condition. With one or two remarkable exceptions, all the tribes are rapidly diminishing in number, from the operation of causes the State Governments either will not, or do not, choose to remove. The report made in 1820 to the War Department, by the agent, Morse, appointed to collect information on this subject, shows that there were then in New England two thousand five hundred and twenty-six Indians; in New York, five thousand one hundred and eighty-four; in Virginia, North and South Carolina, four hundred and ninety-seven; in Georgia, five thousand Cherokees; making an aggregate of thirteen thousand one hundred and seven in the old States. All these Indians, with the exception of the Cherokees in Georgia, are in a state of involuntary minority. Their property in the hands of trustees or agents, not chosen by themselves, but appointed for them, with but a nominal responsibility for the faithful performance of their duty. As individuals, they are responsible for crimes, and punishable in the courts of justice of the States. But they can neither sue nor be sued, contract nor be contracted with, without the intervention of their trustee. Without industry, and without incentives to improvement, with the mark of degradation fixed upon them by State laws; without the control of their own resources, depending upon a precarious, because ill-directed, agriculture, they are little better than the wandering gypsies of the old world, living by beggary or plunder.

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Cherokee Removal: The Trail of Tears and the Loss of Freedom

Cherokee Editor Elias Boudinot Opposes Removal, 1828

. . . Our last Washington papers contain a debate which took place in the House of Representatives, on the resolution, recommended by the Committee on Indian Affairs, published in the second Number of our paper. It appears that the advocates of this new system of civilizing the Indians are very strenuous in maintaining the novel opinion, that it is impossible to enlighten the Indians, surrounded as they are by the white population, and that they assuredly will become extinct unless they are removed. It is a fact which we would not deny, that many tribes have perished away in consequence of white population, but we are yet to be convinced that this will always be the case, in spite of every measure taken to civilize them. We contend that suitable measures to a sufficient extent have never been employed. And how dare these men make an assertion without sufficient evidence? What proof have they that the system which they are now recommending, will succeed? Where have we an example in the whole history of man, of a Nation or tribe removing in a body from a land of civil and religious means, to a perfect wilderness, in order to be civilized. We are fearful these men are building castles in the air, whose fall will crush those poor Indians who may be so blinded as to make the experiment. We are sorry to see that some of the advocates of this system speak so disrespectfully, if not contemptuously, of the present measures of improvement, now in successful operation among the Indians in the United States—the only measures too, which have been crowded with success and bid fair to meliorate the condition of the Aborigines . . .

Source: Theda Perdue, ed. "Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot" (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983) 95-96.

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Cherokee Removal: The Trail of Tears and the Loss of Freedom

Cherokee Nation. "Memorial of the Cherokee Indians,"
Niles' Weekly Register, vol. 38 no. 3, pp 53–54.

The following is a memorial (petition) from the Cherokee Nation sent to the U.S. Congress in December 1829 and published in their newspaper, *The Cherokee Phoenix*, on January 20, 1830.

To the honorable the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled:

The undersigned memorialists, humbly make known to your honorable bodies, that they are free citizens of the Cherokee nation. Circumstances of late occurrence have troubled our hearts, and induced us at this time to appeal to you, knowing that you are generous and just. As weak and poor children are accustomed to look to their guardians and patrons for protection, so we would come and make our grievances known. Will you listen to us? Will you have pity on us? . . .

Brothers—we address you according to usage adopted by our forefathers, and the great and good men who have successfully directed the councils of the nation you represent—we now make known to you our grievances. We are troubled by some of your own people. Our neighbor, the state of Georgia, is pressing hard upon us, and urging us to relinquish our possessions for her benefit. We are told, if we do not leave the country, which we dearly love, and betake ourselves to the western wilds, the laws of the state will be extended over us, and the time, 1st of June, 1830, is appointed for the execution of the edict. When we first heard of this we were grieved and appealed to our father, the president, and begged that protection might be extended over us. But we were doubly grieved when we understood, from a letter of the secretary of war to our delegation, dated March of the present year, that our father the president had refused us protection, and that he had decided in favor of the extension of the laws of the state over us. This decision induces us to appeal to the immediate representatives of the American people. We love, we dearly love our country, and it is due to your honorable bodies, as well as to us, to make known why we think the country is ours, and why we wish to remain in peace where we are. The land on which we stand, we have received as an inheritance from our fathers, who possessed it from time immemorial, as a gift from our common father in heaven. We have already said, that when the white man came to the shores of America, our ancestors were found in peaceable possession of this very land. They bequeathed it to us as their children, and we have sacredly kept it as containing the remains of our beloved men. This right of inheritance we have never ceded, nor ever forfeited . . .

In view of the strong ground upon which their rights are founded, your memorialists solemnly protest against being considered as tenants at will,

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or as mere occupants of the soil, without possessing the sovereignty. We have already stated to your honorable bodies, that our forefathers were found in possession of this soil in full sovereignty, by the first European settlers; and as we have never ceded nor forfeited the occupancy of the soil and the sovereignty over it, we do solemnly protest against being forced to leave it, either by direct or indirect measures. To the land of which we are now in possession we are attached—it is our fathers' gift—it contains their ashes—it is the land of our nativity, and the land of our intellectual birth. We cannot consent to abandon it, for another far inferior, and which holds out to us no inducements. We do moreover protest against the arbitrary measures of our neighbor, the state of Georgia, in her attempt to extend her laws over us, in surveying our lands without our consent and in direct opposition to treaties and the intercourse law of the United States, and interfering with our municipal regulations in such a manner as to derange the regular operations of our own laws. To deliver and protect them from all these and every encroachment upon their rights, the undersigned memorialists do most earnestly pray your honorable bodies. Their existence and future happiness are at stake—divest them of their liberty and country, and you sink them in degradation, and put a check, if not a final stop, to their present progress in the arts of civilized life, and in the knowledge of the Christian religion. Your memorialists humbly conceive, that such an act would be in the highest degree oppressive. From the people of these United States, who perhaps, of all men under heaven, are the most religious and free, it cannot be expected. Your memorialists, therefore, cannot anticipate such a result. You represent a virtuous, intelligent and Christian nation. To you they willingly submit their cause for your righteous decision.

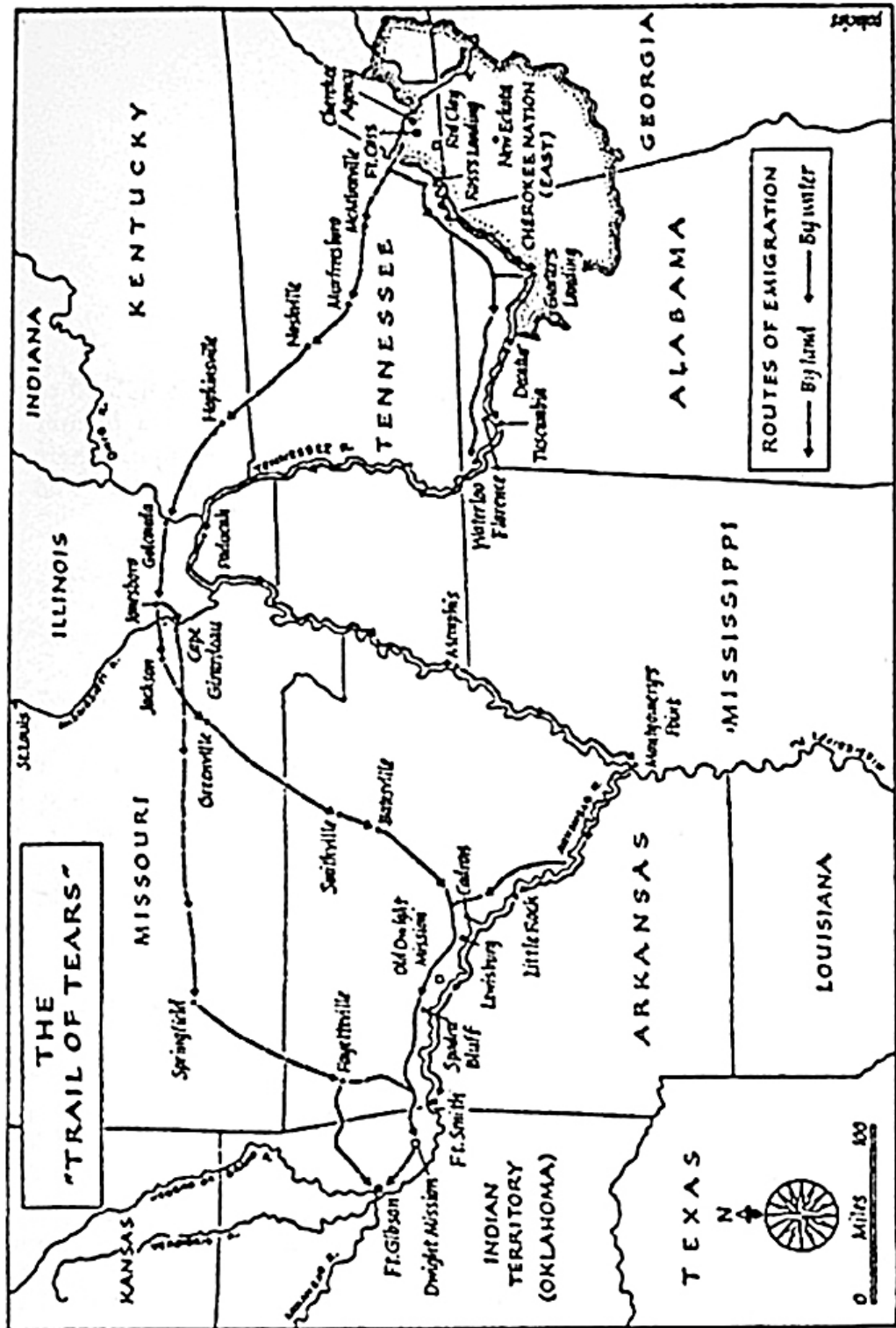
Cherokee Nation, Dec. 1829.

Source: <http://lincoln.lib.niu.edu/teachers/lesson5-groupd.html>

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Cherokee Removal: The Trail of Tears and the Loss of Freedom

Map of the Trail of Tears



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Cherokee Removal: The Trail of Tears and the Loss of Freedom

John Burnett's Story of the Trail of Tears

Available online at: <http://www.cherokee.org/Culture/128/Page/default.aspx>

John Burnett was an interpreter in the U.S. Army during the Trail of Tears. In this letter to his children on his eightieth birthday in 1890, he recounts the painful journey, from the stockade experience to the end, and expresses his horror.

The removal of Cherokee Indians from their life long homes in the year of 1838 found me a young man in the prime of life and a Private soldier in the American Army. Being acquainted with many of the Indians and able to fluently speak their language, I was sent as interpreter into the Smoky Mountain Country in May, 1838, and witnessed the execution of the most brutal order in the History of American Warfare. I saw the helpless Cherokees arrested and dragged from their homes, and driven at the bayonet point into the stockades. And in the chill of a drizzling rain on an October morning I saw them loaded like cattle or sheep into six hundred and forty-five wagons and started toward the west.

One can never forget the sadness and solemnity of that morning. Chief John Ross led in prayer and when the bugle sounded and the wagons started rolling many of the children rose to their feet and waved their little hands good-by to their mountain homes, knowing they were leaving them forever. Many of these helpless people did not have blankets and many of them had been driven from home barefooted.

On the morning of November the 17th we encountered a terrific sleet and snow storm with freezing temperatures and from that day until we reached the end of the fateful journey on March the 26th, 1839, the sufferings of the Cherokees were awful. The trail of the exiles was a trail of death. They had to sleep in the wagons and on the ground without fire. And I have known as many as twenty-two of them to die in one night of pneumonia due to ill treatment, cold, and exposure. Among this number was the beautiful Christian wife of Chief John Ross. This noble hearted woman died a martyr to childhood, giving her only blanket for the protection of a sick child. She rode thinly clad through a blinding sleet and snow storm, developed pneumonia and died in the still hours of a bleak winter night, with her head resting on Lieutenant Gregg's saddle blanket . . .

The long painful journey to the west ended March 26th, 1839, with four-thousand silent graves reaching from the foothills of the Smoky Mountains to what is known as Indian territory in the West. And covetousness on the part of the white race was the cause of all that the Cherokees had to suffer . . .

LET FREEDOM RING

Chief John Ross sent Junaluska as an envoy to plead with President Jackson for protection for his people, but Jackson's manner was cold and indifferent toward the rugged son of the forest who had saved his life. He met Junaluska, heard his plea but curtly said, "Sir, your audience is ended. There is nothing I can do for you." The doom of the Cherokee was sealed. Washington, D.C., had decreed that they must be driven West and their lands given to the white man, and in May 1838, an army of 4,000 regulars, and 3,000 volunteer soldiers under command of General Winfield Scott, marched into the Indian country and wrote the blackest chapter on the pages of American history. Men working in the fields were arrested and driven to the stockades. Women were dragged from their homes by soldiers whose language they could not understand. Children were often separated from their parents and driven into the stockades with the sky for a blanket and the earth for a pillow. And often the old and infirm were prodded with bayonets to hasten them to the stockades . . .

Murder is murder, and somebody must answer. Somebody must explain the streams of blood that flowed in the Indian country in the summer of 1838. Somebody must explain the 4,000 silent graves that mark the trail of the Cherokees to their exile. I wish I could forget it all, but the picture of 645 wagons lumbering over the frozen ground with their cargo of suffering humanity still lingers in my memory.

LET FREEDOM RING

Cherokee Removal: The Trail of Tears and the Loss of Freedom

Account of a traveler who signed himself “A Native of Maine,” *The New York Observer*, Jan. 1839

Available online at: <http://marchand.ucdavis.edu/lessons/cherokee/cherokee.html>

. . . On Tuesday evening we fell in with a detachment of the poor Cherokee Indians . . . about eleven hundred . . . We found them in the forest camped for the night . . . under a severe fall of rain . . . many of the aged Indians were suffering extremely from the fatigue of the journey, and ill health . . .

We found the road literally filled with the procession for about three miles in length. The sick and feeble were carried in wagons . . . multitudes go on foot — even aged females, apparently nearly ready to drop into the grave, were traveling with heavy burdens . . . on the sometimes frozen ground . . . with no covering for the feet . . . They buried fourteen or fifteen at every stopping place . . . Some carry a downcast dejected look . . . of despair; others a wild frantic appearance as if about to . . . pounce like a tiger upon their enemies . . .

When I read in the President’s Message that he was happy to inform the Senate that the Cherokees were peaceably and without reluctance removed — and remember that it was on the third day of December when not one of the detachments had reached their destinations . . . I wished the President could have been there that very day . . .

LET FREEDOM RING

Cherokee Removal: The Trail of Tears and the Loss of Freedom

Account by Evan Jones

Evan Jones, a Baptist missionary and advocate for the Cherokee. He was Principal Chief John Ross' personal secretary in the summer of 1838 and an assistant conductor of a detachment of 1,250 Cherokee. During the Trail of Tears, he wrote letters to the Baptist Missionary Magazine describing the conditions they faced.

Camp Hetzel, near Cleveland, June 16

The Cherokees are nearly all prisoners. They have been dragged from their houses, and encamped at the forts and military posts, all over the nation. In Georgia, especially, multitudes were allowed no time to take any thing with them, except the clothes they had on. Well-furnished houses were left a prey to plunderers, who, like hungry wolves, follow in the train of the captors. These wretches rifle the houses, and strip the helpless, unoffending owners of all they have on earth. Females, who have been habituated to comforts and comparative affluence, are driven on foot before the bayonets of brutal men. Their feelings are mortified by vulgar and profane vociferations. It is a painful sight. The property of many has been taken, and sold before their eyes for almost nothing—the sellers and buyers, in many cases, being combined to cheat the poor Indians. These things are done at the instant of arrest and consternation; the soldiers standing by, with their arms in hand, impatient to go on with their work, could give little time to transact business. The poor captive, in a state of distressing agitation, his weeping wife almost frantic with terror, surrounded by a group of crying, terrified children, without a friend to speak a consoling word, is in a poor condition to make a good disposition of his property and is in most cases stripped of the whole, at one blow. Many of the Cherokees, who, a few days ago, were in comfortable circumstances, are now victims of abject poverty. Some, who have been allowed to return home, under passport, to inquire after their property, have found their cattle, horses, swine, farming-tools, and house-furniture all gone. And this is not a description of extreme cases. It is altogether a faint representation of the work which has been perpetrated on the unoffending, unarmed and unresisting Cherokees.

The principal Cherokees have sent a petition to Gen. Scott, begging most earnestly that they may not be sent off to the west till the sickly season is over. They have not received any answer yet. The agent is shipping them by multitudes from Ross's Landing. Nine hundred in one detachment, and seven hundred in another, were driven into boats, and it will be a miracle of mercy if one-fourth escape the exposure to that sickly climate. They were exceedingly depressed, and almost in despair.

LET FREEDOM RING

July 10

The work of capturing being completed, and about 3,000 sent off, the General has agreed to suspend the further transportation of the captives till the first of September. This arrangement, though but a small favor, diffused universal joy through the camps of the prisoners. . . .

December 30

We have now been on our road to Arkansas seventy-five days, and have travelled five hundred and twenty-nine miles. We are still nearly three hundred miles short of our destination. We have been greatly favored by the kind providence of our heavenly Father. We have as yet met with no serious accident, and have been detained only two days by bad weather. It has, however, been exceedingly cold for some time past, which renders the condition of those who are but thinly clad, very uncomfortable. In order, however, to counteract the effects of the severity of the weather in some degree, we have, since the cold set in so severely, sent on a company every morning, to make fires along the road, at short intervals. This we have found a great alleviation to the sufferings of the people.

LET FREEDOM RING

Cherokee Removal: The Trail of Tears and the Loss of Freedom

Oral Accounts from Cherokee Families

AGNEW, MARY COBB

May 25, 1937. An Interview with Mary Cobb Agnew; 917 North M Street; Muskogee, Oklahoma by Works Progress Administration Field Worker L.W. Wilson. (Wilson was part of a project to interview former slaves, American Indians and pioneer settlers.)

My name was Mary Cobb and I was married to Walter S. Agnew before the Civil War.

I was born in Georgia on May 19, 1840. My mother was a Cherokee woman and my father was a white man. I was only four years old when my parents came to the Indian Territory and I am now 93 years old.

My mother and father died when I was but seven years old and I was raised by an aunt, my mother's sister. I never attended school and my education is practical except what I was taught by my husband.

Migration

My parents did not come to the Territory on the "Trail of Tears," but my grandparents on my mother's side did. I have heard them say that the United States Government drove them out of Georgia. The Cherokees had protested to the bitter end. Finally, the Cherokees knew that they had to go some place because the white men would kill their cattle and hogs and would even burn their houses in Georgia. The Cherokees came a group at a time until all got to the Territory. They brought only a few things with them traveling by wagon train. Old men and women, sick men and women would ride, but most of them walked and the men in charge drove them like cattle and many died enroute and many other Cherokees died in Tennessee waiting to cross the Mississippi River. Dysentery broke out in their camp by the river and many died, and many died on the journey, but my grandparents got through all right.

I have heard my grandparents say that after they got out of the camp, and even before they left Georgia, many Cherokees were taken sick and later died.

The Cherokees came through Tennessee, Kentucky, part of Missouri and then down to Indian Territory on the "Trail of Tears."

Some Cherokees were already in the country around Evansville, Arkansas, before my grandparents came. They called them Western Cherokees. It was in 1838 when my grandparents came and I heard them say it was in the winter time and all suffered with cold and hunger.

LET FREEDOM RING

WHITMIRE, ELIZA

February 14, 1938

Interview with Eliza Whitmire (ex-slave), Estella, Oklahoma by Works Progress Administration field worker James Careseloway. (Careseloway was part of a project to interview former slaves, American Indian, and pioneer settlers.)

Discussing her experience of the removal of the Cherokees from Georgia and other experiences of pre-war days:

My name is Eliza Whitmire. I live on a farm, near Estella. Where I settled shortly after the Civil War and where I have lived ever since. I was born in slavery in the state of Georgia, my parents having belonged to a Cherokee Indian of the name of George Sanders, who owned a large plantation in the old Cherokee Nation in Georgia. He also owned a large number of slaves, but I was too young to remember how many he owned.

I do not know the exact date of my birth, although my mother told me I was about five years old when President Andrew Jackson ordered General Scott to proceed to the Cherokee country in Georgia with two thousand troops and remove the Cherokees by force to the Indian Territory. This bunch of Indians were called the Eastern Emigrants. The Old Settler Cherokees had moved themselves in 1835 when the order was first given to the Cherokees to move out.

THE TRAIL OF TEARS

The weeks that followed General Scott's order to remove the Cherokees were filled with horror and suffering for the unfortunate Cherokees and their slaves. The women and children were driven from their homes, sometimes with blows and close on the heels of the retreating Indians came greedy whites to pillage the Indians' homes, drive off their cattle, horses and hogs, and they even rifled the graves for any jewelry or other ornaments that might have been buried with the dead.

DIVIDED INTO DETACHMENTS

The Cherokees, after being driven from their homes, were divided into detachments of nearly equal size and late in October 1838, the first detachment started, the others following one-by-one. The aged, sick and the young children rode in the wagons, which carried the provisions and bedding, while others went on foot. The trip was made in the dead of winter and many died from exposure from sleet and snow, and all who lived to make this trip, or had parents who made it, will long remember it as a bitter memory.

LET FREEDOM RING

Cherokee Removal: The Trail of Tears and the Loss of Freedom

Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock (1841)

Hitchcock went west to investigate the treatment of Cherokees during the removal and accusations of political corruption. He later published a highly critical report of the U.S. government's Indian policy. In his journal, he describes his visits to many Cherokee homes and his interactions with them. Read the sections from his journal below and then answer the questions that follow.

24th, visited the school; Miss Hannah Moore from Connecticut, is a teacher; about 25 years of age not overly handsome, has about 30 scholars, all girls except one, ages from about 6 to 16, quite fair, some with light hair and eyes, recited in arithmetic, plain addition and multiplication examples. Saw some writing, pretty fair and heard some respectable reading—mean for any school. Girls behaved well, were under good discipline, well but plainly dressed. The whole expense of this establishment is paid by the Board of Foreign Missions at Boston. Teachers have no salary but are provided with everything. Stores sent from Boston on estimates yearly from this place. Actual expense here for farming, etc., paid by drafts on Boston. I do not think I saw any but mixed blood in school. . . .

Mr. F[ield] says the people elect the members of the Committee and Council for two years; they elect the sheriffs also, two committees and council and one sheriff for each of the 8 districts. The people elect the principal chief and assistant principal chief; and the committee and council act upon the nomination of the judges by the principal chief. They have a Supreme Court and Circuit Courts and other inferior Courts. The present committee and council is the first under the new constitution. In cases of appeal from the Circuit Court, the papers are sealed and passed by the Sheriff to the upper court. All proceedings are recorded. . . .

As we approached Tallequah we met several persons riding out, two women among them, well dressed and covered with shawls, the men well dressed with hats and all are riding good horses. These people, said I, don't look very wild. Mr. Drew was flattered. Presently we met another party and among them I found one of the Vann's, the Treasurer of the Nation, whom I knew in Washington last summer. We shook hands cordially.

As we came in sight of the capital, I saw a number of log houses arranged in order with streets; or one street at all events, was clearly visible but the houses were very small. One house was painted: "The Council sit there"—"The Committee sit there"; (some distance off) "to the left, the principal chief stays"—we saw a number of people "There are cooks, public cooks we call them" said Mr. Drew, "along those houses, meat etc., is furnished to them and they cook for the public. Everybody can go to the public tables. See there," said he, "you see some eating dinner." I saw some 20 at one table. "The nation pays the expense." We passed the centre of the town, "I live" said Mr. Drew "with a cousin over yonder. You had better go to Mr. Wolfe's on the hill" pointing in the direction I was riding. He politely offered to show me everything and we parted. . . .

LET FREEDOM RING

QUESTIONS

1. Based on Hitchcock's journal (Document K), what is the state of Cherokee society?
2. List three examples of Cherokee institutions that show signs of the renewal of the society . . .
3. Why do you think the Cherokee were able to rebuild their society so quickly after the Trail of Tears?

THE AFTERMATH

Despite the hardships of the Trail of Tears and the deaths of thousands, the Cherokee Nation survived and eventually thrived in Oklahoma. The New Settlers, as the survivors of the Trail of Tears became known, were reunited with other Cherokee known as the Old Settlers, who had left earlier. Also in Oklahoma were supporters of the Treaty Party, whose leaders were assassinated by extremist New Settlers. The Civil War further divided the Cherokees between supporters of the Union and the Confederacy. The decision of John Ross and the Cherokee government to ally themselves with the Confederacy cost them dearly when the U.S. government abrogated their treaties after the war. They have, however, survived the loss of tribal government, and white settlement and statehood for Oklahoma in 1907. In the 1990s, the Cherokee numbered 250,000 in Oklahoma and 10,000 in North Carolina, a separate tribe whose ancestors retained control of their land.

The Cherokee Nation provides an extensive history on their website at:
<http://www.cherokee.org/Culture/History/Default.aspx>

LET FREEDOM RING

DISCOVERING HISTORY IN TODAY'S NEW YORK TIMES

1. Find in The Times coverage of incidents in which people have been mistreated by the government, such as violations of human or civic rights. What are the actions? Who is the target group? How has the group responded? How has the situation been characterized in the newspaper? Are all sides and all voices represented equally? Write an Op-Ed article on the topic, noting parallels to the removal of the Cherokee from their land where appropriate.
2. How does language both mirror and shape our perspectives and treatment of others? Analyze several articles, both news and opinion, in The New York Times for linguistic style, noting how people and groups are depicted, particularly minorities, by the reporters and by those quoted. Compare these articles to the language in the documents about the Trail of Tears, especially references to the Cherokee. Then rewrite one of the historical documents as you imagine it would be written today, in the style of a Times article. Finally, write a reflection on whether, and to what extent, you think popular use of language played a role in the oppression of the Cherokee.
3. In The Times, read up on a U.S. or foreign government policy designed to be “benevolent” but in reality oppressive. Then write a monologue from the point of view of a person negatively affected by the policy, and perform it for a partner acting as a government representative. In your roles, have a dialogue about the topic and see whether sharing personal experiences can lead to a new understanding or compromise.

LET FREEDOM RING

Fighting for Freedom: African-American Soldiers in the Civil War and World War II

NEW YORK STATE SOCIAL STUDIES CORE CURRICULUM, GRADE 11: UNITED STATES AND NEW YORK STATE HISTORY

UNIT TWO *Constitutional Foundations For The United States Democratic Republic*

II. The Constitution Tested: Nationalism And Sectionalism

2. Wartime actions

- d. Lincoln and Emancipation (the Emancipation Proclamation, the Gettysburg Address, African-American participation in the Civil War, the 13th Amendment)

UNIT SIX *The United States In An Age Of Global Crisis: Responsibility And Cooperation*

I. Peace In Peril: 1933 – 1950

5. The war's impact on minorities

- b. Extent of racially integrated units in the military

This lesson has two parts:

PART 1 The Civil War

PART 2 World War II

PART 1

INTRODUCTION

When the Civil War began in April of 1861, it was not a struggle to quickly end slavery. President Lincoln had made clear when running for president that he would not end slavery where it existed, but that he intended to stop its spread into the Western territories, hoping to gradually end it. The North initially went to war to save the Union, not to emancipate slaves.

The nature of the Civil War and its meaning changed as it progressed. “Contrabands” (runaway slaves who went behind Union lines) gained their freedom and the Army used them as laborers, feeding and housing them. Lincoln also saw a need to change the War’s character, turning it into a moral cause to rally the nation. In September 1862, he announced the Emancipation Proclamation, to take effect on January 1, 1863, ending slavery in areas under rebellion. It initially did not free any slaves, because it applied only to slaves in areas under Confederate control, but it made clear that a Union victory would mean the end of slavery.

In the summer of 1862, the Union, in need of new troops, authorized the enlistment of “U.S. Colored Troops,” but few African-Americans volunteered. The Emancipation Proclamation allowed the Union to recruit contrabands into the Army. They, along with free African-Americans, spurred on by generous bonuses, enlisted into the U.S. military. By the end of the Civil War, blacks comprised 10% of all Union soldiers.

LESSON III, PART 1

LET FREEDOM RING

Fighting for Freedom: African-American Soldiers in the Civil War and World War II

Advertisement: **Men of Color** (See next page for transcription)

MEN OF COLOR

TO ARMS! TO ARMS! NOW OR NEVER

This is our golden moment! The Government of the United States calls for every Able-bodied Colored Man to enter the Army for the

Three Years' Service!

And join in Fighting the Battles of Liberty and the Union. A new era is open to us. For generations we have suffered under the horrors of slavery, outrage and wrong; our manhood has been denied, our citizenship blotted out, our souls seared and burned, our spirits cowed and crushed, and the hopes of the future of our race involved in doubt and darkness. But now our relations to the white race are changed. Now, therefore, is our most precious moment. Let us rush to arms!

FAIL NOW, & OUR RACE IS DOOMED

On this the soil of our birth. We must now awake, arise, or be forever fallen. If we value liberty, if we wish to be free in this land, if we love our country, if we love our families, our children, our home, we must strike now while the country calls; we must rise up in the dignity of our manhood, and show by our own right arms that we are worthy to be freemen. Our enemies have made the country believe that we are craven cowards, without soul, without manhood, without the spirit of soldiers. Shall we die with this stigma resting upon our graves? Shall we leave this inheritance of Shame to our Children? No! a thousand times NO! We WILL Rise! The alternative is upon us. Let us rather die freemen than live to be slaves. What is life without liberty? We say that we have manhood; now is the time to prove it. A nation or a people that cannot fight may be pitied, but cannot be respected. If we would be regarded men, if we would forever silence the tongue of Calumny, of Prejudice and Hate, let us Rise Now and Fly to Arms! We have seen what Valor and Heroism our Brothers displayed at Fort Hudson and Milliken's Bend, though they are just from the galling, poisoning grasp of Slavery, they have startled the World by the most exalted heroism. If they have proved themselves heroes, cannot WE PROVE OURSELVES MEN?

ARE FREEMEN LESS BRAVE THAN SLAVES

More than a Million White Men have left Comfortable Homes and joined the Armies of the Union to save their Country. Cannot we leave ours, and swell the Hosts of the Union, to save our liberties, vindicate our manhood, and deserve well of our Country. MEN OF COLOR! the Englishman, the Irishman, the Frenchman, the German, the American, have been called to assert their claim to freedom and a manly character, by an appeal to the sword. The day that has seen an enslaved race to arms has, in all history, seen their last trial. We now see that our last opportunity has come. If we are not lower in the scale of humanity than Englishmen, Irishmen, White Americans and other Races, we can show it now. Men of Color, Brothers and Fathers, we appeal to you, by all your concern for yourselves and your liberties, by all your regard for God and humanity, by all your desire for Citizenship and Equality before the law, by all your love for the Country, to step at no subterfuge, listen to nothing that shall deter you from rallying for the Army. Come Forward, and at once Enroll your Names for the Three Years' Service. Strike now, and you are henceforth and forever Freemen!

E. D. Bassett,	Rev. J. Underdue,	P. J. Armstrong,	Rev. J. C. Gibbs,	Elijah J. Davis,
William D. Forten,	John W. Price,	J. W. Simpson,	Daniel George,	John P. Burr,
Frederick Douglass,	Augustus Dorsey,	Rev. J. B. Trusty,	Robert M. Adger,	Robert Jones,
Wm. Whipper,	Rev. Stephen Smith,	S. Morgan Smith,	Heary M. Cropper,	O. V. Catto,
D. D. Turner,	N. W. Depee,	William E. Gipson,	Rev. J. B. Reeve,	Thos. J. Dorsey,
Jas. McCrummell,	Dr. J. H. Wilson,	Rev. J. Boulden,	Rev. J. A. Williams,	I. D. CHIE,
A. S. Cassey,	J. W. Cassey,	Rev. J. Asher,	Rev. A. L. Stanford,	Jacob C. White,
A. M. Green,	James Needham,	Rev. Elshu Weaver,	Thomas J. Bowers,	Morris Hall,
J. W. Page,	Ebenezer Black,	David B. Bowser,	J. C. White, Jr.,	J. P. Johnson,
L. R. Seymour,	James R. Gordon,	Henry Minton,	Rev. J. P. Campbell,	Franklin Turner,
Rev. William T. Catto,	Samuel Stewart,	Daniel Colley,	Rev. W. J. Alston,	Jesse E. Glasgow,

A Meeting in furtherance of the above named object will be held

And will be Addressed by

U. S. Steam-Power Book and Job Printing Establishment, Ledger Buildings, Third and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia.

LET FREEDOM RING

Fighting for Freedom: African-American Soldiers in the Civil War and World War II

Transcription of Men of Color

MEN OF COLOR TO ARMS! TO ARMS! NOW OR NEVER

This is our golden moment! The Government of the United States calls for every Able-Bodied Colored Man to enter the Army for the

Three Years' Service!

And join in Fighting the Battles of Liberty and the Union. A new era is open to us. For generations we have suffered under the horrors of slavery, outrage and wrong; our manhood has been denied, our citizenship blotted out, our souls seared and burned, our spirits cowed and crushed, and the hopes of the future of our race involved in doubt and darkness. But now our relations to the white race are changed. Now, therefore, is our most precious moment. Let us rush to arms!

FAIL NOW, & OUR RACE IS DOOMED

On this the soil of our birth. We must now awake, arise, or be forever fallen. If we value liberty, if we wish to be free in this land, if we love our country, if we love our families, our children, our home, we must strike now while the country calls; we must rise up in the dignity of our manhood, and show by our own right arms that we are worthy to be freemen. Our enemies have made the country believe that we are craven cowards, without soul, without manhood, without the spirit of soldiers. Shall we die with this stigma resting upon our graves? Shall we leave this inheritance of Shame to our Children? No! a thousand times NO! We WILL Rise! The alternative is upon us. Let us rather die freemen than live to be slaves. What is life without liberty! We say that we have manhood; now is the time to prove it. A nation or a people that cannot fight may be pitied, but cannot be respected. If we would be regarded men, if we would forever silence the tongue of Calumny, of Prejudice and Hate, let us Rise Now and Fly to Arms! We have seen what Valor and Heroism our Brothers displayed at Port Hudson and Milliken's Bend, though they are just from the galling, poisoning grasp of Slavery, they have startled the World by the most exalted heroism. If they have proved themselves heroes, cannot WE PROVE OURSELVES MEN?

LET FREEDOM RING

ARE FREEMEN LESS BRAVE THAN SLAVES

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QUESTIONS (When answering questions, make sure to provide supporting evidence.)

1. Who put out this circular and what were their goals?
2. The poster states that “our manhood has been denied, our citizenship blotted out, our souls seared and burned, our spirits cowed and crushed, and the hopes of the future of our race involved in doubt and darkness. But now our relations to the white race are changed...Let us rush to arms!” Explain why people might believe that these issues would be addressed by enlisting in the Union Army. Would you have felt the same way? Why or why not?
3. Why does the circular place such a strong emphasis on the connection between military service and freedom? Critically evaluate the claim made by the circular, “Fail Now, & Our Race Is Doomed” What might support this view? What might contradict it?
4. Identify the reasons why African-Americans would or would not want to fight. If you were in this situation, what do you think you would have done?
5. Working with other classmates, create your own recruitment poster to attract African-Americans to enlist in the Civil War, and explain why you think it would be effective.

LET FREEDOM RING

Fighting for Freedom: African-American Soldiers in the Civil War and World War II

Cards of African-American Soldier



ACTIVITIES

1. Cut up the cards and distribute a set to each student or a group of students. Students should then put the cards in chronological order, explaining why they put them in that order and the story they are telling.
2. Additional activities: Pick your favorite card and write a brief newspaper article or a blog about it.
3. Examine each card carefully and identify the purpose of the card. What message is it trying to convey? What emotions is it trying to evoke? Do you think it is successful? Why or why not?

CLOSING ACTIVITY

Based on your reading of the poster and the cartoons, to what extent are African-American soldiers fighting for their own freedom, the freedom of African-Americans or for the United States? Discuss and debate.

LET FREEDOM RING

INTRODUCTION: THE FIGHT FOR EQUAL PAY FOR WHITES AND BLACKS

After President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in September 1862, the U.S. military began recruitment of African-American soldiers. Frederick Douglass had been advocating the recruitment of African-American soldiers and he enthusiastically endorsed Lincoln's call and two of his sons subsequently volunteered. (During the Civil War 179,000 African-American men served in the Army and 19,000 in the Navy. Of these, nearly 40,000 died, three quarters of them from disease or infection.)

In his call for African-Americans to enlist in the U.S. Army, Frederick Douglass wrote "I am authorized to assure you that you will receive the same wages, the same rations, the same equipments, the same protection, the same treatment, and the same bounty, secured to white soldiers," which was \$13 a month. But the Army did not keep this commitment. Instead, African-Americans were paid \$10¹ a month and then had to pay \$3 a month for their uniforms, based on an interpretation of the Militia Act of 1862 which defined them as laborers. This gross inequality became a major issue for black soldiers and many protested this wage inequality.

This policy continued until June 1864, when Congress granted equal pay. The change was eventually made retroactive.

¹ Food Prices	1863	2009
Pound of Cheese	18 cents	\$5.00
Dozen Eggs	25 cents	\$2.25
Luxury Hotel Room	\$3	\$200–300

LET FREEDOM RING

Fighting for Freedom: African-American Soldiers in the Civil War and World War II

Sergeant William Walker, a former slave, had been a civilian gunboat pilot before he enlisted into the Third South Carolina Colored Infantry, with the understanding that he would be paid the same as white soldiers. African-American soldiers were initially paid the same as their white counterparts, but the Army reduced their wages, based on the Militia Act. Walker and other soldiers protested the wage reduction, allegedly refusing to serve at lower pay, leading to his arrest for mutiny on November 19, 1863. Lieutenant-Colonel A.G. Bennett testified at his trial. The Court found Walker guilty and he was executed by “musketry” (firing squad) in 1864.

LET FREEDOM RING

158C: Court-Martial Testimony by the Commander of a South Carolina Black Regiment

Hilton Head, S.C. Jan. 11. 1864

Lt. Col. A. G. Bennett 3^d S.C. Vols, a witness for the prosecution, was duly sworn.

Question by Judge Advocate: State his conduct as far as it came under your observation on that day, and what occurred in relation thereto?

Answer: On the morning of Nov. 19. 1863, when a portion of the command was in a state of mutiny, I noticed the accused, with others of his company and regiment stack his arms, take off his accoutrements and hang them on the stack. I inquired what all this meant, and received no reply, and again repeated the question, when the accused answered by saying, that they "would not do duty any longer for seven dollars per month." I then told the men the consequences of a mutiny, and what they might expect. I told them if they did not take their arms and return to duty, I should report the case to the Post Commander and they would be shot down. While saying this, I heard the accused tell the men not to retake their arms, but leave them and go to their street, which command of his they obeyed. Again, later in the day, in the evening, I ordered the accused in arrest, and told him not to leave his tent without my permission, if he did, I should confine him to the Provost Guard. The next morning, Nov. 20th 1863, I received information he had broken his arrest, by leaving

his tent and going into another tent & company street. I then ordered him to the Provost Guard House.

Question by Judge Advocate: Where was the accused, at the time you told the men to take their arms, and told them the consequences if they did not?

Answer: He stood on the right of the line when I first saw him—he afterwards moved to the rear, moving back and forth.

Question by Judge Advocate: Who gave you the information that accused had broken his arrest?

Answer: Capt. Abeel Co "D" 3^d Regt S.C. Vols.

Question by Judge Advocate: Do you know the object of the accused passing to and fro to the rear of the company or line—if so, state how and what was the reason?

Answer: He was advising the men "to go back to their quarters without their arms."

. . . .

HD

Excerpt from testimony of Lt. Col. A. G. Bennett, 11 Jan. 1864, proceedings of general court-martial in the case of Sergeant William Walker, 3rd SC Vols., MM-1320, Court-Martial Case Files, ser. 15, RG 153 [H-27].

LET FREEDOM RING

ACTIVITIES

- A. Choose a student to read the testimony of Bennett and then have the class answer the following questions:
 1. What crime did Sergeant Walker allegedly commit?
 2. According to Colonel Bennett, what did Walker do that was mutinous?
 3. What instigated Walker's and the other soldiers' actions?
- B. After discussing Colonel Bennett's testimony, hand out the Court Martial statement of Sergeant William Walker. Have the class answer the following questions:
 1. Do you believe his statement that he "did not exercise any command over them — that I gave no word of counsel or advice to in opposition to the request made by our commanding officer . . ." Why or why not?
 2. If you believe Walker's statement, why do you think Colonel Bennett's testimony was so inaccurate? If you don't believe Walker, why do you think that the African-American soldiers claimed he was not responsible?
- C. On September 28, 1863, Corporal James Henry Gooding, an African-American soldier from Massachusetts, wrote a letter to President Abraham Lincoln protesting his and other black soldiers' unequal pay.

Have students read the letter, then answer the following questions:

1. Based on your reading of this document, was Gooding born free or into slavery?
2. Look at the signatures of Sergeant Walker and Corporal Gooding. How are the two men different?
3. Do you think Walker or Gooding wrote their own letter/statement? What is the difference in language and usage between the two?
4. Corporal Gooding writes, "We have done a Soldiers Duty, Why cant we have a Soldiers pay?" How might President Lincoln have responded to this demand?
5. After reading Gooding's letter and Walker's court-martial documents, why do you think the U.S. government changed its policy and paid African-Americans and whites equally?

VOTING RIGHTS FOR BLACK SOLDIERS

After the Civil War, President Andrew Johnson implemented Reconstruction policies that were very lenient towards the rebellious states and allowed former Confederates, who greatly restricted the rights of the freedmen (former slaves), to return to power. In response, the Congress, dominated by Radical Republicans, passed the First Reconstruction Act (a.k.a. Military Bill) on March 2, 1867. The legislation brought the former Confederate states, with the exception of Tennessee, under military control and dissolved the government of states that had been readmitted to the Union under President Johnson's policies. States would not be readmitted until (among other requirements) a constitutional convention elected by all male citizens (black or white) ratified a state constitution with the same voting requirements as the convention.

ACTIVITY

Have students read the excerpt from the First Reconstruction Act and summarize, then have students read the cartoon.

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Fighting for Freedom: African-American Soldiers in the Civil War and World War II

Court Martial statement of Sergeant William Walker

158D: Court-Martial Statement by a South Carolina
Black Sergeant

Hilton Head, S.C. Jan 12, 1864

The accused, in presenting to the Honorable the Court his defence to the charges preferred against him admits that there are many points on which he is justly blamable, and for which he cannot hope to escape without punishment. But when the Honorable Court take into consideration the circumstances connected with the gravest charge made against him—that of *Mutiny*—he trusts that an enlightened understanding of the matter may plead for him in extenuation of a crime which was more an error of judgment, (as evidenced by the fact that nearly the whole of his regiment acted in like manner as himself,) than a wilful desire to violate the law.

Before the organization of this Regiment to which I am now attached, I was a Pilot on the U.S.S. gun-boat *Wissahican*, and received from Admiral Dupont, then commanding the squadron a “pass” to come ashore and visit my family. While here the subject of joining the army was proposed to me—and although by my “pass” I was exempted from conscription—I yet, on the promise solemnly made by some who are now officers in my regiment, that I should receive the same pay and allowances as were given to all soldiers in the U. S. Army,—voluntarily entered the ranks. For an account of the treatment that has been given to the men of the 3^d Reg’t S.C. Vols. by a large majority of their officers, nine-tenths of those now in service there will be my witness that it has been tyrannical in the extreme, and totally beneath that standard of gentlemanly conduct which we were taught to believe as pertaining to officers wearing the uniform of a government that had declared a “freedom to all” as one of the cardinal points of its policy. This treatment, prepared the way for the events that occurred when it was announced to us that we could receive but \$7 per month pay.

As to my conduct on the 19th day of November last, when the Regiment stacked arms and refused farther duty, I believe that I have proved conclusively by the testimony of the non-commissioned officers and men of my company that I did not then exercise any command over them—that I gave no word of counsel or advice to them in opposition to the request made by our commanding officer—and that, for one, I carried my arms and equipments back with me to my company street. I respectfully suggest that these men are less apt to be mistaken, than officers who feared that they were facing a general mutiny, and were ignorant of the next movement that might be made by the excited crowd before them—but an assemblage who only contemplated a peaceful demand for the rights and benefits that had been guaranteed them.

My case, in connection with the events of the 19th of November last, is the case of that of all the other members of Co. “A.” On military

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law, and the rules of the service, we are entirely ignorant. Never, since the organization of the company, have the "Articles of War" been read to us nor any part of the "Regulations" even. We have been allowed to stumble along, taking verbal instructions as to the different parts of our duty, and gaining a knowledge of the services required of us as best we might. In this way many things have occurred that might have been made entirely different had we known the responsibility of our position.

In conclusion the undersigned asks respectfully that the Honorable Court will give his case as favorable a consideration as the rules of the service and the responsibility devolving upon each member of it will permit.

HDSr

his
William X Walker
mark

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Fighting for Freedom: African-American Soldiers in the Civil War and World War II

On September 28, 1863, Corporal James Henry Gooding, an African-American soldier from Massachusetts, wrote a letter to President Abraham Lincoln protesting his and other black soldiers' unequal pay.

Corporal James Henry Gooding's letter to the President

157A: Massachusetts Black Corporal to the President

Morris Island [S.C.]. Sept 28th 1863.

Your Excelency will pardon the presumption of an humble individual like myself, in addressing you. but the earnest Solicitation of my Comrades in Arms, besides the genuine interest felt by myself in the matter is my excuse, for placing before the Executive head of the Nation our Common Grievance: On the 6th of the last Month, the Paymaster of the department, informed us, that if we would decide to recieve the sum of \$10 (ten dollars) per month, he would come and pay us that sum, but, that, on the sitting of Congress, the Regt would, in his opinion, be *allowed* the other 3 (three.) He did not give us any guarantee that this would be, as he hoped, certainly *he* had no authority for making any such guarantee, and we can not suppose him acting in any way interested. Now the main question is. Are we *Soldiers*, or are we LABOURERS. We are fully armed, and equipped, have done all the various Duties, pertaining to a Soldiers life, have conducted ourselves, to the complete satisfaction of General Officers, who, were if any, prejudiced *against* us, but who now accord us all the encouragement, and honour due us: have shared the perils, and refused, And now, he is in the War: and how has he conducted himself? Let their dusky forms, rise up, out the mires of James Island, and give the answer. Let the rich mould around Wagners parapets be upturned, and there will be found an Eloquent answer. Obedient and patient, and Solid as a wall are they. all we lack, is a paler hue, and a better acquaintance with the Alphabet. Now Your Excellency, We have done a Soldiers Duty. Why cant we have a Soldiers pay? You caution the Rebel Chieftain, that the United States, knows, no distinction, in her Soldiers: She insists on having all her Soldiers, of whatever, creed or Color, to be treated, according to the usages of War. Now if the United States exacts uniformity of treatment of her Soldiers, from the Insurgents, would it not be well, and consistent, to set the example herself, by paying all her *Soldiers* alike? We of this Regt. were not enlisted under any "contraband" act. But we do not wish to be understood, as rating our Service, of more Value to the Government, than the service of the exslave, Their Service is undoubtedly worth much to the Nation, but Congress made express, provision touching their case, as slaves freed by military necessity, and assuming the Government, to be their temporary Gaurdian:— Not so with us—Freemen by birth, and consequently, *having the advantage of thinking*. and acting for ourselves. so far as

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the Laws would allow us. We do not consider ourselves fit subjects for the Contraband act. We appeal to You, Sir: as the Executive of the Nation, to have us Justly Dealt with. The Regt, do pray, that they be assured their service will be fairly appreciated, by paying them as american SOLDIERS, not as menial hierlings. Black men You may well know, are poor, three dollars per month, for a year, will suply their needy Wives, and little ones, with fuel. If you, as chief Magistrate of the Nation, will assure us, of our whole pay. We are content, our Patriotism, our enthusiasm will have a new impetus, to exert our energy more and more to aid Our Country. Not that our hearts ever flagged, in Devotion, spite the evident apathy displayed in our behalf, but We feel as though, our Country spurned us, now we are sworn to serve her.

Please give this a moments attention

ALS

James Henry Gooding

Corporal James Henry Gooding to Abraham Lincoln, 28 Sept. 1863, enclosed in [Harper & Brothers] to [Abraham Lincoln], 12 Oct. 1863, H-133 1863, Letters Received, ser. 360, Colored Troops Division, RG 94 [B-408].

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Fighting for Freedom: African-American Soldiers in the Civil War and World War II

First Reconstruction Act

March 2, 1867

An Act to provide for the more efficient Government of the Rebel States

WHEREAS no legal State governments or adequate protection for life or property now exists in the rebel States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas; and whereas it is necessary that peace and good order should be enforced in said States until loyal and republican State governments can be legally established: Therefore,

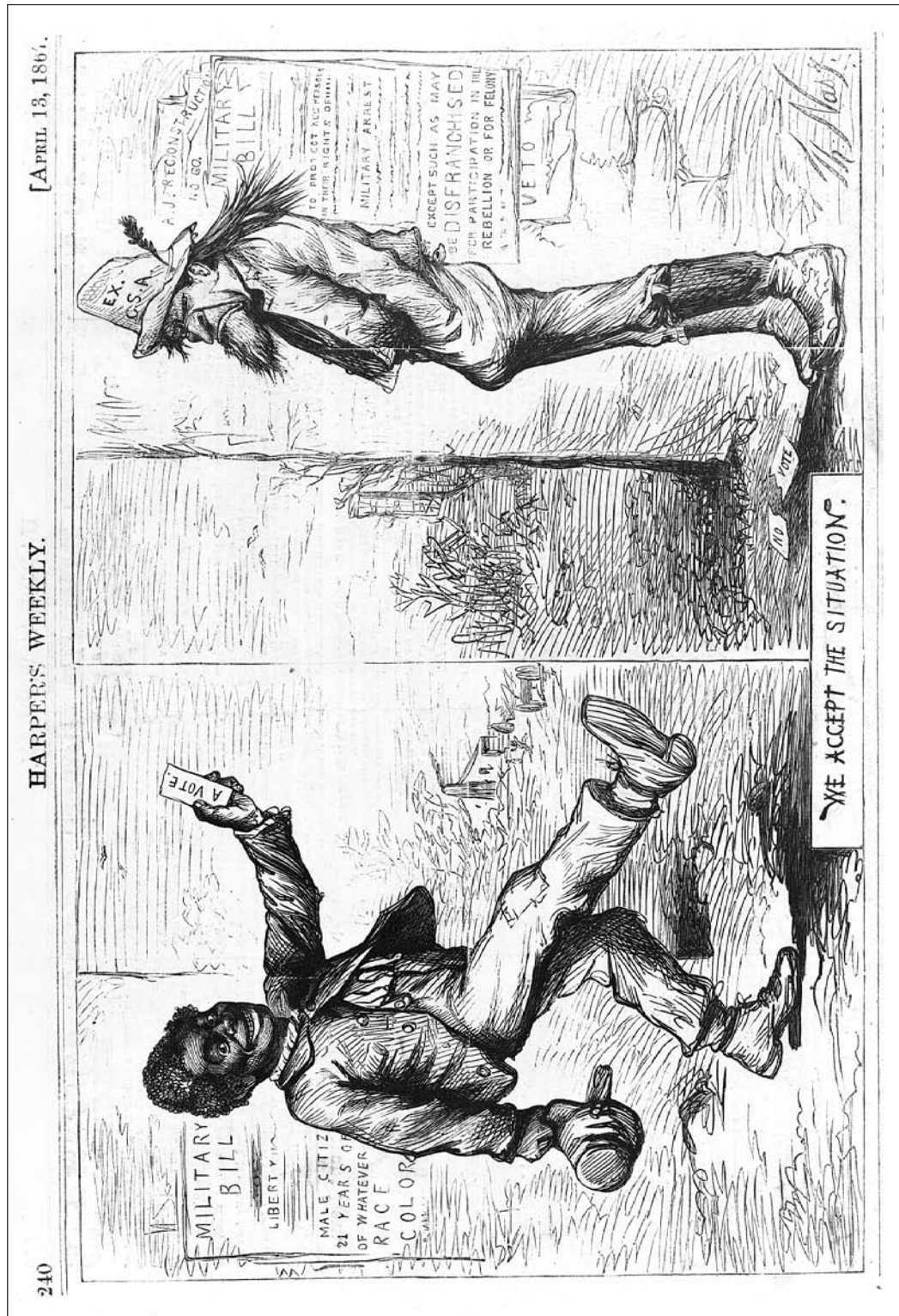
Be it enacted . . . , That said rebel States shall be divided into military districts and made subject to the military authority of the United States as hereinafter prescribed, and for that purpose Virginia shall constitute the first district; North Carolina and South Carolina the second district; Georgia, Alabama, and Florida the third district; Mississippi and Arkansas the fourth district; and Louisiana and Texas the fifth district. . .

SECTION 5: And be it further enacted, That when the people of any one of said rebel States shall have formed a constitution of government in conformity with the Constitution of the United States in all respects, **framed by a convention of delegates elected by the male citizens of said State, twenty-one years old and upward, of whatever race, color, or previous condition, who have been resident in said State for one year previous to the day of such election, except such as may be disfranchised for participation in the rebellion or for felony at common law**, and when such constitution shall provide that the elective franchise shall be enjoyed by all persons as have the qualifications herein stated for electors of delegates, and when such constitution shall be ratified by a majority of the persons voting on the question of ratification who are qualified as electors for delegates, and when such constitution shall have been submitted to Congress for examination and approval, and Congress shall have approved the same, and when said State, by a vote of its legislature elected under said constitution, shall have adopted the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, proposed by the Thirty-ninth Congress, and known as article fourteen and when said article shall have become a part of the Constitution of the United States said State shall be declared entitled to representation in Congress, and senators and representatives shall be admitted therefrom on their taking the oath prescribed by law, and then and thereafter the preceding sections of this act shall be inoperative in said State: Provided, That no person excluded from the privilege of holding office by said proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, shall be eligible to election as a member of the convention to frame a constitution for any of said rebel States, nor shall any person vote for members of such convention.

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Fighting for Freedom:
African-American Soldiers in the Civil War and World War II

We Accept the Situation, by Thomas Nast



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Cartoon Analysis Worksheet – “We Accept the Situation”

	Left side of cartoon	Right side of cartoon
Describe the man shown: age, appearance, posture, facial expression, clothing, etc.		
What is depicted on the wall behind the man? What words are prominent?		
Where is the “vote” for each man and what is its condition?		
What is in the background and in what condition does it appear to be?		
What is the overall mood of this half of the cartoon?		

QUESTIONS

1. What is the occupation or former occupation of the two men? (Hint: What does the “C.S.A.” on the hat of the man on the right stand for?)
2. What is the situation the men are accepting? Why do they have different reactions?
3. What is Nast’s message and how is he conveying it?
4. What is your reaction to the stereotypes in the cartoon?
5. What information is Nast choosing to omit or trivialize in his portrayal of the two men and their situations and why?
6. How do you think an African-American artist would depict this same subject?

SUGGESTED ACTIVITY: Create a cartoon on the same subject that reflects the perspective of an African-American veteran of the Civil War.

HOMEWORK: Draw your own cartoon about the soldiers and war and/or find a contemporary cartoon about the soldiers and war and explain its meaning.

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DISCOVERING HISTORY IN TODAY'S NEW YORK TIMES

1. Find an article in The Times about an individual or group doing something seemingly incongruous, akin to black soldiers fighting to save the very Union that denied them full citizenship rights and discriminated against them. Write an Op-Ed about the situation, drawing comparisons, as appropriate, to the African-Americans who served in the Civil War.
2. Search the Times archives online for articles about and photographs of Civil War re-enactments. Do they seem to include African-American soldiers? If so, how historically accurate is their inclusion in these activities? If not, why do you think that is? Write a letter to a re-enactment organization advising it on how to improve the historical accuracy of its events with respect to African-American soldiers.
3. The New York Times does not create editorial cartoons though it publishes some cartoons that have appeared elsewhere in its Sunday Week in Review section. Find an article in The Times that depicts a situation marked by inequality and, drawing on your understanding of the Thomas Nast cartoon, create a cartoon designed to complement the article. Be sure to mine the article for information that will enable you to fill the cartoon with specific, telling details and to use what you learn from the article to develop and convey your point of view.

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PART 2

World War II and the Fight for Freedom

INTRODUCTION: THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

Before the U.S. entered World War II, the living conditions of African-Americans had improved marginally. The number of lynchings had declined since the early twentieth century, but only after Southern states had passed Jim Crow laws that imposed rigid segregation, denial of the right to vote, economic and social subjugation, and an atmosphere of intimidation, including lynching, towards those who challenged the status quo. Many African-Americans had moved to the North, especially during and after World War I, where they gained greater political rights, but de facto (and sometimes de jure)¹ segregation and discrimination were integral to Northern culture as well. Racism and discrimination were both legal and common and many Northern cities experienced riots, especially after World War I. The New Deal had brought jobs and work relief for many African-Americans, but its agricultural policies gave no aid to sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the South and many African-Americans were evicted from their farms as a result. Literacy and the percentage of African-Americans attending school had increased and more African-Americans were in skilled or professional jobs, but most African-Americans remained impoverished as sharecroppers and tenant farmers or in low-wage unskilled jobs.

World War II began in September 1939, and in 1940, the United States had allied itself with Great Britain providing the embattled nation with economic and military support. The United States prepared for war with the racist and totalitarian Nazi Germany, but with a segregated Jim Crow army in which African-Americans in the Army were concentrated in non-combat labor battalions, while in the Navy, they were relegated to serving in menial positions like work in the mess halls. War industries created many jobs for white Americans, but due to discrimination, African-Americans were largely locked out of these better paying jobs.

Stepping into the breach was A. Philip Randolph, the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,² who built a coalition of civil rights organizations which included the NAACP and the Urban League to propose a March on Washington to demand an end to segregation in the military and the opening of war industries and whites-only unions to blacks. The March, which was to occur in May of 1941, was to bring more

¹ de facto: actually existing; de jure: according to law.

² The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was an all-black union representing Pullman Porters, who worked on the sleeping cars on long-distance trains. Their jobs closely resembled the master-servant relationship that had existed under slavery and many of the early porters were freed slaves themselves. In 1925 A. Philip Randolph, a civil rights advocate and Socialist Party leader, began the campaign to organize them, achieving the goal in 1937. The Pullman company was the largest employer of black workers and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters became a leading organization in the campaign for civil rights and economic justice. http://www.aphiliprandolphmuseum.com/evo_history4.html

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than 100,000 people to Washington, D.C. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt saw the March as a threat to national unity, forcing him to negotiate with Randolph and other civil rights leaders.

Randolph agreed to cancel the March, but only after FDR issued Executive Order 8802, which banned discrimination in the “employment of workers in defense industries and in Government, because of race, creed or national origin.” It also set up a Fair Employment Practices Committee to investigate incidents of discrimination, but with minimal enforcement power. Black employment in federal jobs did increase from 60,000 in 1941 to 200,000 in 1945. It was a small step toward racial equality, but it showed the nascent power of a growing civil rights movement, using its political and electoral power. Twenty-two years later, A. Phillip Randolph was an organizer and speaker at another March on Washington, where Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his “I Have a Dream” speech from the Lincoln Memorial to hundreds of thousand on the Mall. (To hear King’s speech go to: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkihadream.htm>)

After cancellation of the 1941 March on Washington, Randolph maintained his organized groups as the March on Washington Movement, and rallies were held throughout the nation. Many African-Americans and liberal whites also joined in support of the campaign for a Double V for “victory at home against prejudice and discrimination as well as victory abroad against the enemies of democracy.”¹

EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802 (DOCUMENT I)

1. Begin class by telling students what an Executive Order is.
According to Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary of Law, © 1996
An executive order is: an order issued by a government’s executive on the basis of authority specifically granted to the executive branch (as by the U.S. Constitution or a congressional act)
2. What is the purpose of Executive Order 8802?
3. The March on Washington Movement demanded many actions from President Roosevelt. Which of these demands were met and which were not?
4. What are the stated justifications for FDR’s Executive Order? Based on your reading of Randolph’s article, what other reasons did President Roosevelt have for issuing the Order?
5. The Executive Order created a Committee on Fair Employment Practices (FEPC). What was the mission of the FEPC? Based on its enforcement powers, how effective do you think the FEPC was?

¹ Pittsburgh Courier, February 7, 1942.

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World War II and the Fight for Freedom

A. Philip Randolph, “Call to Negro America to March on Washington for Jobs and Equal Participation in National Defense,” *Black Worker* 14 (May 1941):n.p.]

We call upon you to fight for jobs in National Defense. We call upon you to struggle for the integration of Negroes in the armed forces . . .

We call upon you to demonstrate for the abolition of Jim-Crowism in all Government departments and defense employment.

This is an hour of crisis. It is a crisis of democracy. It is a crisis of minority groups. It is a crisis of Negro Americans. What is this crisis?

To American Negroes, it is the denial of jobs in Government defense projects. It is racial discrimination in Government departments. It is widespread Jim-Crowism in the armed forces of the Nation.

While billions of the taxpayers’ money are being spent for war weapons, Negro workers are finally being turned away from the gates of factories, mines and mills—being flatly told, “NOTHING DOING.” Some employers refuse to give Negroes jobs when they are without “union cards,” and some unions refuse Negro workers union cards when they are “without jobs.”

What shall we do?
What a dilemma!
What a runaround!
What a disgrace!
What a blow below the belt!

Though dark, doubtful and discouraging, all is not lost, all is not hopeless. Though battered and bruised, we are not beaten, broken, or bewildered.

Verily, the Negroes’ deepest disappointments and direst defeats, their tragic trials and outrageous oppressions in these dreadful days of destruction and disaster to democracy and freedom, and the rights of minority peoples, and the dignity and independence of the human spirit, is the Negroes’ greatest opportunity to rise to the highest heights of struggle for freedom and justice in Government, in industry, in labor unions, education, social service, religion, and culture.

With faith and confidence of the Negro people in their own power for self-liberation, Negroes can break down that [sic] barriers of discrimination against employment in National Defense. Negroes can kill the deadly serpent of race hatred in the Army, Navy, Air and Marine Corps, and smash through

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and blast the Government, business and labor-union red tape to win the right to equal opportunity in vocational training and re-training in defense employment.

Most important and vital of all, Negroes, by the mobilization and coordination of their mass power, can cause PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO ISSUE AN EXECUTIVE ORDER ABOLISHING DISCRIMINATIONS IN ALL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT, ARMY, NAVY, AIR CORPS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE JOBS.

Of course, the task is not easy. In very truth, it is big, tremendous and difficult.

It will cost money.

It will require sacrifice.

It will tax the Negroes' courage, determination and will to struggle. But we can, must and will triumph.

The Negroes' stake in national defense is big. It consists of jobs, thousands of jobs. It may represent millions, yes hundreds of millions of dollars in wages. It consists of new industrial opportunities and hope. This is worth fighting for.

But to win our stakes, it will require an "all-out, "bold and total effort and demonstration of colossal proportions."

Negroes can build a mammoth machine of mass action with a terrific and tremendous driving and striking power that can shatter and crush the evil fortress of race prejudice and hate, if they will only resolve to do so and never stop, until victory comes.

Dear fellow Negro Americans, be not dismayed by these terrible times. You possess power, great power. Our problem is to harness and hitch it up for action on the broadest, daring and most gigantic scale.

In this period of power politics, nothing counts but pressure, more pressure, and still more pressure, through the tactic and strategy of broad, organized, aggressive mass action behind the vital and important issues of the Negro. To this end, we propose that ten thousand Negroes MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS IN NATIONAL DEFENSE AND EQUAL INTEGRATION IN THE FIGHTING FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

An "all-out" thundering march on Washington, ending in a monster and huge demonstration at Lincoln's Monument will shake up white America.

It will shake up official Washington.

It will give encouragement to our white friends to fight all the harder by our side, with us, for our righteous cause.

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It will gain respect for the Negro people.
It will create a new sense of self-respect among Negroes.
But what of national unity?

We believe in national unity which recognizes equal opportunity of black and white citizens to jobs in national defense and the armed forces, and in all other institutions and endeavors in America. We condemn all dictatorships, Fascist, Nazi and Communist. We are loyal, patriotic Americans all.

But if American democracy will not defend its defenders; if American democracy will not protect its protectors; if American democracy will not give jobs to its toilers because of race or color; if American democracy will not insure equality of opportunity, freedom and justice to its citizens, black and white, it is a hollow mockery and belies the principles for which it is supposed to stand

Today we call on President Roosevelt, a great humanitarian and idealist, to . . . free American Negro citizens of the stigma, humiliation and insult of discrimination and Jim-Crowism in Government departments and national defense.

The Federal Government cannot with clear conscience call upon private industry and labor unions to abolish discrimination based on race and color as long as it practices discrimination itself against Negro Americans.

http://www.wwnorton.com/college/history/archive/resources/documents/ch30_02.htm

VOCABULARY

Jim Crowism, abolition

QUESTIONS

1. What is the crisis of “Negro Americans”?
2. What is Randolph calling on President Roosevelt to do?
3. In Randolph’s mind, what power do Negroes have to achieve their goals?
4. What does Randolph mean by “national unity” and how does his vision conflict with conditions in the United States in 1941?
5. Randolph declares that African-Americans are “loyal, patriotic Americans, all.” Do you believe that he was a loyal, patriotic American? Explain.

LET FREEDOM RING

World War II and the Fight for Freedom

Executive Order 8802

EXECUTIVE ORDER

REAFFIRMING POLICY OF FULL PARTICIPATION IN
THE DEFENSE PROGRAM BY ALL PERSONS, REGARDLESS
OF RACE, CREED, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, AND
DIRECTING CERTAIN ACTION IN FURTHERANCE OF
SAID POLICY.

WHEREAS it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the Nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

WHEREAS there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in defense production solely because of considerations of race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of workers' morale and of national unity:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, and as a prerequisite to the successful conduct of our national defense production effort, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries ^{or Government} because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

And it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

LET FREEDOM RING

- 2 -

2. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

3. There is established in the Office of Production Management a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which shall consist of a chairman and four other members to be appointed by the President. The chairman and members of the Committee shall serve as such without compensation but shall be entitled to actual and necessary transportation, subsistence and other expenses incidental to performance of their duties. The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid. The Committee shall also recommend to the several departments and agencies of the Government of the United States and to the President all measures which may be deemed by it necessary or proper to effectuate the provisions of this order.



THE WHITE HOUSE,

June 25, 1941.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
FILED AND MADE AVAILABLE
FOR PUBLIC INSPECTION

JUN 25 12 17 PM '41

IN THE DIVISION OF THE
FEDERAL REGISTER

LESSON III, PART 2

LET FREEDOM RING

World War II and the Fight for Freedom

"Why Should We March?," c. 1842-43

What Are Our Immediate Goals?

1. To mobilize five million Negroes into one militant mass for pressure.
2. To assemble in Chicago the last week in May, 1943, for the celebration of

"WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO" WEEK

And to ponder the question of Non-Violent Civil Disobedience and Non-Cooperation, and a Mass March On Washington.

WHY SHOULD WE MARCH?



15,000 Negroes Assembled at St. Louis, Missouri
 20,000 Negroes Assembled at Chicago, Illinois
 23,500 Negroes Assembled at New York City
 Millions of Negro Americans all Over This Great
 Land Claim the Right to be Free!

FREE FROM WANT!
 FREE FROM FEAR!
 FREE FROM JIM CROW!

"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War
 for Democracy!" — A. Philip Randolph

What Is The March On Washington Movement?

It is an all Negro Mass Organization to win the full benefits of democracy for the Negro people. It is pro-Negro but not anti-white nor anti-American.

What Has The Movement Done?

1. Won Executive Order No. 8802 from the President of the United States of America barring discrimination in war industries, government agencies and defense training because of race, creed, or national origin, the only such order issued since the Emancipation Proclamation.
2. Won the appointment of the Fair Employment Practices Committee to enforce this order.
3. Won thousands of jobs for Negroes in defense industries.
4. Brought together millions of Negroes in key cities all over the United States of America to protest against injustice and to demand redress of their grievances.

What Is Its Purpose?

1. To develop a disciplined and unified program of action for the masses of Negro people directed toward abolishing all social, economic and political discrimination.
2. To develop a strategy for non-violent struggle against jim crow and for the full integration of Negroes into every phase of American life.
3. To develop leadership from the mass of Negro people to struggle in their own behalf.

Who Can Belong?

Every Negro who believes in our purpose and who wants freedom so much that he is willing to struggle for his own liberation.

Where Can You Join?

There is a Branch of our Movement in your city. If there is not, you and your friends may start one by writing to the national office.

How Much Does It Cost?

The yearly membership fee is ten cents per person, five cents of which is to remain in your local treasury and five cents to be sent to the National office.

Who Are Its Officers?

A. Philip Randolph, National Director
 B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary
 E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary

I enclose my membership fee in the Cause For Freedom—ten cents (10c).

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____

Mail to: E. Pauline Myers, March On Washington Movement, Hotel Theresa Building, 2084 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.

LET FREEDOM RING

QUESTIONS

1. What does A. Philip Randolph mean when he writes “Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War for Democracy.”
2. The document calls for a “We Are Americans – Too” Week. Why would African-Americans need to proclaim that they are Americans? How would you relate this to your own life?
3. How does the March on Washington Movement propose to fight against Jim Crow? Do you know of other leaders or movements in history who used similar strategies?
4. In an address before Congress on January 6, 1941, President Roosevelt said: “We look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression — everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way — everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want . . . everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear . . . anywhere in the world.” How does this flyer use the Four Freedoms to support civil rights for African-Americans?

HOMEWORK

Where were the headquarters of the March on Washington Movement? Find out what other famous event or person is associated with that building.

LET FREEDOM RING

INTRODUCTION: THE HARLEM RIOTS OF 1943

During World War II, many African-Americans migrated to cities to look for work in the booming military industries. Their arrival heightened racial tensions, as blacks, whites and Latinos competed for jobs, housing and other social and economic resources. The Jim Crow military mirrored the racism of society at large, placing African-Americans in segregated units, many of them located in the South. In 1943, these tensions exploded and race riots broke out throughout the United States including Los Angeles; Beaumont, Texas; Mobile, Alabama; and Detroit.

On August 1, riots broke out when Marjorie Polite left a hotel in Harlem, dissatisfied with her service. An altercation broke out with the elevator operator from whom she demanded her one dollar tip back. Police patrolman James Collins tried to calm her, but arrested her when she began shouting and cursing at him. Also in the hotel was Army Private Robert Bandy, who interceded on Polite's behalf. Collins claimed that Bandy hit him with his nightstick, at which time Collins drew his gun. As Polite and Bandy ran away from the hotel, Collins shot Bandy, lightly injuring him.

Harlem exploded, amid false reports that a black soldier was shot dead by a white cop. Thousands massed on the street in anger and broke store windows. Looters, vandals and arsonists took over the streets until 5,000 police were brought into Harlem along with mostly black volunteers deputized to patrol the streets. When the riot ended the next day, six were dead (all blacks), 185 were injured and there was an estimated \$5 million of damage.

Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia received universal praise for New York's handling of the riots, but they highlighted the constricted freedom of African-Americans in Harlem, in the military and in the United States at large. The New York City branch of the National Council of Negro Women made this very clear in a letter to La Guardia on August 6, 1943.

LET FREEDOM RING

World War II and the Fight for Freedom

Letter to Mayor LaGuardia

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
METROPOLITAN COUNCIL
NEW YORK CITY
112

August 6, 1943

The Honorable Fiorella H. LaGuardia
Mayor, City of New York
City Hall
New York City

Dear Mayor LaGuardia:

The organizations listed below deplore and condemn the lawless and irresponsible manifestations indulged in by the citizens of this community on Sunday and Monday, August 1st and 2nd, resulting in the death and injury of numerous persons, destruction of property and cessation of normal activities. Such outbursts have far-reaching affects and were the acts of impetuous and reckless persons.

This violent disregard of law and order stems, however, from roots which intertwine deep into the lives of Negroes and into every phase of community and civic life. The unrestrained and spontaneous action of the crowds who ran from avenue to avenue, from street to street destroying and stealing, was the vendetta of the ignorant, the forgotten, the undisciplined and the unwanted. The origin of race riots and community explosions such as this most recent one springs out of a long, long history of accumulated wrongs, uncorrected. Bold, brazen and humiliating discriminations within the Federal Government itself and filtering down through every state and locality, the endless exploitation which makes the Negro the victim of all that is undesirable, weakening, and self-destructive, the general attitude of apathy and indifference to the most elemental rights of the Negro, and the hypocrisies of white America in their preachments on democracy have borne bitter fruit.

There are immediate causes which provoked this unfortunate tragedy. The unexplainable silence of the President of the United States when asked by organizations representing thousands of persons to make a radio or public address following the riots in Mobile, Alabama, Beaumont, Texas and Detroit, Michigan; the disgraceful and contemptible treatment of Negro soldiers, the general confinement of Negroes to the upper section of New York City, the very name of which, thanks to our metropolitan press, is synonymous with murder, "muggings," ignorance and prostitution and the general feeling that Negroes can be mistreated with impunity, are conditions, the impact of which has aroused most Negroes in one way or another. The irresponsible and less patient individual expresses his feelings in lawlessness and defiance. The thoughtful, rational, intelligent portion of the Negro population attempt to secure relief from these conditions through every acceptable and recognized technique. The latter have used the device of inter-racial conferences, publicized studies, factual newspaper and magazine articles, radio addresses, conducted forums, petitions, delegations to government officials, the theatre and all other means available to create an understanding, enlightened and articulate public opinion. Through these techniques, remedies, sound as well as lasting eventually evolve, but the remedies are so slow in materializing that many of the general populace become discouraged - lose confidence in their leaders - repudiate the orthodox methods of race development - and finally, in despair, take matters into their own hands.

-1-

LESSON III, PART 2

LET FREEDOM RING

The Honorable F. H. LaGuardia

-2-

August 6, 1943

There must be no retreat from orderly processes, but those processes must be speeded up, they must not wait for a crisis to precipitate action. To delay, to propitiate and to lull oneself into the belief that because there is no open rebellion, all is well and under control is a fatal assumption. There are remedies which must be adopted forthwith and without delay!

These recent incidents are not solely the malicious and mischievous misdoings of imprudent youth. This is an echo of what lies in the hearts and minds of millions of American Negroes whose customary restraint, patience, and good will is all that has stood between them and racial outbreaks of a character too terrible to be recorded.

The people of good will of both races want to work out the destiny of the Negro on a basis of equality, without equivocation and temporizing. There is no other solution nor any other way that this can be achieved except through cooperative inter-racial management. In order to affect some immediate adjustments, we recommend:

1. That apartments and living space be made available to Negroes in every section of the city, throughout the five boroughs,
2. That arbitrary rent levels be adopted through a program of rent control so that Harlem and similar sections have the same rent level,
3. Sufficient and acceptable accommodations be provided on a city-wide basis for Negro members of the armed forces and their families visiting in New York City, and immediate abolition of discrimination in the armed forces,
4. Provisions be made whereby draftees of teen age rejected by the army be rehabilitated through proper medical care and trained in useful work under the auspices of the military,
5. Supervised recreational facilities for teen age boys and girls,
6. Official recognition of, and action by, on all governmental levels, of citizens' committees consisting of men and women of all races and creeds who are following a program designed to correct injustices and help secure the development and inclusion into full citizenship of the Negro and other minority groups.

Respectfully yours,

Vivian C. Mason
Vivian C. Mason
President, Metropolitan Chapter
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

Ruth Roberts
Ruth Roberts
President
The Citizens Committee

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LET FREEDOM RING

QUESTIONS

1. List three origins of the riots. What is meant by the phrase “[they] have borne bitter fruit”?
2. According to the signers of the letter, what were the “immediate causes which provoked this unfortunate tragedy?” What is the relationship between these immediate causes and the incident at the hotel?
3. What are the recommendations of the National Council of Negro Women to Mayor La Guardia? Why might these alleviate the tensions that caused the riot?

LET FREEDOM RING

World War II and the Fight for Freedom

INTRODUCTION: THE JIM CROW ARMY

African-Americans in Harlem were fully aware of the conditions that their husbands, sons and brothers faced in the Jim Crow army, and The Amsterdam News, Harlem's weekly newspaper, reported these conditions to its readers. Roy Wilkins,¹ assistant secretary of the NAACP and editor of its magazine, called Crisis, wrote a column called "The Watchtower" for The Amsterdam News. In his May 22, 1943, column, two months before the riots, he describes the conditions that soldiers from Harlem endured in Southern military bases.

Saturday, May 22, 1943

Amst. News p. 9

The Watchtower

THE letters from Harlem's own soldiers, members of the 369th Coast Artillery, anti-aircraft, make infuriating reading. These men from a regiment of illustrious fame in the first World war are experts in their work in this war. They went into training in August and September, 1940. In 1941 they went to Hawaii and perfected themselves there in actual defense anti-aircraft duty, adding to their reputation as a genuine "crack" outfit.



Mr. Wilkins

Now, 200 of them have been sent back to the United States along with ten of their officers (all colored) to help train other units. But where were they sent? To one of the "hell-holes" of America. Camp Stewart, Georgia! A Harlem man who was discharged from the army because he was over 38 years of age calls Camp Stewart, where he served, "not the army, but a concentration camp in Georgia."

The evidence seems to be that the officials at Camp Stewart began a deliberate campaign at once to crush, humiliate and do violence to the 369th soldiers because they were from New York, because they had been stationed in Hawaii, and because they knew more, from actual experience, about handling anti-aircraft guns and equipment than the white commissioned officers who were their superiors.

As soon as they arrived, according to one report, they were kept standing in the rain for several hours. The latest report is that they are in a garage with a leaking roof, although regular barracks are said to be available.

One letter to Harlem home folks quotes a Mississippi white officer as saying: "This is Camp Stewart, the toughest army camp in the country. The army regulations don't ap-

By Roy Wilkins

ply here; we make our own rules, so get out!"

This situation brings up the old question of why the War department sends northern Negro troops to be trained in the South. If the department is determined to follow this policy, then it would seem that it is obligated to insist that its soldiers be treated as soldiers and not as slaves.

The government brought several thousand Jamaica, B.W.I. Negroes over here to work as farm laborers. But it was careful to explain that these people were not accustomed to racial discrimination and must be handled accordingly. But for its own Negroes, the government, through the War department, says not a word. Everyone knows that Negroes reared, educated and trained in New York State resent bitterly and violently the treatment handed out by Mississippi and Georgia whites. There is no way on earth for the War department to make them like it. There is no law which says they have to stand it indefinitely. These men from Harlem know that men are just men and that whiteness does not make a man superior. That may be the thought in Mississippi, but not in Manhattan. We know better.

The army keeps ducking behind its old argument that it cannot solve social problems. All right. Then it ought not create social problems. If it feels it cannot make the white southerners change their ways, then it ought not expect the northern Negroes to change their ways. Why should they?

The War department has just taken fifteen Negro editors to witness maneuvers of Negro combat troops in Louisiana. Every possible arrangement was made for the comfort and convenience of the visitors. Every courtesy was extended them. All that can be undone overnight by Camp Stewart and similar places. It is no exaggeration to say that the men of the 369th and other Negro troops, as well as Negro civilians, have concluded that the fight for freedom, literally as well as figuratively, might as well begin at home as overseas.

¹ Wilkins would become Executive Secretary of the NAACP and one of the major figures of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 60s.

LET FREEDOM RING

QUESTIONS

1. How did the military treat African-American soldiers in the spring of 1943?
2. What does Wilkins see as the cause of this treatment and how does he propose to remedy it?
3. Wilkins refers to the different treatment “given to several thousand Jamaican, B.W.I. Negroes” working as farm laborers. Why did the U.S. government want them to be treated differently? (Hint: Jamaica was a colony of Great Britain, a U.S. ally.)
4. Wilkins writes that “these men from Harlem know that men are just men.” Is their belief also their reality in Harlem?

LET FREEDOM RING

World War II and the Fight for Freedom

Because of the Jim Crow military and their status as second-class citizens within the United States, many African-Americans tried to avoid military service. One of the most famous was a young trumpet player named Dizzy Gillespie, who would become a pioneer of Be-Bop jazz. (See http://www.pbs.org/jazz/biography/artist_id_gillespie_dizzy.htm for more information.) On the road with the Cab Calloway band for much of the year, he hoped to avoid his draft notice. When the letter finally caught up with him, he returned home to New York City, where he made his feelings known to the Army.

**From “To Be or Not to Bop: Memoirs of Dizzy Gillespie with Al Fraser”
New York: Da Capo Press, 1979, p. 119-120.**

World War II was also on about that time and the general attitude was, “Ahhh, they got me!”

There were all kinds of stories coming out. I saw a lot of stories about how they wouldn’t respect a black U.S. soldier down South. He had to go in the “colored” entrance and everything, and he’s out there dying for his country. It was awful. It was a general thing. When he’d come up North to come home on furlough, he’d have to ride in a Jim-crow car to come up, Jim-crow buses too.

I already had in mind what I would do if they called me . . .

[T]hey started asking my views about fighting. “Well, look, at this time, in this stage of my life here in the United States whose foot has been in my ass? The white man’s foot has been in my a__ hole!” I said. “Now, you’re speaking of the enemy. You’re telling me the German is the enemy. At this point, I can never even remember having met a German. So if you put me out there with a gun in my hand and tell me to shoot at the enemy, I’m liable to create a case of ‘mistaken identity,’ of who I might shoot.” They looked around at one another . . .

They finally classified me 4F because I was crazy enough not to want to fight, in anybody’s army. And especially not at that time. Shoot, I was just beginning to enjoy life.

QUESTIONS

1. Why is Gillespie trying to avoid serving in the Army?
2. Who is the real enemy in Gillespie’s mind?
3. Do you believe that Gillespie’s statement about “mistaken identity” was the truth or an exaggeration made for effect?

LET FREEDOM RING

DISCOVERING HISTORY IN TODAY'S NEW YORK TIMES

1. Follow The New York Times's coverage of the U.S. military's recruitment efforts, and compare them to the World War II recruitment posters. Look too at Times photographs of American soldiers. Then write an analysis of the current military recruitment materials and of the image projected to the public by promotional materials and photographic images in the media. Questions to consider include the following: Who seems to be the target audience? How can you tell? What tactics are used, both in text and visuals? What messages are being conveyed? Why do you think the military has decided to try to recruit this way? How do you think news coverage affects recruitment?
2. How many African-American soldiers are currently fighting in conflicts abroad? Where in the world is the U.S. military fighting, and what are we fighting for? What is the status of African-Americans in the U.S.? Read Times articles on these topics, and then create a visual and textual presentation describing the contemporary context for African-American soldiers fighting abroad. Be sure to explore any seeming ironies, like that of American blacks living under Jim Crow being asked to fight for the U.S. and against racist Nazi Germany.
3. Find a New York Times article about how President Barack Obama responds to and addresses a controversial sociopolitical issue. What is the issue? What is his stance and/or policy on the matter? How did he address it? How was his reaction received by all interested parties? Why? How effective was his action? How does he handle strong opposition? How does his performance compare with President Roosevelt's handling of the March on Washington? Write a letter to the editor responding to the president's handling of the situation.

LET FREEDOM RING

Japanese-American Internment: Suppressing Freedom in the Name of National Security

**NEW YORK STATE SOCIAL STUDIES CORE CURRICULUM, GRADE 11:
UNITED STATES HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT**

UNIT 6 *The United States in an Age of Global Crisis:
Responsibility and Cooperation Peace and Peril 1933-1950*

I. Peace In Peril: 1933 – 1950

5. The War's Impact on Minorities

- a. Incarceration of West Coast Japanese-Americans; Executive Order 9066;
Korematsu v. United States (1944)

This lesson has two parts:

PART 1 Japanese Internment Camps

PART 2 Supreme Court Decision Korematsu v. United States (1944)

PART 1

OBJECTIVES

- Student will interpret images to understand the condition of the Japanese internment camps
- Students will understand the impact of internment on the lives of the Japanese
- Students will use analysis of documents to assume the role of Japanese women and reflect on their experience
- Students will review and react to Congressional findings on the wartime internment of the Japanese
- Students will gain an historical understanding of why Japanese-Americans were interned as a group, but German-Americans or Italian-Americans were not

ACTIVITIES

I. Opening activity – group activity

- A. Have students read an overview of the interment such as
<http://www.landmarkcases.org/korematsu/background3.html>
- B. Divide class into groups.
- C. Distribute documents and guided questions.
Have students review documents and draw conclusions based on their findings.

II. Discuss the opening activity

Review findings with students. What conclusions can be drawn from the students' findings? Students should write one concluding statement or generalization of Japanese-American internment.

LET FREEDOM RING

III. Reflection and review

Have students pick a person in a photo or document and write diary entries describing their experiences before and during their internment.

IV. Concluding assignment or homework

Have students read The New York Times article of February 25, 1983, by Judith Miller, “Wartime Internment of Japanese was ‘Grave Injustice,’ Panel Says.” and answer the questions about it provided on the handout.

V. Extension activities

View “Come See the Paradise”, directed by Alan Parker, starring Dennis Quaid and Tamlyn Tomita, The CBS/Fox Company © 1991.

DISCOVERING HISTORY IN TODAY'S NEW YORK TIMES

1. Throughout history, internment has been a method used to confine individuals and sometimes entire populations that were considered to be a threat to a country. Find an article in The New York Times that discusses a similar type of confinement today, and write an editorial that compares and contrasts what you understand to be the situation in the article and what you know about the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II.
2. Find a photograph in The New York Times of someone who is imprisoned, either literally or figuratively (such as someone trapped in a personal situation that seems impossible to get out of or remedy). Read the related article so that you can best understand his or her situation. Then, write a first-person journal entry from his or her perspective, including why this situation is so confining and what efforts have been made to change it.
3. Find an article in The New York Times about a situation in today's news that you feel are “grave injustices” to a person or a group of people. Create a “5 W's and H” chart, explaining: who is experiencing the injustice and at the hands of whom, what is unjust about the situation, where and when this is occurring, why the injustice is being “allowed” by those who know about it, and how the person or persons have attempted to (or have succeeded in) finding justice.

LET FREEDOM RING

Japanese-American Internment: Suppressing Freedom in the Name of National Security

The New York Times article of February 25, 1983, by Judith Miller,
"Wartime Internment of Japanese was 'Grave Injustice,' Panel Says."

Wartime Internment of Japanese Was 'Grave Injustice,' Panel Says

By JUDITH MILLER Special to The New York Times

New York Times (1857-Current file); Feb 25, 1983; ProQuest Historical Newspapers The New York Times (1851 - 2005)
pg. A1

Wartime Internment of Japanese Was 'Grave Injustice,' Panel Says

By JUDITH MILLER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24 — A Congressional commission concluded today that the relocation and internment of 120,000 Japanese-American citizens and resident aliens in World War II was a "grave injustice."

It said the move was motivated by "racial prejudice, war hysteria and failure of political leadership," and not by military considerations.

"The record does not permit the conclusion that military necessity war-

Excerpts from report, page A12.

ranted the exclusion of ethnic Japanese from the West Coast," the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians said in a 467-page report released today.

The commission called the exclusion, relocation and detention programs "unique in our history." It criticized Congress, the Supreme Court, the press and others for advocating or permitting the "grave injustice" to Japanese-Americans.

But it placed particular blame on President Roosevelt. Among the conclusions of the report, entitled "Personal Justice Denied," the commission said Roosevelt delayed the release of Japanese-Americans from internment camps until after the 1944 Presidential elections for political reasons.

The report's findings were unanimously endorsed today by the nine commission members. Established by Congress in 1980, the commission spent \$1.3 million conducting its study of the factors that led to the internment.

In 1948, Congress authorized some

modest compensation for property losses suffered by some of the Japanese-Americans interned at the time, but did not look into whether the internment program was justified. The appropriation was made under the Japanese-American Claims Act and provided \$132 million for about 23,000 property claims.

Congress instructed the commission to recommend "appropriate" action, which, according to members of the commission, may well include compensation for the Japanese-Americans and their heirs. While the report today did not recommend additional cash compensation, the panel said it would decide whether to endorse such compensation before its mandate expires in June.

The report received a decidedly mixed reception. Ron Ikejiri, a Washington representative of the Japanese-American Citizens League, a San Francisco-based group that lobbied Congress to authorize the inquiry, said he

Continued on Page A12, Column 1

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LET FREEDOM RING

1940's Internment Is Condemned

Continued From Page A1

was "very pleased" by the report's criticism of American political leaders and institutions of that era.

Others expressed indignation. John J. McCloy, a lawyer in New York who served as Assistant Secretary of War under Roosevelt, called the report "a shocking outrage."

"The reputations of many honorable men responsible for the nation's security during the war, many of whom are dead and cannot defend themselves, have been assailed," he said. "The report's conclusions are well and good in hindsight, but none of us had that at the time."

In its report, the commission maintains that in February 1942, 10 weeks after Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt signed an executive order authorizing the exclusion of Japanese-Americans from California "without any careful or thorough review of the situation." Roosevelt and other senior Government officials remained silent, it said, when Navy Secretary Frank Knox, contrary to the facts, asserted that the Pearl Harbor attack had

been aided by sabotage and espionage by ethnic Japanese in Hawaii.

"All of this was done despite the fact that not a single documented act of espionage, sabotage or fifth column activity was committed by an American citizen of Japanese ancestry or by a resident Japanese alien on the West

Indeed, the report said, senior Government officials "ignored" reports by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and members of naval intelligence who concluded that nothing beyond careful watching of suspicious people or individual reviews of loyalty was called for.

The head of the commission is Joan Z. Bernstein, an attorney with Wald, Harkrader & Ross and a former general counsel for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Other commission members are Representative Dan Lungren, Republican of California; former Senator Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts; former Representative Robert F. Drinan of Massachusetts; Arthur S. Fleming, a former Secretary of Education; former Associate Justice Arthur J. Goldberg; the Rev. I.V. Gromoff; Judge William M. Marutani, and former Senator Hugh B. Mitchell of Washington.

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LET FREEDOM RING

DOCUMENT

Wartime Internment

The New York Times article of February 25, 1983 by Judith Miller, “Wartime Internment of Japanese was ‘Grave Injustice,’ Panel Says.”

Respond to the following questions about this article:

1. Why did the Congressional Commission conclude that “the relocation and internment of 120,000 Japanese-American citizens and resident aliens in World War II was a ‘grave injustice’?”
2. Whom did the Congressional Commission blame for the internment of the Japanese?
3. Do you agree or disagree with the comments made by John J. McCloy?
Explain why you agree or disagree.
4. Do you feel that reparations were justified? Explain your answer.
5. Do reparations set a problematic precedent when dealing with other groups who suffered from past injustices, i.e., Native American Indians, African Americans, Latino American?

LET FREEDOM RING

QUESTIONS FOR ALL DOCUMENTS

1. What is your reaction to this document?
2. What questions do you have after examining this? (Regarding the source, perspective, purpose, related history, etc.)
3. How does this document influence your view of internment? How would this document lead you to complete the following statement?
“The internment of Japanese-Americans was . . . ”

QUESTIONS FOR SPECIFIC DOCUMENTS

Document #1 – What were the Japanese-Americans instructed to do? What could they bring? Why did the U.S. government not want to take responsibility for stored items?

Document #2 – What was Lt. Gen. J.L. DeWitt’s justification for the relocation of Japanese-Americans? What other groups might these justifications have applied to?

Document #3 – How do you think the store owner felt about his store being closed? What is ironic about his sign, “I Am an American”?

Document #4 – What is in the background of the picture? Why do you think people are lined up?

Document #5 – Describe the living conditions apparent in the photo. Imagine what it would be like for a family of five to live in these conditions on a day-to-day basis.

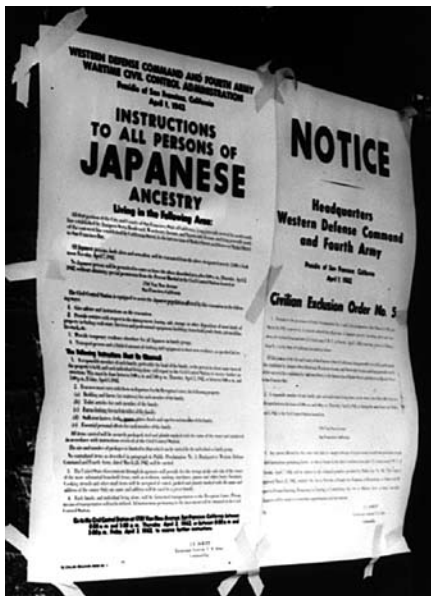
Document #6 – What is Mrs. Hirano holding in her hand? What do you think happened to the youth in the photo? What does this photo say about this family’s relationship to the United States?

Document #7 – What did Gene Oishi’s experience during his internment? Put yourself in his shoes; do you think his fears related to being Japanese were justified?

LESSON IV, PART 1

LET FREEDOM RING

Japanese-American Internment: Suppressing Freedom in the Name of National Security



Photograph from U.S. War Relocation Authority

WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
— WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION —
Presidio of San Francisco, California, May 3, 1942

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 33, this Headquarters, dated May 3, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Saturday, May 9, 1942.

No Japanese person living in the above area will be permitted to change residence after 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Sunday, May 3, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Southern California Sector, at the Civil Control Station...

The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Monday, May 4, 1942, or between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Tuesday, May 5, 1942.
2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:
 - (a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
 - (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
 - (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
 - (d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
 - (e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station. The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.
4. No personal items and no household goods will be shipped to the Assembly Center.
5. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage, at the sole risk of the owner, of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted for storage if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.
6. Each family, and individual living alone will be furnished transportation to the Assembly Center or will be authorized to travel by private automobile in a supervised group. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

J.L. De Witt, Lieutenant General, U. S. Army Commanding

LET FREEDOM RING

Japanese-American Internment: Suppressing Freedom in the Name of National Security

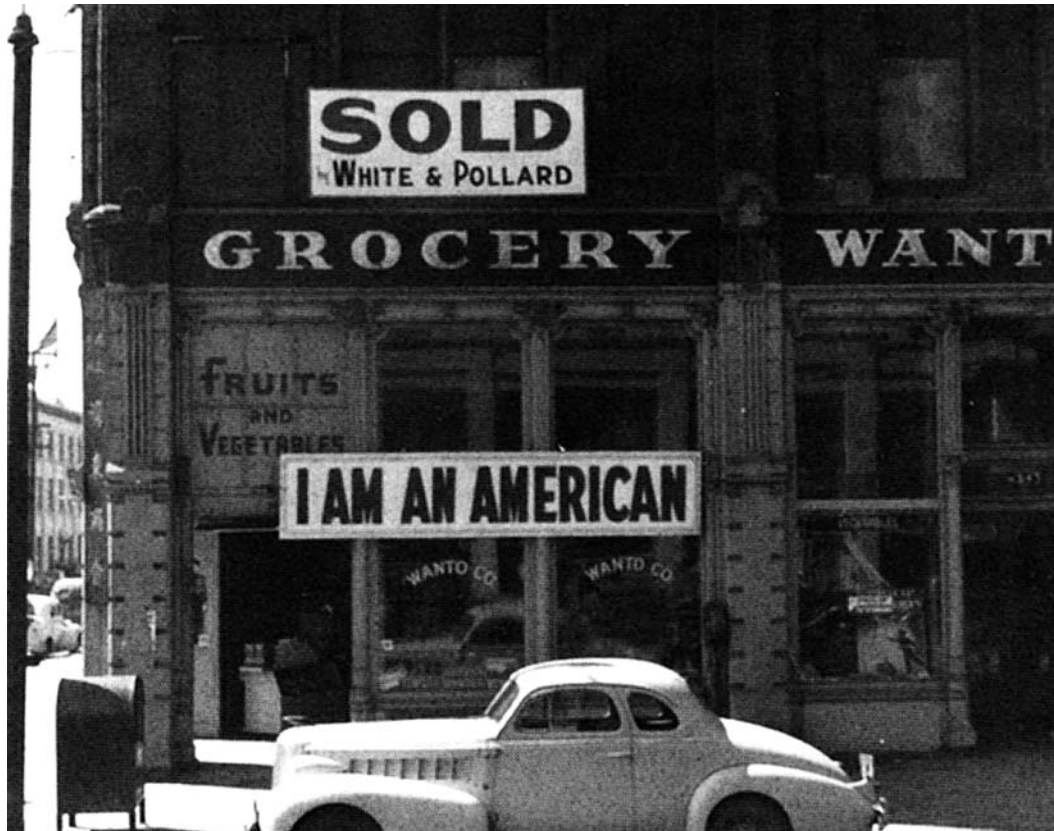
A portion of Lt. Gen. J.L. DeWitt's letter of transmittal to the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, June 5, 1943, of his Final Report; Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast 1942.

1. I transmit herewith my final report on the evacuation of Japanese from the Pacific Coast.
2. The evacuation was impelled by military necessity. The security of the Pacific Coast continues to require the exclusion of Japanese from the area now prohibited to them and will so continue as long as that military necessity exists. The surprise attack at Pearl Harbor by the enemy crippled a major portion of the Pacific Fleet and exposed the West Coast to an attack which could not have been substantially impeded by defensive fleet operations. More than 115,000 persons of Japanese ancestry resided along the coast and were significantly concentrated near many highly sensitive installations essential to the war effort. Intelligence services records reflected the existence of hundreds of Japanese organizations in California, Washington, Oregon and Arizona which, prior to December 7, 1941, were actively engaged in advancing Japanese war aims. These records also disclosed that thousands of American-born Japanese had gone to Japan to receive their education and indoctrination there and had become rabidly pro-Japanese and then had returned to the United States. Emperor-worshipping ceremonies were commonly held and millions of dollars had flowed into the Japanese imperial war chest from the contributions freely made by Japanese here. The continued presence of a large, unassimilated, tightly knit and racial group, bound to an enemy nation by strong ties of race, culture, custom and religion along a frontier vulnerable to attack constituted a menace which had to be dealt with. Their loyalties were unknown and time was of the essence. The evident aspirations of the enemy emboldened by his recent successes made it worse than folly to have left any stone unturned in the building up of our defenses. It is better to have had this protection and not to have needed it than to have needed it and not to have had it – as we have learned to our sorrow.

LET FREEDOM RING

Japanese-American Internment: Suppressing Freedom in the Name of National Security

Japanese-American store closed



“Following evacuation orders, this store was closed. The owner, a University of California graduate of Japanese descent, placed the “I AM AN AMERICAN” sign on the store front the day after Pearl Harbor.” Oakland, California, April 1942.

Dorothea Lange, National Archives and Records Administration

LET FREEDOM RING

Japanese-American Internment: Suppressing Freedom in the Name of National Security

Japanese-American internment center



“This assembly center has been open for two days. Only one mess hall was operating today. Photograph shows line-up of newly arrived evacuees outside of this mess hall at noon.”
Tanforan Assembly Center. San Bruno, California, April 29, 1942.

Dorothea Lange, National Archives and Records Administration

LET FREEDOM RING

Japanese-American Internment: Suppressing Freedom in the Name of National Security

Japanese-American internment center



“A close-up of an entrance of a family apartment (converted horse stall). Five people occupy two small rooms, the inner one of which is without outside door or windows.” Tanforan Assembly Center. San Bruno, CA, June 16, 1942.

Dorothea Lange, National Archives and Records Administration

LET FREEDOM RING

Japanese-American Internment: Suppressing Freedom in the Name of National Security

The Hirano family Colorado River Relocation Center



The Hirano family, left to right: George, Hisa and Yasbei.
Colorado River Relocation Center, Poston, Arizona.

National Archives and Records Administration

LET FREEDOM RING

Japanese-American Internment: Suppressing Freedom in the Name of National Security

Excerpt: "The Anxiety of Being a Japanese-American," by Gene Oishi,
New York Times, Apr. 28, 1985

The first camp we were sent to was an "assembly center" built at the county fairgrounds in Tulare, Calif. My memories are of heat, dust and a pervasive, sickening smell of the tar paper with which the barracks were covered. There were two barbed-wire fences surrounding the camp. This was not simply an "assembly center"; it was a prison. Soldiers with fixed bayonets patrolled the area between the two fences, and if you had any further doubts about what this camp was, there were guard towers along the perimeter, each equipped with a machine gun and searchlight.

Tulare was a hateful place, and I suppose anyone who spent time there would find his own reasons for finding it so. Mine never had any coherent pattern. First of all, my mother got sick and I had the feeling that she had deserted me. The food tasted tinny, maybe because it was served on metal trays. Juices from the canned vegetables, canned frankfurters and melting Jell-O flowed together to form a tepid, mildly sweet soup. The latrines were dirty and smelly and swarmed with flies. I still have unpleasant dreams about toilets filled and smeared with human feces. The barracks were crowded and noisy. Our family of six was assigned one small compartment that was barely

large enough to hold our cots. The couple in the next compartment were always quarreling, and you could hear every word, even those they whispered.

During the day, I roamed with a band of children who resembled a pack of domestic dogs gone wild. We tried to make friends with the soldiers patrolling the camp, but they were sullen, even a little hostile, so we gave up. I don't know about the other children, but I never held it against the soldiers. Instead, I began to resent the Japanese they were guarding.

THE CAMP IN ARIZONA had no fence. None was needed, situated as we were in the middle of the wilderness. I recall being inordinately afraid of rattlesnakes. I was afraid to go out of the barracks at night for fear that one would come slithering out of the crawl space under the building. It is only in recent years that I have begun to realize that the state of panic in which I lived during the first few months in Arizona was in some way connected with being a Japanese. At the weekly movie, an American war film played

that ended with the sinking of a Japanese battleship. As American bombs began exploding on the deck of the ship, Japanese sailors began to panic and leap into the sea. The children and young adults in the audience began to giggle, and as the battleship sank they broke into cheers and applause. I cheered and applauded, too, knowing full well that our parents in the crowd were deeply pained that their children were turning against Japan and perhaps even against them. By late 1943, those who had pledged their loyalty to the United States were allowed to leave. Most of those who remained were children — or older folk who had been born in Japan and who, under the law, were not allowed to become citizens. They knitted, sculptured ironwood, grew morning glories, built rock gardens, or sat in the shade, fanning themselves and squinting against the heat. Life remained pretty much that way until the war ended and we were told to leave.

<http://www.nytimes.com/1985/04/28/magazine/the-anxiety-of-being-a-japanese-american.html?scp=2&sq=gene%20oishi%201985&st=cse>

LET FREEDOM RING

PART 2

Supreme Court Decision *Korematsu v. United States* (1944)

KEY QUESTIONS

- When, if ever, is it acceptable to curtail the constitutional rights of American citizens?
- How and why were the rights of Japanese-Americans restricted during World War II? The first part applies to the first lesson while the second applies to both.
- How was the constitutionality of the evacuation, relocation and internment of Japanese-Americans challenged and what were the results?
- What rights were affected by the ruling in *Korematsu v. United States*?
- Was the Japanese internment constitutional? Was it justified?

ACTIVITIES

I. Opening activity

- Respond to the following in writing: Do you believe based on what you have learned, that Japanese internment in the United States during World War II was justified?
- Briefly review facts of Japanese relocation and internment:
 - 1942, President Roosevelt issues Executive Order 9066: Japanese-Americans are removed from military zones, 110,000 relocated to internment camps in the interior of the United States.
 - 17,000 Japanese-Americans serve in the armed forces during World War II.
- Discuss responses to the opening activity. Possible questions to raise during the discussion: What is meant by justifiable? Is there a difference between what is legally justifiable versus what is morally justifiable? What is the purpose of the U.S. Supreme Court? What guides and influences its decisions?
- Give students the background to the case without the decision. The last two paragraphs from <http://www.landmarkcases.org/korematsu/background3.html> work well. The basic question of the case, as stated in “Facts of the Case” in the [oyez.org](http://www.oyez.org) site, was “Did the President and Congress go beyond their war powers by implementing exclusion and restricting the rights of Americans of Japanese descent?” So, should *Korematsu*’s be overturned or sustained based on the constitutionality of the actions of the President and Congress?
- Read the text of Executive Order No. 9066 together in class.
Go to: <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5154> for the text of the order.

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II. Group activity

- A. Break students into groups and give each group one of three excerpts from an opinion for the case. (Justice Hugo Black for the majority and the dissents of Justices Frank Murphy and Robert Jackson.) Students are to carefully read the excerpted passages and determine:
 1. What rights of citizens are being restricted according to the plaintiff?
 2. What portions of the Constitution of the United States of America and other documents or orders are involved in this case?
 3. What does the opinion say about the constitutionality of the government's actions?
 4. What does the opinion give as the reason(s) for the internment?
 5. Do you agree or disagree with the opinion and why?
 6. What questions do you have after reading the opinion?
- B. Share group findings and answer key questions:
 1. How was the constitutionality of the evacuation, relocation and internment of Japanese-Americans challenged and what were the results?
 2. What rights were affected by the ruling in *Korematsu v. United States*?
 3. Was the internment of Japanese-Americans constitutional? Was it justified?

CONCLUDING ASSIGNMENT OR HOMEWORK:

1. Why do you think the findings of the 1983 Congressional commission were so different from the majority decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the case *Korematsu v. United States*?
2. Do you think that similar treatment of a particular group of people in the United States could occur today? Under what circumstances? (What would it require for it to happen and what would it require to keep it from happening?)
3. What similarities or differences can you find between the internment of Japanese-Americans and the *Korematsu* decision and earlier events in United States history such as the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 and the Removal of the Cherokee and the Supreme Court decision *Worcester v. Georgia*?
4. What happened to Japanese nationals and Japanese-Americans on the Hawaiian Islands during World War II? What do you think led to the outcome?

LET FREEDOM RING

Supreme Court Decision *Korematsu v. United States* (1944)

Majority Decision of Justice Hugo Black

323 U.S. 214

Korematsu v. United States

CERTIORARI TO THE CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE NINTH CIRCUIT

No. 22 Argued: October 11, 12, 1944 --- Decided: December 18, 1944

MR. JUSTICE BLACK delivered the opinion of the Court.

The petitioner, an American citizen of Japanese descent, was convicted in a federal district court for remaining in San Leandro, California, a "Military Area," contrary to Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34 of the Commanding General [p216] of the Western Command, U.S. Army, which directed that, after May 9, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry should be excluded from that area. No question was raised as to petitioner's loyalty to the United States. The Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed, ^[n1] and the importance of the constitutional question involved caused us to grant certiorari.

It should be noted, to begin with, that all legal restrictions which curtail the civil rights of a single racial group are immediately suspect. That is not to say that all such restrictions are unconstitutional. It is to say that courts must subject them to the most rigid scrutiny. Pressing public necessity may sometimes justify the existence of such restrictions; racial antagonism never can.

In the instant case, prosecution of the petitioner was begun by information charging violation of an Act of Congress, of March 21, 1942, 56 Stat. 173, which provides that

. . . whoever shall enter, remain in, leave, or commit any act in any military area or military zone prescribed, under the authority of an Executive order of the President, by the Secretary of War, or by any military commander designated by the Secretary of War, contrary to the restrictions applicable to any such area or zone or contrary to the order of the Secretary of War or any such military commander, shall, if it appears that he knew or should have known of the existence and extent of the restrictions or order and that his act was in violation thereof, be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be liable to a fine of not to exceed \$5,000 or to imprisonment for not more than one year, or both, for each offense.

LET FREEDOM RING

Exclusion Order No. 34, which the petitioner knowingly and admittedly violated, was one of a number of military orders and proclamations, all of which were substantially [p217] based upon Executive Order No. 9066, 7 Fed.Reg. 1407. That order, issued after we were at war with Japan, declared that

the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national defense material, national defense premises, and national defense utilities. . . .

One of the series of orders and proclamations, a curfew order, which, like the exclusion order here, was promulgated pursuant to Executive Order 9066, subjected all persons of Japanese ancestry in prescribed West Coast military areas to remain in their residences from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. As is the case with the exclusion order here, that prior curfew order was designed as a "protection against espionage and against sabotage." In *Hirabayashi v. United States*, 320 U.S. 81, we sustained a conviction obtained for violation of the curfew order. The *Hirabayashi* conviction and this one thus rest on the same 1942 Congressional Act and the same basic executive and military orders, all of which orders were aimed at the twin dangers of espionage and sabotage.

The 1942 Act was attacked in the *Hirabayashi* case as an unconstitutional delegation of power; it was contended that the curfew order and other orders on which it rested were beyond the war powers of the Congress, the military authorities, and of the President, as Commander in Chief of the Army, and, finally, that to apply the curfew order against none but citizens of Japanese ancestry amounted to a constitutionally prohibited discrimination solely on account of race. To these questions, we gave the serious consideration which their importance justified. We upheld the curfew order as an exercise of the power of the government to take steps necessary to prevent espionage and sabotage in an area threatened by Japanese attack.

In the light of the principles we announced in the *Hirabayashi* case, we are unable to conclude that it was beyond the war power of Congress and the Executive to exclude [p218] those of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast war area at the time they did. True, exclusion from the area in which one's home is located is a far greater deprivation than constant confinement to the home from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. Nothing short of apprehension by the proper military authorities of the gravest imminent danger to the public safety can constitutionally justify either. But exclusion from a threatened area, no less than curfew, has a definite and close relationship to the prevention of espionage and sabotage. The military authorities, charged with the primary responsibility of defending our shores, concluded that curfew provided inadequate protection and ordered exclusion. They did so, as pointed out in our *Hirabayashi* opinion, in accordance with Congressional authority to the military to say who should, and who should not, remain in the threatened areas. . . .

LET FREEDOM RING

Like curfew, exclusion of those of Japanese origin was deemed necessary because of the presence of an unascertained number of disloyal members of the group, most of [p219] whom we have no doubt were loyal to this country. It was because we could not reject the finding of the military authorities that it was impossible to bring about an immediate segregation of the disloyal from the loyal that we sustained the validity of the curfew order as applying to the whole group. In the instant case, temporary exclusion of the entire group was rested by the military on the same ground. The judgment that exclusion of the whole group was, for the same reason, a military imperative answers the contention that the exclusion was in the nature of group punishment based on antagonism to those of Japanese origin. That there were members of the group who retained loyalties to Japan has been confirmed by investigations made subsequent to the exclusion. Approximately five thousand American citizens of Japanese ancestry refused to swear unqualified allegiance to the United States and to renounce allegiance to the Japanese Emperor, and several thousand evacuees requested repatriation to Japan. ^[n2] . . .

It is said that we are dealing here with the case of imprisonment of a citizen in a concentration camp solely because of his ancestry, without evidence or inquiry concerning his loyalty and good disposition towards the United States. Our task would be simple, our duty clear, were this a case involving the imprisonment of a loyal citizen in a concentration camp because of racial prejudice. Regardless of the true nature of the assembly and relocation centers -- and we deem it unjustifiable to call them concentration camps, with all the ugly connotations that term implies -- we are dealing specifically with nothing but an exclusion order. To cast this case into outlines of racial prejudice, without reference to the real military dangers which were presented, merely confuses the issue. Korematsu was not excluded from the Military Area because of hostility to him or his race. He was excluded because we are at war with the Japanese Empire, because the properly constituted military authorities feared an invasion of our West Coast and felt constrained to take proper security measures, because they decided that the military urgency of the situation demanded that all citizens of Japanese ancestry be segregated from the West Coast temporarily, and, finally, because Congress, reposing its confidence in this time of war in our military leaders -- as inevitably it must -- determined that they should have the power to do just this. There was evidence of disloyalty on the part of some, the military authorities considered that the need for [p224] action was great, and time was short. We cannot -- by availing ourselves of the calm perspective of hindsight -- now say that, at that time, these actions were unjustified.

Affirmed.

http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC_CR_0323_0214_ZO.html

LET FREEDOM RING

Supreme Court Decision *Korematsu v. United States* (1944)

Dissent of Justice Robert Jackson

Korematsu v. United States

CERTIORARI TO THE CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE NINTH CIRCUIT

No. 22 Argued: October 11, 12, 1944 --- Decided: December 18, 1944

MR. JUSTICE JACKSON, dissenting.

Korematsu was born on our soil, of parents born in Japan. The Constitution makes him a citizen of the United States by nativity, and a citizen of California by [p243] residence. No claim is made that he is not loyal to this country. There is no suggestion that, apart from the matter involved here, he is not law-abiding and well disposed. Korematsu, however, has been convicted of an act not commonly a crime. It consists merely of being present in the state whereof he is a citizen, near the place where he was born, and where all his life he has lived.

Even more unusual is the series of military orders which made this conduct a crime. They forbid such a one to remain, and they also forbid him to leave. They were so drawn that the only way Korematsu could avoid violation was to give himself up to the military authority. This meant submission to custody, examination, and transportation out of the territory, to be followed by indeterminate confinement in detention camps.

A citizen's presence in the locality, however, was made a crime only if his parents were of Japanese birth. Had Korematsu been one of four -- the others being, say, a German alien enemy, an Italian alien enemy, and a citizen of American-born ancestors, convicted of treason but out on parole -- only Korematsu's presence would have violated the order. The difference between their innocence and his crime would result, not from anything he did, said, or thought, different than they, but only in that he was born of different racial stock.

Now, if any fundamental assumption underlies our system, it is that guilt is personal and not inheritable. Even if all of one's antecedents had been convicted of treason, the Constitution forbids its penalties to be visited upon him, for it provides that "no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted." But here is an attempt to make an otherwise innocent act a crime merely because this prisoner is the son of parents as to whom he had no choice, and belongs to a race from which there is no way to resign. If Congress, in peacetime legislation, should [p244] enact such a criminal law, I should suppose this Court would refuse to enforce it. . .

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Much is said of the danger to liberty from the Army program for deporting and detaining these citizens of Japanese extraction. But a judicial construction of the due process clause that will sustain this order is a far more [p246] subtle blow to liberty than the promulgation of the order itself. A military order, however unconstitutional, is not apt to last longer than the military emergency. Even during that period, a succeeding commander may revoke it all. But once a judicial opinion rationalizes such an order to show that it conforms to the Constitution, or rather rationalizes the Constitution to show that the Constitution sanctions such an order, the Court for all time has validated the principle of racial discrimination in criminal procedure and of transplanting American citizens. The principle then lies about like a loaded weapon, ready for the hand of any authority that can bring forward a plausible claim of an urgent need. Every repetition imbeds that principle more deeply in our law and thinking and expands it to new purposes. All who observe the work of courts are familiar with what Judge Cardozo described as "the tendency of a principle to expand itself to the limit of its logic." A military commander may overstep the bounds of constitutionality, and it is an incident. But if we review and approve, that passing incident becomes the doctrine of the Constitution. There it has a generative power of its own, and all that it creates will be in its own image. Nothing better illustrates this danger than does the Court's opinion in this case. . .

Of course, the existence of a military power resting on force, so vagrant, so centralized, so necessarily heedless of the individual, is an inherent threat to liberty. But I would not lead people to rely on this Court for a review that seems to me wholly delusive. The military reasonableness of these orders can only be determined by military superiors. If the people ever let command of the war power fall into irresponsible and unscrupulous hands, the courts wield no power equal to its restraint. The chief restraint upon those who command the physical forces of the country, in the future as in the past, must be their responsibility to the political judgments of their contemporaries and to the moral judgments of history. . .

My duties as a justice, as I see them, do not require me to make a military judgment as to whether General DeWitt's evacuation and detention program was a reasonable military necessity. I do not suggest that the courts should have attempted to interfere with the Army in carrying out its task. But I do not think they may be asked to execute a military expedient that has no place in law under the Constitution. I would reverse the judgment and discharge the prisoner.

http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC_CR_0323_0214_ZD2.html

LET FREEDOM RING

Supreme Court Decision *Korematsu v. United States* (1944)

Dissent of Justice Robert Jackson

323 U.S. 214

Korematsu v. United States

CERTIORARI TO THE CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE NINTH CIRCUIT

No. 22 Argued: October 11, 12, 1944 --- Decided: December 18, 1944

MR. JUSTICE MURPHY, dissenting.

This exclusion of "all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien," from the Pacific Coast area on a plea of military necessity in the absence of martial law ought not to be approved. Such exclusion goes over "the very brink of constitutional power," and falls into the ugly abyss of racism. . .

The judicial test of whether the Government, on a plea of military necessity, can validly deprive an individual of any of his constitutional rights is whether the deprivation is reasonably related to a public danger that is so "immediate, imminent, and impending" as not to admit of delay and not to permit the intervention of ordinary constitutional processes to alleviate the danger. *United States v. Russell*, 13 Wall. 623, 627-628; *Mitchell v. Harmony*, 13 How. 115, 134-135; *Raymond v. Thomas*, 91 U.S. 712, 716. Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34, banishing from a prescribed area of the Pacific Coast "all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien," clearly does not meet that test. Being an obvious racial discrimination, the [p235] order deprives all those within its scope of the equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment. It further deprives these individuals of their constitutional rights to live and work where they will, to establish a home where they choose and to move about freely. In excommunicating them without benefit of hearings, this order also deprives them of all their constitutional rights to procedural due process. Yet no reasonable relation to an "immediate, imminent, and impending" public danger is evident to support this racial restriction, which is one of the most sweeping and complete deprivations of constitutional rights in the history of this nation in the absence of martial law.

That this forced exclusion was the result in good measure of this erroneous assumption of racial guilt, rather than [p236] *bona fide* military necessity is evidenced by the Commanding General's Final Report on the evacuation from the Pacific Coast area. In it, he refers to all individuals of Japanese descent as "subversive," as belonging to "an enemy race" whose "racial strains are undiluted," and as constituting "over 112,000 potential enemies

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. . . at large today" along the Pacific Coast. In support of this blanket condemnation of all persons of Japanese descent, however, no reliable evidence is cited to show that such individuals were generally disloyal, or had generally so conducted themselves in this area as to constitute a special menace to defense installations or war industries, or had otherwise, by their behavior, furnished reasonable ground for their exclusion as a group.

Justification for the exclusion is sought, instead, mainly upon questionable racial and sociological grounds not [p237] ordinarily within the realm of expert military judgment, supplemented by certain semi-military conclusions drawn from an unwarranted use of circumstantial evidence. Individuals of Japanese ancestry are condemned because they are said to be "a large, unassimilated, tightly knit racial group, bound to an enemy nation by strong ties of race, culture, custom and religion." They are claimed to be given to "emperor worshipping ceremonies," and to "dual citizenship." Japanese language schools and allegedly pro-Japanese organizations are cited as evidence of possible group disloyalty, together with facts as to [p238] certain persons being educated and residing at length in Japan. It is intimated that many of these individuals deliberately resided "adjacent to strategic points," thus enabling them

to carry into execution a tremendous program of sabotage on a mass scale should any considerable number of them have been inclined to do so. ^[n9]

The need for protective custody is also asserted. The report refers, without identity, to "numerous incidents of violence," as well as to other admittedly unverified or cumulative incidents. From this, plus certain other events not shown to have been connected with the Japanese Americans, it is concluded that the "situation was fraught with danger to the Japanese population itself," and that the general public "was ready to take matters into its own hands." Finally, it is intimated, though not directly [p239] charged or proved, that persons of Japanese ancestry were responsible for three minor isolated shellings and bombings of the Pacific Coast area, as well as for unidentified radio transmissions and night signaling.

The main reasons relied upon by those responsible for the forced evacuation, therefore, do not prove a reasonable relation between the group characteristics of Japanese Americans and the dangers of invasion, sabotage and espionage. The reasons appear, instead, to be largely an accumulation of much of the misinformation, half-truths and insinuations that for years have been directed against Japanese Americans by people with racial and economic prejudices -- the same people who have been among the foremost advocates of the evacuation. ^[n12] A military judgment [p240] based upon such racial and sociological considerations is not entitled to the great weight ordinarily given the judgments based upon strictly military considerations. Especially is this so when every charge relative to race, religion, culture, geographical location, and legal and economic status has been substantially discredited by independent studies made by experts in these matters.

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I dissent, therefore, from this legalization of racism. Racial discrimination in any form and in any degree has no justifiable part whatever in our democratic way of life. It is unattractive in any setting, but it is utterly revolting among a free people who have embraced the principles set forth in the Constitution of the United States. All residents of this nation are kin in some way by blood or culture to a foreign land. Yet they are primarily and necessarily a part of the new and distinct civilization of the United States. They must, accordingly, be treated at all times as the heirs of the American experiment, and as entitled to all the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution.

http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC_CR_0323_0214_ZD1.html

SELECTED FOOTNOTES

⁹ Final Report, p. 10; see also pp. vii, 9, 15-17. This insinuation, based purely upon speculation and circumstantial evidence, completely overlooks the fact that the main geographic pattern of Japanese population was fixed many years ago with reference to economic, social and soil conditions. Limited occupational outlets and social pressures encouraged their concentration near their initial points of entry on the Pacific Coast. That these points may now be near certain strategic military and industrial areas is no proof of a diabolical purpose on the part of Japanese Americans. See McWilliams, *Prejudice*, 119-121 (1944); House Report No. 2124 (77th Cong., 2d Sess.), 59-93.

¹² Special interest groups were extremely active in applying pressure for mass evacuation. See House Report No. 2124 (77th Cong., 2d Sess.) 154-6; McWilliams, *Prejudice*, 128 (1944). Mr. Austin E. Anson, managing secretary of the Salinas Vegetable Grower-Shipper Association, has frankly admitted that

We're charged with wanting to get rid of the Japs for selfish reasons . . . We do. It's a question of whether the white man lives on the Pacific Coast or the brown men. They came into this valley to work, and they stayed to take over . . . They undersell the white man in the markets . . . They work their women and children while the white farmer has to pay wages for his help. If all the Japs were removed tomorrow, we'd never miss them in two weeks, because the white farmers can take over and produce everything the Jap grows. And we don't want them back when the war ends, either.

Quoted by Taylor in his article "The People Nobody Wants," 214 *Sat.Eve.Post* 24, 66 (May 9, 1942).

LET FREEDOM RING

Freedom and Security: Is There a Conflict?

NEW YORK STATE SOCIAL STUDIES CORE CURRICULUM, GRADE 11: UNITED STATES AND NEW YORK STATE HISTORY

UNIT TWO *Constitutional Foundations For The United States Democratic Republic*

I. The Constitution: The Foundation Of American Society

3. Establishing a Stable Political System

b. Suppressing dissent (the Whiskey Rebellion, the Alien and Sedition Acts)

UNIT SIX *The United States In An Age Of Global Crisis: Responsibility And Cooperation*

II. Peace With Problems: 1945–1960

D. The Cold War at home

3. McCarthyism

This lesson has three parts:

PART 1 The Patriot Act

PART 2 The Sedition Act

PART 3 Anti-Communism and the Rise of McCarthyism

INTRODUCTION

To open the lesson, have students analyze the cartoon “Homeland Security Made Perfect” and answer the questions below.

QUESTIONS ABOUT CARTOON

1. What is the cartoon saying about protecting people from terrorism?
2. Who is the man at the door and what is the cartoon saying about his attitude about how to fight terrorism?
3. In 1755, Benjamin Franklin wrote: “Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.” What is the relationship between what he wrote and the cartoon?
4. Is there a conflict between protecting people’s security and their liberty? Do they need to be balanced, and, if so, how?
5. How are the American people portrayed in the cartoon and what does it suggest about the American public?

LET FREEDOM RING

PART 1

THE USA PATRIOT ACT: PROTECTING THE COUNTRY OR RESTRICTING OUR FREEDOMS

On September 11, 2001, Al-Qaeda terrorists attacked the United States. Using hijacked airplanes, they destroyed the World Trade Center's twin towers, did severe damage to the Pentagon and killed nearly 3,000 people.

Americans were understandably outraged and fearful for their security in the aftermath of these attacks. The Bush Administration responded quickly to American fears with the introduction of the USA Patriot Act (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act).

Both houses of Congress passed this 342-page document with little debate, and many legislators did not even read the legislation before voting. In this atmosphere of fear, Congress granted broad new powers to the executive branch (the president). These included increased surveillance of ordinary citizens, surveillance of library records, people jailed without charges, and spying on religious and political organizations without evidence of wrongdoing. The question that the Patriot Act has raised is how much power should the government have to fight terrorism in the post-9/11 era and at what point does this become a violation of people's civil liberties? The opposition to an overly powerful central government was one of the causes of the American Revolution and was the reason for the inclusion of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution.

On the next page are two documents. The first is a flyer published by the American Civil Liberties Union (c. 2002) opposing the USA Patriot Act. After the passage of the USA Patriot Act, a fierce debate arose between opponents of the Act and supporters of the Bush Administration. A leading opponent was the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which describes its mission "to be the nation's guardian of liberty, working daily in courts, legislatures and communities to defend and preserve the individual rights and liberties that the Constitution and laws of the United States guarantee everyone in this country."
<http://www.aclu.org/about/>

The second document comes from a Bush-era Department of Justice Web site defending the USA Patriot Act against ACLU charges that it is a threat to American freedoms.

ACTIVITY

Break up the students into groups of five and give each both documents, removing the information identifying the sources. Students should examine each document and hypothesize what its purpose was and who its author might be. After they have done this, you can inform them of the origins of the documents and the teacher can lead a discussion based on the following questions.

LET FREEDOM RING

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Which side of the debate between the ACLU and the Justice Department do you agree with and why do you agree with their position?
2. Have you ever had an experience when your civil rights have been violated? Describe the incident and why you think it occurred.
3. The USA Patriot Act's full name is the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act. What is the purpose of giving the legislation such a name, what does it suggest about it and those who support it?
4. What does it suggest about those who don't?

DISCOVERING HISTORY IN TODAY'S NEW YORK TIMES

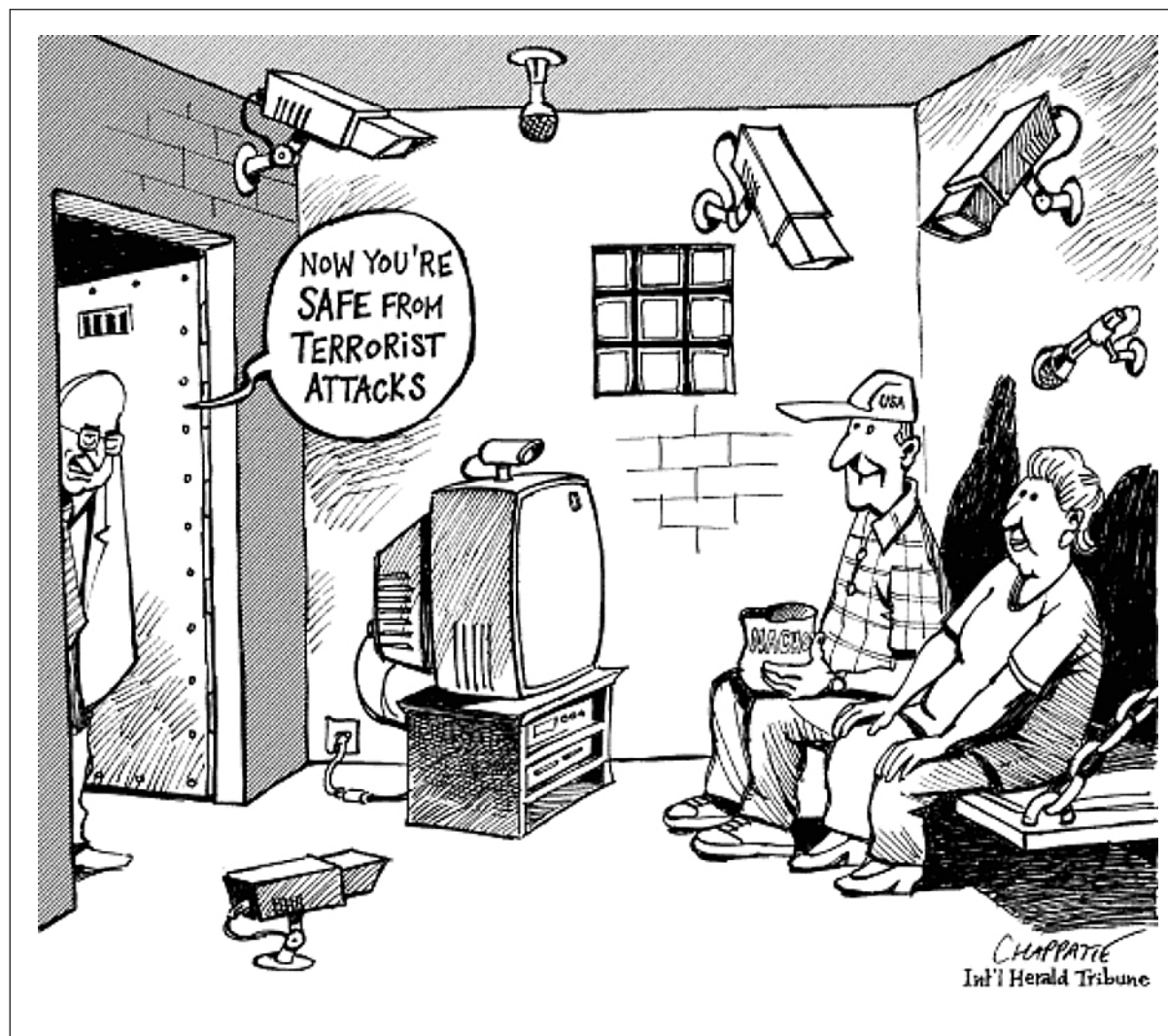
1. Use The New York Times archive to find articles that refer to homeland security, starting with September 12, 2001, up to the present. Plot them on a timeline, placing the articles above the line, and your own annotations on each one below the line. Add a final series of paragraphs examining the changes that you note over time with respect to how the issue of homeland security is covered in The Times.
2. What is the legacy of the Patriot Act? How has life changed for ordinary Americans, given the powers that the government acquired when the act passed? Find New York Times articles about such issues as surveillance and spying, and then write to your U.S. congressional representative or senator, or to the Secretary of Homeland Security, responding to what you learn.

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Freedom and Security: Is There a Conflict?

“Homeland Security Made Perfect”¹

By Patrick Chappatte, Jan. 18, 2006



¹ After the September 11, 2001, attacks, the U.S. government created the Department of Homeland Security to centralize control of government agencies which dealt with protecting the homeland. The rationale was to prevent other terrorist attacks (although similar legislation was proposed prior to September 11). D.H.S. brought the Transportation Security Administration, U.S. Customs & Border Protection, U.S. Secret Service, U.S. Citizenship & Immigration Services, U.S. Immigration & Customs Enforcement, Federal Emergency Management Agency, and the U.S. Coast Guard under the control of a Secretary of Homeland Security, who could coordinate all of these agencies and better protect the country.

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Freedom and Security: Is There a Conflict?

USA Patriot Act

The USA PATRIOT ACT and Government Actions that Threaten Our Civil Liberties

New legislation and government actions take away our freedom

With great haste and secrecy and in the name of the "war on terrorism," Congress passed legislation that gives the Executive Branch sweeping new powers that undermine the Bill of Rights and are unnecessary to keep us safe. This 342-page USA PATRIOT Act was passed on October 26, 2001, with little debate by Members of Congress, most of whom did not even read the bill. The Administration then initiated a flurry of executive orders, regulations, and policies and practices that also threatened our rights.

The USA PATRIOT Act:

Expands terrorism laws to include "domestic terrorism" which could subject political organizations to surveillance, wiretapping, harassment, and criminal action for political advocacy.

Expands the ability of law enforcement to conduct secret searches, gives them wide powers of phone and Internet surveillance, and access to highly personal medical, financial, mental health, and student records with minimal judicial oversight.

Allows FBI Agents to investigate American citizens for criminal matters without probable cause of crime if they say it is for "intelligence purposes."

Permits non-citizens to be jailed based on mere suspicion and to be denied re-admission to the US for engaging in free speech. Suspects convicted of no crime may be detained indefinitely in six month increments without meaningful judicial review.

What rights are being threatened?

First Amendment - Freedom of religion, speech, assembly, and the press.

Fourth Amendment - Freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures.

Fifth Amendment - No person to be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law.

Sixth Amendment - Right to a speedy public trial by an impartial jury, right to be informed of the facts of the accusation, right to confront witnesses and have the assistance of counsel.

Eighth Amendment - No excessive bail or cruel and unusual punishment shall be imposed.

Fourteenth Amendment - All persons (citizens and non-citizens) within the US are entitled to due process and the equal protection of the laws.

New Federal Executive Branch Actions

- 8,000 Arab and South Asian immigrants have been interrogated because of their religion or ethnic background, not because of actual wrongdoing.
- Thousands of men, mostly of Arab and South Asian origin, have been held in secretive federal custody for weeks and months, sometimes without any charges filed against them. The government has refused to publish their names and whereabouts, even when ordered to do so by the courts.
- The press and the public have been barred from immigration court hearings of those detained after September 11th and the courts are ordered to keep secret even that the hearings are taking place.

- The government is allowed to monitor communications between federal detainees and their lawyers, destroying the attorney-client privilege and threatening the right to counsel.
- New Attorney General Guidelines allow FBI spying on religious and political organizations and individuals without having evidence of wrongdoing.
- President Bush has ordered military commissions to be set up to try suspected terrorists who are not citizens. They can convict based on hearsay and secret evidence by only two-thirds vote.
- American citizens suspected of terrorism are being held indefinitely in military custody without being charged and without access to lawyers.

What can be done?

This lack of due process and accountability violates the rights extended to all persons, citizens and non-citizens, by the Bill of Rights. It resurrects the illegal COINTELPRO-type programs of the '50's, '60's, and '70's, where the FBI sought to disrupt and discredit thousands of individuals and groups engaged in legitimate political activity.

The American Civil Liberties Union, along with thousands of organizations and individuals concerned with protecting our civil rights and civil liberties, is campaigning to ensure that our rights are not a casualty of the war on terrorism.

Join us in this effort to regain our hard-won freedoms.

- Support a resolution in your city rejecting the USA PATRIOT Act, joining your city with others across the country in upholding the Bill of Rights.
- Contact your elected representatives and the President to express your opposition to the USA PATRIOT Act.
- Send letters to local newspapers. Organize discussions in your schools, organizations and religious institutions.



<http://www.aclu.org/FilesPDFs/patriot%20act%20flyer.pdf>

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Freedom and Security: Is There a Conflict?

Dispelling Some of the Major Myths about the USA PATRIOT Act

Myth: The ACLU claims that the Patriot Act “expands terrorism laws to include ‘domestic terrorism’ which could subject political organizations to surveillance, wiretapping, harassment and criminal action for political advocacy.” They also claim that it includes a “provision that might allow the actions of peaceful groups that dissent from government policy, such as Greenpeace, to be treated as ‘domestic terrorism.’” (ACLU, February 11, 2003; ACLU fundraising letter, cited by Stuart Taylor in “UnPATRIOTic,” *National Journal*, August 4, 2003)

Reality: The Patriot Act limits domestic terrorism to conduct that breaks criminal laws, endangering human life. “Peaceful groups that dissent from government policy” without breaking laws cannot be targeted. Peaceful political discourse and dissent is one of America’s most cherished freedoms, and is not subject to investigation as domestic terrorism. Under the Patriot Act, the definition of “domestic terrorism” is limited to conduct that (1) violates federal or state criminal law and (2) is dangerous to human life. Therefore, peaceful political organizations engaging in political advocacy will obviously not come under this definition. (Patriot Act, Section 802)

Myth: The ACLU has claimed that “Many [people] are unaware that their library habits could become the target of government surveillance. In a free society, such monitoring is odious and unnecessary . . . The secrecy that surrounds section 215 leads us to a society where the ‘thought police’ can target us for what we choose to read or what Web sites we visit.” (ACLU, July 22, 2003)

Reality: The Patriot Act specifically protects Americans’ First Amendment rights, and terrorism investigators have no interest in the library habits of ordinary Americans. Historically, terrorists and spies have used libraries to plan and carry out activities that threaten our national security. If terrorists or spies use libraries, we should not allow them to become safe havens for their terrorist or clandestine activities. The Patriot Act ensures that business records — whether from a library or any other business - can be obtained in national security investigations with the permission of a federal judge.

Examining business records often provides the key that investigators are looking for to solve a wide range of crimes. Investigators might seek select records from hardware stores or chemical plants, for example, to find out who bought materials to make a bomb, or bank records to see who’s sending money to terrorists. Law enforcement authorities have always been able to obtain business records in criminal cases through grand jury subpoenas, and continue to do so in national security cases where appropriate. In a recent domestic terrorism case, for example, a grand jury served a subpoena on a bookseller to obtain records showing that a suspect had purchased a book giving instructions on how to build a particularly unusual detonator that had been used in several bombings. This was important evidence identifying the suspect as the bomber.

In national security cases where use of the grand jury process was not appropriate, investigators previously had limited tools at their disposal to obtain certain business records. Under the Patriot Act, the government can now ask a federal court (the Foreign Intelligence

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Surveillance Court), if needed to aid an investigation, to order production of the same type of records available through grand jury subpoenas. This federal court, however, can issue these orders only after the government demonstrates the records concerned are sought for an authorized investigation to obtain foreign intelligence information not concerning a U.S. person or to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities, provided that such investigation of a U.S. person is not conducted solely on the basis of activities protected by the First Amendment.

Congress reviews the government's use of business records under the Act. Every six months, the Attorney General must "fully inform" Congress on how it has been implemented. On October 17, 2002, the House Judiciary Committee issued a press release indicating it is satisfied with the Department's use of section 215: "The Committee's review of classified information related to FISA orders for tangible records, such as library records, has not given rise to any concern that the authority is being misused or abused."

Myth: The ACLU claims that the Patriot Act provision about delayed notification search warrants "would allow law enforcement agencies to delay giving notice when they conduct a search . . . This provision would mark a sea change in the way search warrants are executed in the United States." (ACLU, October 23, 2001)

Reality: Delayed notification search warrants are a long-existing, crime-fighting tool upheld by courts nationwide for decades in organized crime, drug cases and child pornography. The Patriot Act simply codified the authority law enforcement had already had for decades. This tool is a vital aspect of our strategy of prevention — detecting and incapacitating terrorists before they are able to strike.

In some cases, if criminals are tipped off too early to an investigation, they might flee, destroy evidence, intimidate or kill witnesses, cut off contact with associates or take other action to evade arrest. Therefore, federal courts in narrow circumstances long have allowed law enforcement to delay for a limited time when the subject is told that a judicially approved search warrant has been executed. This tool can be used only with a court order, in extremely narrow circumstances when immediate notification may result in death or physical harm to an individual, flight from prosecution, evidence tampering, witness intimidation, or serious jeopardy to an investigation. The reasonable delay gives law enforcement time to identify the criminal's associates, eliminate immediate threats to our communities and coordinate the arrests of multiple individuals without tipping them off beforehand. In all cases, law enforcement must give notice that property has been searched or seized.

The Supreme Court has held that the Fourth Amendment does not require law enforcement to give immediate notice of the execution of a search warrant. The Supreme Court emphasized "that covert entries are constitutional in some circumstances, at least if they are made pursuant to a warrant." In fact, the Court stated that an argument to the contrary was "frivolous." *Dalia v. U.S.*, 441 U.S. 238 (1979)

http://www.usdoj.gov/archive/ll/subs/u_myths.htm

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PART 2

THE SEDITION ACT OF 1798

In 1798, President John Adams signed into law three pieces of legislation passed by the Federalist majority in Congress. They justified these laws to protect the United States from revolutionary France, which had been battling the United States on the seas in what was known as the Quasi War. But the Federalists also designed these laws to attack the supporters of their Democratic-Republican (Jeffersonian) rivals, specifically pro-Jefferson newspapers and immigrants. Newspapers at this time were very partisan and Republican newspapers viciously attacked Federalists in their pages. To silence them, Federalists passed the Sedition Act,¹ making it a crime to criticize the government in a “false, scandalous and malicious” manner. (After its passage, there were 25 prosecutions and 10 convictions under the Sedition Act, most of them Republican newspaper editors.)

Congressman Matthew Lyon of Vermont was the first person to be tried under the Sedition Act. Lyon had earlier gained notoriety by spitting in the face of Congressman Roger Griswold, a staunch Federalist. Lyons was convicted and sentenced to four months in prison after he wrote that under President Adams, “Every consideration of the public welfare was swallowed up in a continual grasp for power, in an unbounded thirst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation and selfish avarice.”

The Federalists also feared immigrants who were likely to be supportive of the French (and Democratic-Republicans), who were attracted to Jefferson’s support of equal opportunity and his attacks on elites. To weaken immigrant political power, Federalists passed the Alien and the Naturalization Acts. The former gave the president the power to deport any alien (non-citizen) deemed “dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States.” The latter increased the number of years for an immigrant to become a citizen from five to 14 years, reducing the political power of recent immigrants.

In the election of 1800, Jefferson defeated Adams, in part because of the unpopularity of the Alien and Sedition Acts, and voters elected a Republican majority to Congress. The Sedition Act was set to expire on March 3, 1801, the day before Jefferson was inaugurated and the new Congress did not renew it.

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SEDITION ACT

1. What is an act?
2. What is outlawed by this Act in Section 2?
3. After reading the Sedition Act, what similarities are there between it and the USA Patriot Act?
4. Why do you think the Sedition Act expired on March 3, 1801?
5. Write down something that you think would be illegal if the Sedition Act law were in effect today. Explain why you think it would be illegal.

¹ Although the First Amendment was in effect, it had little bearing on this debate. The historian Eric Foner wrote in “The Story of American Freedom,” “Yet the Bill of Rights aroused little debate or enthusiasm on ratification and for decades was all but ignored.”

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The Alien, Naturalization and Sedition Acts were partisan attempts by Federalists to silence their political opponents. The responses to the Acts were similarly partisan. The first document is an article from the newspaper *The Albany Centinel*. Newspapers were very different in the late 18th century. They had small circulations and were directed toward merchants and others involved in trade. They were too expensive for artisans or mechanics to buy themselves. However, it was likely that a semi-weekly newspaper had multiple readers. They were also very partisan, publishing strong attacks of their political opponents. (In that way, they might resemble modern-day cable news or talk radio such as MSNBC's Keith Olbermann, a liberal, or talk radio host Rush Limbaugh, a conservative.

The other document is a broadside, a single sheet, usually printed on one side, meant for widespread distribution. This broadside was a document printed by John Armstrong and published in Poughkeepsie, New York. Armstrong was an officer in the Continental Army during the War for Independence. He served briefly as a U.S. senator, then as Minister (Ambassador) to France, 1804–1810, and as a brigadier-general and then Secretary of War during the War of 1812.

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/35578/John-Armstrong>

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE CENTINEL

1. A line below the nameplate of the newspaper reads, "a few rods south of City Hall." What is a rod? (British measurement = 5.5 yards) "Why does the paper advertise its location in this manner? What is it trying to suggest about itself?"
2. What is the position of the *Albany Centinel* in the debate over the Sedition Act? Do you think it is a Federalist or Republican newspaper?
3. What does the *Centinel* suggest people do if they don't like the administration?
4. How does the *Centinel* define patriotism and sedition?
5. According to the *Centinel*, how might the writer of the editorial be deemed a traitor?

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EXTENSION ASSIGNMENT

Have students fill out the chart below and write an essay comparing the Sedition Act to the USA Patriot Act or write a two-panel cartoon in support of or opposition to the Acts.

“LEGISLATING SECURITY — THEN AND NOW”

	Sedition Act of 1798	USA Patriot Act
Presidential administration		
Event(s) and issue(s) leading to its passage		
What it did		
Supporters and their reasons		
Critics and their reasons		
What happened to it?		

QUESTIONS ABOUT JOHN ARMSTRONG

1. What does Armstrong compare the results of the Sedition Act to? Why does he make this analogy?
2. List three reasons why the Sedition Act was a danger to freedom of speech and the press?
3. The American Revolution was fought in the belief that the the central government (the British Monarchy) was too powerful and tyrannical. Explain how Armstrong's opposition to the Sedition Act is similar.
4. What limits, if any, do you think there should be on freedom of the press?

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DISCOVERING HISTORY IN TODAY'S NEW YORK TIMES

1. Today the equivalents of broadsides are published in reader letters in newspapers and in many forms online. Read some of the letters to the editor in The New York Times, and some reader comments appended to Times articles on the Web, and analyze them – which ones are most effective and why? Then send in your own letter and/or post a comment about an issue, and an article, that you care about.
2. If the Sedition Act of 1798 were still in effect, what actions and forms of speech would be prohibited? How would our society be different? Go through one day's issue of The New York Times in its entirety, marking articles and sections of articles that would not be publishable, and those that mention acts and statements that could neither be made publicly nor reported, under the Sedition Act. Then re-read the remaining content and write a first-person narrative from the perspective of a person who knows only that information, commenting on the day's news.

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Freedom and Security: Is There a Conflict?

Sedition Act

STATUTE II.

July 14, 1798.

[Expired.]

Penalty on libelling the government.

CHAP. LXXIV.—*An Act in addition to the act, entitled “An act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States.”*

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That if any person shall write, print, utter or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered or published, or shall knowingly and willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with intent to defame the said government, or either house of the said Congress, or the said President, or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition within the United States, or to excite any unlawful combinations therein, for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the President of the United States, done in pursuance of any such law, or of the powers in him vested by

FIFTH CONGRESS. SESS. II. CH. 75. 1798.

597

the constitution of the United States, or to resist, oppose, or defeat any such law or act, or to aid, encourage or abet any hostile designs of any foreign nation against the United States, their people or government, then such person, being thereof convicted before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

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

Truth of the matter may be given in evidence.

The jury shall determine the law and the fact, under the court's direction.

Limitation.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That this act shall continue and be in force until the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and one, and no longer: *Provided*, that the expiration of the act shall not prevent or defeat a prosecution and punishment of any offence against the law, during the time it shall be in force.

APPROVED, July 14, 1798.

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Freedom and Security: Is There a Conflict?

VOCABULARY

anarchist, approbated, traitor, sedition, Jacobin

The Albany Centinel, October 12, 1798 (Federalist Opinion)

The Albany Centinel

[No. 30 of Vol. II.]

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1798

[THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM]

PUBLISHED EVERY TUESDAY AND FRIDAY BY
LORING ANDREWS, PRINTER TO THE STATE ,
AT THE PRINTING OFFICE IN COURT STREET,
A FEW RODS SOUTH OF THE CITY HALL:
WHERE SUBSCRIPTIONS COMMUNICATIONS,
&C. FOR THIS PAPER WILL BE RECEIVED

Whatever American is a friend to the present administration of the American Government, is undoubtedly a true republican, a true patriot: For the administration, is, of necessity, elected by a majority of the people – their proceedings are voluntarily approbated by a majority of the people, and their measures are authorized by a majority of themselves. — Whatever American opposes the Administration is an Anarchist, a Jacobin and a Traitor. If men dislike the present Officers of our Government: let them vote for others at the next election; but if the present are elected again; it is a proof the hearts of the majority are with them — and all honest men will afford them support — exercising only the constitutional mode of changing men and of course measures. It is patriotism to write in favor of our government — it is sedition to write against it.

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Freedom and Security: Is There a Conflict?

VOCABULARY

disapprobation, disrepute, insinuate

John Armstrong criticizes the Sedition Act in a broadside published in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 1798

To the Senate and Representative of the United States,
in Congress Assembled . . .

By this law the citizens of these states are prohibited, under the severest penalties, from expressing ever their *disapprobation* of any part of the conduit of the President, or of either house of Congress through the *medium of the press*; and whatever has in the smallest degree a tendency to bring either into *disrepute* is liable to be *punished by fine and imprisonment*. What stronger, what more precise definition of slavery can be given than this?

The genius of this law pervades all its details, the crime is so defined, that we know not when we become guilty of it; for in the wide range of political opinion, how many thing may be innocently said, how many even usefully suggested, which may be so construed as to incur these penalties? With a jury of partisans, warmed by zeal, and heated by contention, selected by an officer in the appointment of the President, and holding that appointment during the pleasure of the president, what opinion can be safe? To question the integrity, to doubt the wisdom, to assert or even to insinuate the ignorance of the chief magistrate, leads directly to ruin; and yet it will scarcely be deemed *impossible* that a president may be a profligate man or vicious magistrate; that he may be weak in intellect, or wanting in information; but, under the operation of this law, the most enlightened nation upon earth, must not only bear these imperfections with patience, they must also conceal them with care; to hint them to a neighbour, expose you to *fine*; to breathe them to a brother subjects you to *imprisonment*.

<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.rbc/rbpe.22400900>
Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

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PART 3

ANTI-COMMUNISM AND THE RISE OF MCCARTHYISM

Even as World War II came to a close in 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union were engaged in a power struggle. By 1946, the Soviet Union had brought most of Eastern Europe into its sphere of influence. In a landmark speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, on March 4, 1946, former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill used the phrase “Iron Curtain” to describe the division of Europe between the Communist and non-Communist world. Russian historians have dated the beginning of the Cold War to Churchill’s speech. To give students background on the origins of the Cold War, you might want to open the lesson with his speech. To view an edited version of the video with the full text go to: <http://www.winstonchurchill.org/learn/speeches/speeches-of-winston-churchill/120-the-sinews-of-peace>.

McCarthyism refers to a pervasive political culture of fear and paranoia. After World War II, the wartime alliance between the Communist Soviet Union and the United States broke down as each vied for power and influence. By the late 1940s, the Soviet Union had consolidated its control in the countries it had liberated from Nazi Germany during World War II and placed Communist dictatorships in power. Tensions between the United States and its allies and the Soviet or Communist bloc increased, erupting into a full-fledged civil war on the Korean peninsula in 1950.

In the United States, Communists and Communist sympathizers became suspect. In 1947, the Truman Administration ordered federal employees to take loyalty oaths and began investigations into people suspected of ties to Communism. In 1950, over Truman’s veto, Congress passed the Internal Security Act, which forced Communist and Communist front organizations to register with the government and allowed the government to arrest those suspected of subversive activities.

Without showing evidence for his charge, Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-Wisconsin) exploited this anti-Communist atmosphere by declaring in a 1950 speech in Wheeling, West Virginia that there were 205 Communists working in the State Department. McCarthy never proved his charges. As chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, he fostered a climate of fear, which allowed him to investigate an array of government agencies. But he went too far when he attacked the U.S. Army. He was censured by the senate and removed from his chairmanship.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) represented another front against Communism. In 1947, 10 directors and screenwriters invoked their First Amendment rights and refused to testify before the committee. They were later found guilty of contempt of Congress. A blacklist developed: writers, actors and directors could not find work or were denied work in movies or television if they were suspected of being Communists or Communist sympathizers.

HUAC directed much of its activity at the media. On nationally televised hearings, it demanded that suspected Communists in film, radio and television testify regarding their

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membership in the party or in front organizations. “Have you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party” led some to take the Fifth — refusing to testify based on the Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination. Those who did so were labeled “Fifth Amendment Communists and barred from work in their profession.

While there were spies for the Soviet Union in the United States, few, if any, testifying before HUAC had spied for the Soviet Union. Many had been attracted to the Communist Party or its front organizations, because of its support for racial equality, economic justice, labor unions and believed that the Soviet Union was creating a new and better way of life. But a culture of fear, arising out of the Cold War, nuclear weapons and a general fear of dissent led to attacks on Communists and their sympathizers. The witch hunts, as their opponents called them, destroyed the careers and lives of thousands of people who were not guilty of any crimes.

OPENING ACTIVITY

Before handing out the Herblock cartoon, ask students to write three words that describe what American and un-American means to them. After they have examined the cartoon, students can compare their answers.

QUESTIONS ABOUT HERBLOCK'S CARTOON

1. Create a list of everything that is happening in the cartoon.
2. Who are the people in the car and what is Herblock saying about them?
3. What does un-American mean?
4. Discuss whether it is possible to reach a consensus on what defines being American or un-American.

“ENEMIES FROM WITHIN”: SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY'S ACCUSATIONS OF DISLOYALTY

Wisconsin Republican Joseph R. McCarthy first won election to the Senate in 1946 during a campaign marked by much anti-Communist Red-baiting. Partially in response to Republican Party victories, President Harry S. Truman tried to demonstrate his own concern about the threat of Communism by setting up a loyalty program for federal employees. He also asked the Justice Department to compile an official list of 78 subversive organizations. As the mid-term election year got underway, former State Department official Alger Hiss, suspected of espionage, was convicted of perjury. McCarthy, in a 1950 speech to the Republican Women's Club in Wheeling, West Virginia, mounted an attack on Truman's foreign policy agenda by charging that the State Department and its Secretary, Dean Acheson, harbored “traitorous” Communists. There is some dispute about the number of Communists McCarthy claimed to have known about. Though advance copies of this speech distributed to the press record the number as 205, McCarthy quickly revised this claim. Both in a letter he wrote to President Truman the next day and in an “official” transcript of the speech that McCarthy submitted to the Congressional Record 10 days later, he uses the number 57. Although McCarthy displayed this list of names both in Wheeling and then later on the Senate floor, he never made the list public.

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QUESTIONS ABOUT JOSEPH MCCARTHY'S LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY SPEECH AT WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA

1. According to McCarthy, who is the “final all-out battle” between and who is winning?
2. Whom does he accuse of betraying the nation? Why might it be a good political strategy to attack this group?
3. Does McCarthy seem more interested in the threat of Communism or in attacking Truman and the Democrats for being soft on Communism?
4. McCarthy repeatedly uses the phrases “communistic” and “atheistic” in a way that makes it clear he feels both are anti-American and anti-patriotic. Is he defended in this by the Constitution itself? What gives him the confidence to use these terms in a negative fashion?

QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES ABOUT PETE SEEGER TESTIMONY

1. What was the House Committee on Un-American Activities and what was the purpose of the subcommittee?
2. Pick a section of Seeger's testimony and have two students do a dramatic reading. Ask students for their reaction to the reading of the testimony.
3. List three examples of evidence being used against him.
4. Seeger, unlike many other witnesses, does not take the Fifth (in which a witness refuses to testify based on her/his Fifth Amendment¹ right not to self-incriminate). What is his argument for refusing to answer the Committee's question?
5. Seeger does not directly mention it in the text, but on which Amendment in the Bill of Rights is Seeger refusing to answer questions?

QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES ABOUT PAUL ROBESON TESTIMONY

1. Pick a section of Robeson's testimony and have two students do a dramatic reading. Ask students for their reaction to the reading of the testimony.
2. What does the Committee think Robeson did which is not legal?
3. List three examples of why Robeson thinks “I am here today.”
4. Why does Robeson say “You gentleman belong with the Alien and Sedition Act”?
5. Explain the following quote from Robeson to the Committee, “Gentlemen, I still say that. This United States Government should go down to Mississippi and protect my people.”

CONCLUDING LESSON

1. Compare the testimony of Pete Seeger and Paul Robeson in these areas:
 - A. the reasons they were called before HUAC
 - B. their responses to the questions put before them
 - C. their legal approach
 - D. the philosophy/politics that led to their legal approach
 - E. expressed opinions of the Communist Party
2. Having read the transcripts, do you feel each man deserved the punishment he received for his statements or actions? Why?

¹ The Fifth Amendment says that “No person shall be . . . compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself . . .”

LET FREEDOM RING

HOMEWORK

Prepare a journal entry that either Robeson or Seeger might have written after he gave his testimony. Have him reflect on what occurred, his attitude towards the proceedings, and his feelings about the treatment he received.

DISCOVERING HISTORY IN TODAY'S NEW YORK TIMES

1. Read through The Times for a week – or search a recent one-week period in the online archives – and clip all instances in which someone makes an accusation using the terms “communist” or “socialist.” Create a chart for each mention, noting for each one the speaker and the context, the apparent reasons for the depiction, and the effect. Then write an analysis paper. Questions to consider include these: Why do you think people still accuse others of communism and socialism? Is it effective? Why or why not? How do these incidents compare with the Red Scare?
2. What is U.S. international policy with respect to non-democratic nations? Read Times articles that describe our policies regarding at least three such nations. How do our foreign relations with non-democratic nations compare with the events of the Cold War? What lessons from that time should be remembered and applied to current foreign policy? Write a letter to the U.S. State Department commenting on U.S. policy on one specific nation, citing the relevant Times articles and what you have learned about the Cold War to make your points.
3. Clip at least 10 photos of musicians and actors in the Arts and Style sections of The New York Times. Then imagine that five of them have been blacklisted for political reasons. Write an Arts column providing commentary on the loss to the arts and entertainment world caused by the blacklisting of these artists.

LET FREEDOM RING

Freedom and Security: Is There a Conflict?

Cartoon by Herblock, October 31, 1947,
published in The Washington Post



"IT'S OKAY --- WE'RE HUNTING COMMUNISTS"

A 1947 Herblock Cartoon, © The Herb Block Foundation

LET FREEDOM RING

Freedom and Security: Is There a Conflict?



Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, 1954

Speech of Joseph McCarthy, Wheeling, West Virginia, February 9, 1950

Ladies and gentlemen, tonight as we celebrate the 141st birthday of one of the greatest men in American history, I would like to be able to talk about what a glorious day today is in the history of the world. As we celebrate the birth of this man who with his whole heart and soul hated war, I would like to be able to speak of peace in our time — of war being outlawed — and of world-wide disarmament. These would be truly appropriate things to be able to mention as we celebrate the birthday of Abraham Lincoln . . .

Today we are engaged in a final, all-out battle between communistic atheism and Christianity. The modern champions of communism have selected this as the time, and ladies and gentlemen, the chips are down — they are truly down.

Lest there be any doubt that the time has been chosen, let us go directly to the leader of communism today — Joseph Stalin. Here is what he said — not back in 1928, not before the war, not during the war — but two years after the last war was ended: “To think that the Communist revolution can be carried out peacefully, within the framework of a Christian democracy, means one has either gone out of one’s mind and lost all normal understanding, or has grossly and openly repudiated the Communist revolution . . .”

Ladies and gentlemen, can there be anyone tonight who is so blind as to say that the war is not on? Can there be anyone who fails to realize that the Communist world has said the time is now? . . . that this is the time for the show-down between the democratic Christian world and the communistic atheistic world?

LET FREEDOM RING

Unless we face this fact, we shall pay the price that must be paid by those who wait too long.

Six years ago, . . . there was within the Soviet orbit, 180,000,000 people. Lined up on the antitotalitarian side there were in the world at that time, roughly 1,625,000,000 people. Today, only six years later, there are 800,000,000 people under the absolute domination of Soviet Russia — an increase of over 400 percent. On our side, the figure has shrunk to around 500,000,000. In other words, in less than six years, the odds have changed from 9 to 1 in our favor to 8 to 5 against us.

This indicates the swiftness of the tempo of Communist victories and American defeats in the Cold War. As one of our outstanding historical figures once said, “When a great democracy is destroyed, it will not be from enemies from without, but rather because of enemies from within . . .”

The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is not because our only powerful potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores . . . but rather because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this nation. It has not been the less fortunate, or members of minority groups who have been traitorous to this nation, but rather those who have had all the benefits that the wealthiest nation on earth has had to offer . . . the finest homes, the finest college education and the finest jobs in government we can give.

This is glaringly true in the State Department. There the bright young men who are born with silver spoons in their mouths are the ones who have been most traitorous . . .

I have here in my hand a list of 205 . . . a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department . . .

As you know, very recently the Secretary of State proclaimed his loyalty to a man guilty of what has always been considered as the most abominable of all crimes — being a traitor to the people who gave him a position of great trust — high treason . . .

He has lighted the spark which is resulting in a moral uprising and will end only when the whole sorry mess of twisted, warped thinkers are swept from the national scene so that we may have a new birth of honesty and decency in government.

<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6456>

LET FREEDOM RING

Joseph McCarthy to President Harry Truman, February 11, 1950

In the Lincoln Day speech at Wheeling Thursday night, I stated that the State Department harbors a nest of Communists and Communist sympathizers who are helping to shape our foreign policy. I further stated that I have in my possession the names of 57 Communists who are in the State Department at present. A State Department spokesman promptly denied this, claiming that there is not a single Communist in the department. You can convince yourself of the falsity of the State Department claim very easily. You will recall that you personally appointed a board to screen State Department employees for the purpose of weeding out fellow travelers — men whom the board considered dangerous to the security of this nation. Your board did a painstaking job, and named hundreds which had been listed as dangerous to the security of the nation, because of communistic connections.

While the records are not available to me, I know absolutely of one group of approximately 300 certified to the Secretary for discharge because of communism. He actually only discharged approximately 80. I understand that this was done after lengthy consultation with the now-convicted traitor, Alger Hiss. I would suggest, therefore, Mr. President, that you simply pick up your phone and ask Mr. Acheson how many of those whom your board had labeled as dangerous Communists he failed to discharge. The day the House Un-American Activities Committee exposed Alger Hiss as an important link in an international Communist spy ring, you signed an order forbidding the State Department's giving any information in regard to the disloyalty or the communistic connections of anyone in that department to the Congress.

Despite this State Department black-out, we have been able to compile a list of 57 Communists in the State Department. This list is available to you but you can get a much longer list by ordering Secretary Acheson to give you a list of those whom your own board listed as being disloyal and who are still working in the State Department. I believe the following is the minimum which can be expected of you in this case.

1. That you demand that Acheson give you and the proper congressional committee the names and a complete report on all of those who were placed in the department by Alger Hiss, and all of those still working in the State Department who were listed by your board as bad security risks because of their communistic connections.
2. That you promptly revoke the order in which you provided under no circumstances could a congressional committee obtain any information or help in exposing Communists.

Failure on your part will label the Democratic Party of being the bedfellow of international communism. Certainly this label is not deserved by the hundreds of thousands of loyal American Democrats throughout the Nation, and by the sizable number of able loyal Democrats in both the Senate and the House.

Source: U.S. Senate, State Department Loyalty Investigation Committee on Foreign Relations, 81st Congress; Joseph McCarthy to President Harry Truman, February 11, 1950, Congressional Record, 81st Congress <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6456>

LET FREEDOM RING

Freedom and Security: Is There a Conflict?



Pete Seeger sings at the opening of the Washington, D.C., labor canteen, sponsored by the Federal Workers of America, a radical union which was part of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.), February 1944. First lady Eleanor Roosevelt sits between two sailors. He is singing to an integrated audience, when most of Washington, D.C., was still segregated.

“I HAVE SUNG IN HOBO JUNGLES, AND I HAVE SUNG FOR THE ROCKEFELLERS”: PETE SEEGER REFUSES TO “SING” FOR HUAC

During the Cold War era, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) interrogated more than 3,000 government officials, labor union leaders, teachers, journalists, entertainers and others. They wanted to purge Communists, former Communists, and “fellow travelers” who refused to renounce their past and inform on associates from positions of influence within American society. Among the Committee’s targets were performers at events held in support of suspect organizations. Pete Seeger acquired a love of American folk music while traveling through the South in the 1930s with his father, a musicologist and classical composer, and as an employee in the Library of Congress’ Archive of American Folk Song. As a folksinger motivated by concerns for social justice, cross-cultural communication and international peace, Seeger performed songs from diverse sources to many kinds of audiences, and in 1948 campaigned for Progressive Party candidate Henry Wallace as part of the folk music organization People’s Songs. In the following testimony before HUAC, Seeger refused to invoke the Fifth Amendment, protecting citizens from self-incrimination. Instead, he insisted that the Committee had no right to question him regarding his political beliefs or associations. This strategy resulted in prison terms for contempt of Congress for the Hollywood Ten in 1947. Seeger himself was sentenced to a year in prison for contempt, but he never served any of his sentence and the verdict was reversed in 1962. Nevertheless, Seeger remained on a network television blacklist until the late 1960s.

From History Matters: <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6457/>

LET FREEDOM RING

Freedom and Security: Is There a Conflict?

Seeger Testimony

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

August 18, 1955

A Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met at 10 a.m., in room 1703 of the Federal Building, Foley Square, New York, New York, the Honorable Francis E. Walter (Chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Walter, Edwin E. Willis, and Gordon H. Scherer.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., Counsel; Donald T. Appell and Frank Bonora, Investigators; and Thomas W. Beale, Sr., Chief Clerk.

. . . MR. TAVENNER: Mr. Seeger, prior to your entry in the service in 1942, were you engaged in the practice of your profession in the area of New York?

MR. SEEGER: It is hard to call it a profession. I kind of drifted into it and I never intended to be a musician, and I am glad I am one now, and it is a very honorable profession, but when I started out actually I wanted to be a newspaperman, and when I left school —

CHAIRMAN WALTER: Will you answer the question, please?

MR. SEEGER: I have to explain that it really wasn't my profession; I picked up a little change in it.

CHAIRMAN WALTER: Did you practice your profession?

MR. SEEGER: I sang for people, yes, before World War II, and I also did as early as 1925.

MR. TAVENNER: And upon your return from the service in December of 1945, you continued in your profession?

MR. SEEGER: I continued singing, and I expect I always will.

MR. TAVENNER: The Committee has information obtained in part from the Daily Worker indicating that, over a period of time, especially since December of 1945, you took part in numerous entertainment features. I have before me a photostatic copy of the June 20, 1947, issue of the Daily Worker. In a column entitled "What's On" appears this advertisement: "Tonight – Bronx, hear Peter Seeger and his guitar, at Allerton Section [of the Bronx] housewarming." May I ask you whether or not the Allerton Section was a section of the Communist Party?

LET FREEDOM RING

MR. SEEGER: Sir, I refuse to answer that question whether it was a quote from the New York Times or the Vegetarian Journal.

MR. TAVENNER: I don't believe there is any more authoritative document in regard to the Communist Party than its official organ, the Daily Worker.

MR. SCHERER: He hasn't answered the question, and he merely said he wouldn't answer whether the article appeared in the New York Times or some other magazine. I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question.

CHAIRMAN WALTER: I direct you to answer.

MR. SEEGER: Sir, the whole line of questioning —

CHAIRMAN WALTER: You have only been asked one question, so far.

MR. SEEGER: I am not going to answer any questions as to my association, my philosophical or religious beliefs or my political beliefs, or how I voted in any election, or any of these private affairs. I think these are very improper questions for any American to be asked, especially under such compulsion as this. I would be very glad to tell you my life if you want to hear of it.

MR. TAVENNER: Has the witness declined to answer this specific question?

CHAIRMAN WALTER: He said that he is not going to answer any questions, any names or things.

MR. SCHERER: He was directed to answer the question.

MR. TAVENNER: I have before me a photostatic copy of the April 30, 1948, issue of the Daily Worker which carries under the same title of "What's On," an advertisement of a "May Day Rally: For Peace, Security and Democracy." The advertisement states: "Are you in a fighting mood? Then attend the May Day rally." Expert speakers are stated to be slated for the program, and then follows a statement, "Entertainment by Pete Seeger." At the bottom appears this: "Auspices Essex County Communist Party," and at the top, "Tonight, Newark, N.J." Did you lend your talent to the Essex County Communist Party on the occasion indicated by this article from the Daily Worker?

MR. SEEGER: Mr. Walter, I believe I have already answered this question, and the same answer.

CHAIRMAN WALTER: The same answer. In other words, you mean that you decline to answer because of the reasons stated before?

MR. SEEGER: I gave my answer, sir.

LET FREEDOM RING

CHAIRMAN WALTER: What is your answer?

MR. SEEGER: You see, sir, I feel –

CHAIRMAN WALTER: What is your answer?

MR. SEEGER: I will tell you what my answer is.

(Witness consulted with counsel [Paul L. Ross].)

I feel that in my whole life I have never done anything of any conspiratorial nature and I resent very much and very deeply the implication of being called before this Committee that in some way because my opinions may be different from yours, or yours, Mr. Willis, or yours, Mr. Scherer, that I am any less of an American than anybody else. I love my country very deeply, sir.

CHAIRMAN WALTER: Why don't you make a little contribution toward preserving its institutions?

MR. SEEGER: I feel that my whole life is a contribution. That is why I would like to tell you about it.

CHAIRMAN WALTER: I don't want to hear about it.

MR. SCHERER: I think that there must be a direction to answer.

CHAIRMAN WALTER: I direct you to answer that question.

MR. SEEGER: I have already given you my answer, sir.

MR. SCHERER: Let me understand. You are not relying on the Fifth Amendment, are you?

MR. SEEGER: No, sir, although I do not want to in any way discredit or depreciate or depredate the witnesses that have used the Fifth Amendment, and I simply feel it is improper for this committee to ask such questions.

MR. SCHERER: And then in answering the rest of the questions, or in refusing to answer the rest of the questions, I understand that you are not relying on the Fifth Amendment as a basis for your refusal to answer?

MR. SEEGER: No, I am not, sir . . .

LET FREEDOM RING

MR. TAVENNER: I assume then that you heard me read the testimony of Mr. [Elia] Kazan about the purpose of the Communist Party in having its actors entertain for the benefit of Communist fronts and the Communist Party. Did you hear that testimony?

MR. SEEGER: Yes, I have heard all of the testimony today.

MR. TAVENNER: Did you hear Mr. George Hall's testimony yesterday in which he stated that, as an actor, the special contribution that he was expected to make to the Communist Party was to use his talents by entertaining at Communist Party functions? Did you hear that testimony?

MR. SEEGER: I didn't hear it, no.

MR. TAVENNER: It is a fact that he so testified. I want to know whether or not you were engaged in a similar type of service to the Communist Party in entertaining at these features.

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

MR. SEEGER: I have sung for Americans of every political persuasion, and I am proud that I never refuse to sing to an audience, no matter what religion or color of their skin or situation in life. I have sung in hobo jungles, and I have sung for the Rockefellers, and I am proud that I have never refused to sing for anybody. That is the only answer I can give along that line.

MR. TAVENNER: Did you sing at functions of the Communist Party, at Communist Party requests?

MR. SEEGER: I believe, sir, that a good twenty minutes ago, I gave my answer to this whole line of questioning.

MR. TAVENNER: Yes, but you have now beclouded your answer by your statement, and I want to make certain what you mean. Did you sing at the Communist Party functions which I have asked you about, as a Communist Party duty?

MR. SEEGER: I have already indicated that I am not interested, and I feel it is improper to say who has sung my songs or who I have sung them to, especially under such compulsion as this.

MR. TAVENNER: Have you been a member of the Communist Party since 1947?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

MR. SEEGER: The same answer, sir.

CHAIRMAN WALTER: I direct you to answer that question.

MR. SEEGER: I must give the same answer as before . . .

LET FREEDOM RING

MR. SCHERER: Do you understand it is the feeling of the Committee that you are in contempt as a result of the position you take?

MR. SEEGER: I can't say.

MR. SCHERER: I am telling you that that is the position of the Committee . . .

MR. SEEGER: I decline to discuss, under compulsion, where I have sung, and who has sung my songs, and who else has sung with me, and the people I have known. I love my country very dearly, and I greatly resent this implication that some of the places that I have sung and some of the people that I have known, and some of my opinions, whether they are religious or philosophical, or I might be a vegetarian, make me any less of an American. I will tell you about my songs, but I am not interested in telling you who wrote them, and I will tell you about my songs, and I am not interested in who listened to them.

<http://www.peteseeger.net/HUAC.htm>

LET FREEDOM RING

Freedom and Security: Is There a Conflict?



Paul Robeson as Shakespeare's Othello, Theatre Guild Production, Broadway, 1943-44

"YOU ARE THE UN-AMERICANS, AND YOU OUGHT TO BE ASHAMED OF YOURSELVES": PAUL ROBESON APPEARS BEFORE HUAC

Many African-American witnesses subpoenaed to testify at the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) hearings in the 1950s were asked to denounce Paul Robeson (1888–1976) in order to obtain future employment. Robeson, an All-American football player and recipient of a Phi Beta Kappa key at Rutgers, received a law degree at Columbia. He became an internationally acclaimed concert performer and actor as well as a persuasive political speaker. In 1949, Robeson was the subject of controversy after newspaper reports of public statements that African-Americans would not fight in "an imperialist war." In 1950, his passport was revoked. Several years later, Robeson refused to sign an affidavit stating that he was not a Communist and initiated an unsuccessful lawsuit. In the following testimony to a HUAC hearing, ostensibly convened to gain information regarding his passport suit, Robeson refused to answer questions concerning his political activities and lectured bigoted Committee members Gordon H. Scherer and Chairman Francis E. Walter about African-American history and civil rights. In 1958, the Supreme Court ruled that a citizen's right to travel could not be taken away without due process and Robeson's passport was returned.

LET FREEDOM RING

Freedom and Security: Is There a Conflict?

**Testimony of Paul Robeson before the House Committee on Un-American Activities,
June 12, 1956**

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee will be in order. This morning the Committee resumes its series of hearings on the vital issue of the use of American passports as travel documents in furtherance of the objectives of the Communist conspiracy . . .

Mr. ARENS: Now, during the course of the process in which you were applying for this passport, in July of 1954, were you requested to submit a non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. ROBESON: We had a long discussion — with my counsel, who is in the room, Mr. [Leonard B.] Boudin — with the State Department, about just such an affidavit and I was very precise not only in the application but with the State Department, headed by Mr. Henderson and Mr. McLeod, that under no conditions would I think of signing any such affidavit, that it is a complete contradiction of the rights of American citizens.

Mr. ARENS: Did you comply with the requests?

Mr. ROBESON: I certainly did not and I will not.

Mr. ARENS: Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROBESON: Oh please, please, please.

Mr. SCHERER: Please answer, will you, Mr. Robeson?

Mr. ROBESON: What is the Communist Party? What do you mean by that?

Mr. SCHERER: I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. ROBESON: What do you mean by the Communist Party? As far as I know it is a legal party like the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. Do you mean a party of people who have sacrificed for my people, and for all Americans and workers, that they can live in dignity? Do you mean that party?

Mr. ARENS: Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROBESON: Would you like to come to the ballot box when I vote and take out the ballot and see?

Mr. ARENS: Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

LET FREEDOM RING

THE CHAIRMAN: You are directed to answer the question.

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBESON: I stand upon the Fifth Amendment of the American Constitution.

Mr. ARENS: Do you mean you invoke the Fifth Amendment?

Mr. ROBESON: I invoke the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. ARENS: Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this Committee truthfully —

Mr. ROBESON: I have no desire to consider anything. I invoke the Fifth Amendment, and it is none of your business what I would like to do, and I invoke the Fifth Amendment. And forget it.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are directed to answer that question.

MR, ROBESON: I invoke the Fifth Amendment, and so I am answering it, am I not?

Mr. ARENS: I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question as to whether or not he honestly apprehends, that if he gave us a truthful answer to this last principal question, he would be supplying information which might be used against him in a criminal proceeding.

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

THE CHAIRMAN: You are directed to answer that question, Mr. Robeson.

Mr. ROBESON: Gentlemen, in the first place, wherever I have been in the world, Scandinavia, England, and many places, the first to die in the struggle against Fascism were the Communists and I laid many wreaths upon graves of Communists. It is not criminal, and the Fifth Amendment has nothing to do with criminality. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Warren, has been very clear on that in many speeches, that the Fifth Amendment does not have anything to do with the inference of criminality. I invoke the Fifth Amendment . . .

THE CHAIRMAN: This is legal. This is not only legal but usual. By a unanimous vote, this Committee has been instructed to perform this very distasteful task.

Mr. ROBESON: To whom am I talking?

THE CHAIRMAN: You are speaking to the Chairman of this Committee.

Mr. ROBESON: Mr. Walter?

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THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

Mr. ROBESON: The Pennsylvania Walter?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is right.

Mr. ROBESON: Representative of the steelworkers?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is right.

Mr. ROBESON: Of the coal-mining workers and not United States Steel, by any chance?
A great patriot.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is right.

Mr. ROBESON: You are the author of all of the bills that are going to keep all kinds of decent people out of the country.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, only your kind.

Mr. ROBESON: Colored people like myself, from the West Indies and all kinds. And just the Teutonic Anglo-Saxon stock that you would let come in.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are trying to make it easier to get rid of your kind, too.

Mr. ROBESON: You do not want any colored people to come in?

THE CHAIRMAN: Proceed

Mr. ROBESON: Could I say that the reason that I am here today, you know, from the mouth of the State Department itself, is: I should not be allowed to travel because I have struggled for years for the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa. For many years I have so labored and I can say modestly that my name is very much honored all over Africa, in my struggles for their independence. That is the kind of independence like Sukarno got in Indonesia. Unless we are double-talking, then these efforts in the interest of Africa would be in the same context. The other reason that I am here today, again from the State Department and from the court record of the court of appeals, is that when I am abroad I speak out against the injustices against the Negro people of this land. I sent a message to the Bandung Conference and so forth. That is why I am here. This is the basis, and I am not being tried for whether I am a Communist, I am being tried for fighting for the rights of my people, who are still second-class citizens in this United States of America. My mother was born in your state, Mr. Walter, and my mother was a Quaker, and my ancestors in the time of Washington baked bread for George Washington's troops when they crossed the Delaware, and my own father was a slave. I stand here struggling for the rights of my people to be full citizens in this country. And they are not. They are not in Mississippi. And they are not in Montgomery, Alabama. And they are not in Washington. They are nowhere, and that is why I am here today. You want to shut up every Negro who has the courage to stand up and fight for the rights of his people, for the

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rights of workers, and I have been on many a picket line for the steelworkers too. And that is why I am here today . . .

Mr. ARENS: And while you were in Paris, did you tell an audience there that the American Negro would never go to war against the Soviet government?

Mr. ROBESON: May I say that is slightly out of context? May I explain to you what I did say? I remember the speech very well, and the night before, in London, and do not take the newspaper, take me: I made the speech, gentlemen, Mr. So-and-So. It happened that the night before, in London, before I went to Paris . . . and will you please listen?

Mr. ARENS: We are listening.

Mr. ROBESON: Two thousand students from various parts of the colonial world, students who since then have become very important in their governments, in places like Indonesia and India, and in many parts of Africa, two thousand students asked me and Mr. [Dr. Y. M.] Dadoo, a leader of the Indian people in South Africa, when we addressed this conference, and remember I was speaking to a peace conference, they asked me and Mr. Dadoo to say there that they were struggling for peace, that they did not want war against anybody. Two thousand students who came from populations that would range to six or seven hundred million people.

Mr. KEARNEY: Do you know anybody who wants war?

Mr. ROBESON: They asked me to say in their name that they did not want war. That is what I said. No part of my speech made in Paris says fifteen million American Negroes would do anything. I said it was my feeling that the American people would struggle for peace, and that has since been underscored by the President of these United States. Now, in passing, I said—

Mr. KEARNEY: Do you know of any people who want war?

Mr. ROBESON: Listen to me. I said it was unthinkable to me that any people would take up arms, in the name of an Eastland¹, to go against anybody. Gentlemen, I still say that. This United States Government should go down to Mississippi and protect my people. That is what should happen.

THE CHAIRMAN: Did you say what was attributed to you?

Mr. ROBESON: I did not say it in that context.

¹ Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland was an ardent anti-Communist and segregationist. He often tied the civil rights and labor movements to Communism. His own state, Mississippi, was a bastion of white supremacy and the most rigidly segregated state in the United States.

LET FREEDOM RING

MR. ARENS: I lay before you a document, containing an article, "I Am Looking for Full Freedom," by Paul Robeson, in which is recited a quotation of Paul Robeson.

MR. ROBESON: That is fine.

MR. ARENS: This article appears in a publication called The Worker, dated July 3, 1949.

MR. ROBESON: That is right.

MR. ARENS: (reading) : "At the Paris Conference I said it was unthinkable that the Negro people of America or elsewhere in the world could be drawn into war with the Soviet Union."

Mr. ROBESON: Is that saying the Negro people would do anything? I said it is unthinkable. I did not say that there [in Paris]: I said that in The Worker.

Mr. ARENS: I repeat it with hundredfold emphasis: they will not. Did you say that?

Mr. ROBESON: I did not say that in Paris, I said that in America. And, gentlemen, they have not yet done so, and it is quite clear that no Americans, no people in the world probably, are going to war with the Soviet Union. So I was rather prophetic, was I not?

Mr. ARENS: On that trip to Europe, did you go to Stockholm?

Mr. ROBESON: I certainly did, and I understand that some people in the American embassy tried to break up my concert. They were not successful.

Mr. ARENS: While you were in Stockholm, did you make a little speech?

Mr. ROBESON: I made all kinds of speeches, yes.

Mr. ARENS: Let me read you a quotation.

Mr. ROBESON: Let me listen.

Mr. ARENS: Do so, please.

Mr. ROBESON: I am a lawyer.

Mr. KEARNEY: It would be a revelation if you would listen to counsel.

Mr. ROBESON: In good company, I usually listen, but you know people wander around in such fancy places. Would you please let me read my statement at some point?

THE CHAIRMAN: We will consider your statement.

Mr. ARENS: I do not hesitate one second to state clearly and unmistakably: I belong to the American resistance movement which fights against American imperialism, just as the resistance movement fought against Hitler.

LET FREEDOM RING

Mississippi Freedom Summer 1964

NEW YORK STATE SOCIAL STUDIES CORE CURRICULUM, GRADE 11: UNITED STATES AND NEW YORK STATE HISTORY

UNIT 7 *World In Uncertain Times: 1950–Present*

III. Decade of Change: 1960s

B. Johnson and the Great Society

3. Continued Demands for Equality: Civil Rights Movement

AIM

To learn how voting and education are cornerstones to freedom.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Freedom Summer, Mississippi, 1964

“Mississippi has been on the defensive against inevitable social change for more than a century. The all-pervading doctrine then and now has been white supremacy (whether achieved through slavery or segregation), rationalized by a professed adherence to states rights and bolstered by religious fundamentalism . . .”

—Professor James W. Silver, University of Mississippi, 1964¹

On December 13, 1865, the 13th Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, marking the end of slavery. It was followed by the 14th Amendment, which made freedmen and women citizens and guaranteed them equal rights before the law. The 15th Amendment outlawed the use of race to deny voting rights. By the 1890s, the idea of equality before the law for African-Americans existed only on paper. White supremacists terrorized their victims to prevent African-Americans from voting and to enforce a rigidly segregated society in education, public facilities and housing. In addition to the sanctioned violence, states passed Jim Crow laws to enforce this new regime. The U.S. Supreme Court in a 7-2 decision in 1896 upheld these laws in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which allowed the state of Louisiana to segregate railroad cars. The majority decision accepted the constitutionality of racial segregation and ignored the racism and racial inequality in American society. Disenfranchisement and lynching of African-Americans had become the norm in the South.

See the National Archives Web site <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=52> to read the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision.

By the early 1960s, much had changed in the United States. Many African-Americans had moved to Northern cities, where they gained the right to vote and became an

¹ From a speech before the Southern Historical Association. Quoted from “Freedom School Curriculum Mississippi Freedom Summer, 1964,” edited and introduced by Kathy Emery, Sylvia Braselmann and Linda Gold, 2004, p. 369. http://www.educationanddemocracy.org/ED_FSC.html

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important voting constituency in many states. Racism had become less acceptable in society, especially in the aftermath of World War II, the Cold War and the need to win allies against Communism. Most importantly, the civil rights movement challenged the Jim Crow society of the South as well as racism in the North. Groups like the NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) used litigation and non-violent civil disobedience to turn a spotlight on racism and force changes in society and the law. The landmark decision *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* and in 1961, the Supreme Court ruled against segregation in interstate bus and rail stations. But these decisions meant little unless the Federal Government enforced them. This occurred in limited cases, such as the 1957 integration of Little Rock High School and the 1962 integration of the University of Mississippi, where the Federal Government sent troops to enforce the law. But in other cases, the Federal Government failed to intervene and white supremacists bombed and brutally beat interracial groups of “Freedom Riders” traveling on interstate buses throughout the South in 1961.

See the NPR Fresh Air Web site to learn more about the Freedom Riders:
<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5149667>

In 1964, the tide began to turn as the civil rights movement continued its non-violent civil disobedience in the face of white supremacist and police violence. Nightly television news shone a spotlight on the movement and the violent responses, most notably in Birmingham, Alabama. Responding to pressure from the civil rights movement, the Kennedy Administration proposed civil rights legislation. The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom on August 28, 1963, where the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his “I Have a Dream,” speech galvanized support for its passage. On June 15, 1964, Congress passed the landmark Civil Rights Act and President Lyndon Johnson signed it into law.

While Congress debated the legislation that year, SNCC and CORE formed the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) to build a movement to transform Mississippi, the most segregated and racially oppressive state in the Union. SNCC began in 1960 after four African-American students – Ezell A. Blair Jr., David Richmond, Joseph McNeil and Franklin McCain from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro — refused to leave a segregated Woolworth’s lunch counter. The sit-ins spread to college towns throughout the South. In April, Ella Baker, a veteran of the movement, gathered the student activists at Shaw University in Raleigh, N.C., where they formally organized SNCC. After organizing the Freedom Rides in 1961, SNCC began to send field organizers to Mississippi to organize African-American communities and begin voter registration drives. By 1963, they had had some success in organizing African-Americans in the rural communities in the Mississippi Delta, despite threats, violence and even murder carried out by white supremacists.

But the national media was largely not reporting SNCC’s activities, nor was the Kennedy Administration doing anything significant to protect civil rights workers. To turn a spotlight on Mississippi, COFO initiated what became known as Mississippi Freedom Summer in 1964. They recruited volunteers from predominantly white colleges and universities in the North to register voters, teach students and organize communities. This was controversial among many SNCC activists, who feared that white newcomers might come to dominate their

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predominantly black grassroots organization. But the volunteers brought the national media attention that black activists in Mississippi had been unable to attract, due to an underlying racism which pervaded American culture.

VOTER REGISTRATION

One of the main goals of Freedom Summer was to register African-American voters. The Fifteenth Amendment made it illegal to prevent voting based on race, but in 1890 Mississippi had pioneered in creating laws that circumvented the Amendment and prevented African-Americans from voting. These included barriers such as literacy tests administered by white registrars and poll taxes, an extra tax the state required a person to pay if he or she wanted to vote.



Doug Smith and Sandy Leigh participate in voter registration canvassing during Freedom Summer.

REGISTERING TO VOTE

The literacy test in Mississippi, like those in many other states, required voters to read and interpret their state constitutions, a long, detailed and complex document. Whites and blacks were asked different questions. The questions below were used in the literacy tests in Louisiana. The documents shown came from workbooks used by Citizenship Schools, which taught African-American applicants how to pass the exams. Each applicant had to answer four questions to successfully register to vote, but this was only one part of the application process. An applicant had to give, under oath, information about his or her address, employment, family members and other information that would be given to the applicant's employer, the Ku Klux Klan and other organizations. For the audacity of attempting to register to vote, applicants could lose their jobs, be thrown off their land and suffer violence used against them. White voters received much simpler exams and were encouraged to vote. Voter registration for whites often exceeded 100% because those who had died or moved away were not removed from the lists. Many of these missing "tombstone voters" voted on Election Day, usually, for the incumbent.

LET FREEDOM RING

Mississippi Freedom Summer, 1964

Student protestors are photographed by a policeman on Freedom Day in Greenwood, Mississippi, in 1964.



1. What do you see in this photograph?
2. Who are the people in the photo?
3. What are the people doing? What is the purpose of their activity?
4. Why is the policeman taking photos of the protest?
5. If you were a protester, what would be your reaction to this?

LET FREEDOM RING

Mississippi Freedom Summer, 1964

State of Louisiana Literacy Test

The State of Louisiana

Literacy Test (This test is to be given to anyone who cannot prove a fifth grade education.)

Do what you are told to do in each statement, nothing more, nothing less. Be careful as one wrong answer denotes failure of the test. You have 10 minutes to complete the test.

1. Draw a line around the number or letter of this sentence.
2. Draw a line under the last word in this line.
3. Cross out the longest word in this line.
4. Draw a line around the shortest word in this line.
5. Circle the first, first letter of the alphabet in this line.
6. In the space below draw three circles, one inside (engulfed by) the other.

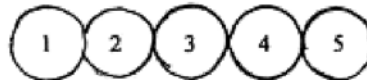
7. Above the letter X make a small cross.
8. Draw a line through the letter below that comes earliest in the alphabet.

Z V S B D M K I T P H C

9. Draw a line through the two letters below that come last in the alphabet.

Z V B D M K T P H S Y C

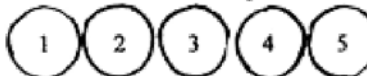
10. In the first circle below write the last letter of the first word beginning with "L".



11. Cross out the number necessary, when making the number below one million.

10000000000

12. Draw a line from circle 2 to circle 5 that will pass below circle 2 and above circle 4.



13. In the line below cross out each number that is more than 20 but less than 30.

31 16 48 29 53 47 22 37 98 26 20 25

http://rights.teachingmatters.org/files/images/african/1965_test.html

LET FREEDOM RING

FREEDOM SUMMER, 1964

Class lecture/notes

- Based on background information, describe, explain and present board notes on the purpose of Freedom Summer, 1964.
- Explain and present board notes on the obstacle to voting faced by African-Americans.

I. Opening activity/motivation

- A. Have students complete State of Louisiana Literacy Test (c. 1950s) – students should not know what they are completing
- B. When complete, ask students if they could answer these questions. What was confusing about this test? What do you think the purpose of this test was?

II. Opening questions

Ask students questions to elicit the centrality of voting in American democracy.

1. How does the U.S. government interact with its citizens?
2. What role do U.S. citizens play in the government and the formation of national policy?
3. What makes this possible?
4. How many amendments to the U.S. Constitution deal with voting?
5. Why is the right to vote worth fighting for?

LET FREEDOM RING

THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY (MFDP)

Because so few black Mississippians could register to vote, the leadership of COFO organized the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Supporters of the party filled out a simplified registration form to join the MFDP. Open to all people of all races, the MFDP was an alternative to the racist and segregated Mississippi Democratic Party, which had rejected the national Democratic Party and its pro-civil rights platform. The new party registered members, organized precinct meetings and nominated a slate of delegates to attend the Democratic Party National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in August 1964, hoping to supplant the all-white racist regulars.

The MFDP arrived at the Convention represented by Joseph Rauh, a leading liberal and lawyer for the United Auto Workers, hoping they could go before the Credentials Committee of the Democratic Convention to make their case for the MFDP and have themselves seated as the official delegates from Mississippi. Fannie Lou Hamer, vice-chairman of the MFDP delegation, riveted the Credentials Committee with her testimony broadcast live on national television.

Despite signing and supporting the Civil Rights Act of 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson wanted to keep the regular Mississippi Democrats from walking out of the Convention and hurting party unity in the November election. (Johnson knew that the Mississippi delegation would not support him, but wanted to keep the support of other southern states.) When he saw the effect Hamer's speech was having, he called an impromptu press conference to take the cameras away from her, but later that evening the television networks rebroadcast her testimony causing a huge outpouring of support for the Hamer and the MFDP. It appeared that the Credentials Committee might support the MFDP, but Johnson used all of his political power to successfully pressure the committee to reject the MFDP. At Johnson's bidding, Hubert Humphrey, the liberal senator from Minnesota who wanted Johnson to choose him as his running mate, sent his young protégé, Walter Mondale, to negotiate a compromise. Johnson simultaneously ordered the FBI to wiretap the phone lines of Martin Luther King and the MFDP. Mondale was unable to convince the MFDP to accept a "compromise" of two at-large delegates and the creation of a commission to prevent future discrimination at the 1968 convention.¹ Most of the SNCC and CORE activists, who had been regularly risking their lives for freedom, rejected it. Moreover, the Credentials Committee had passed the compromise before the MFDP delegates could accept it or reject it.

Johnson won the unified convention he wanted; only the Mississippi and Alabama delegations had walked out. But SNCC leaders left the convention feeling betrayed by liberals and headed on a more militant path. Two years later, SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael would lead 3,000 people in calls for "black power," rejecting non-violence and advocating a separatist path for African-Americans.

¹ Four years later, Fannie Lou Hamer would be seated as a delegate of an integrated Mississippi Democratic Party.

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BIOGRAPHY

Fannie Lou Hamer was born on a plantation in the Mississippi hill country in 1917, the last child in a family of 20 children. Mrs. Hamer's parents, who were sharecroppers, moved to Sunflower County, Mississippi, when she was two years old. She recalled that "from two years old up until now, I've been in the Delta." Due to the dire economic circumstances in which the family lived, Mrs. Hamer received only about six years of formal education. At the time of her youth, the school term was only four months a year. Also, education at that time was considered secondary to work; nevertheless she has said, "When I was a child, I loved to read. In fact, I learned to read real well when I was going to school." Mrs. Hamer married and continued farming until the 1960s. In 1962, she learned about voting, saying, "That sounded interesting enough to me that I wanted to try it." When the civil rights movement began in Mississippi, Mrs. Hamer became first a participant and then a leader. She joined the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC] as a fieldworker in voter registration drives. As a result of this work for civil rights, Mrs. Hamer became a leading figure in the organization of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. As a member of the party, she attended the 1964 National Democratic Convention to challenge the seating of Mississippi's Regular Democratic Party. It was during a Credentials Committee hearing at this convention that she made her famous television appearance telling of the problems she encountered trying to vote in Mississippi. She recalled that "The first vote I cast, I cast . . . for myself, because I was running for Congress." She opposed the incumbent from her congressional district, Representative Jamie Whitten. Mrs. Hamer traveled widely on behalf of the civil rights movement. She made addresses in many major cities and colleges in the United States. Mrs. Hamer was also instrumental in forming the farming cooperative, Freedom Farms, in Sunflower County, Mississippi. Among her many endeavors, Mrs. Hamer campaigned unsuccessfully for a seat in the state senate in 1971. She passed away March 14, 1977, in the hospital at Mound Bayou, Mississippi. Her funeral was conducted in Ruleville, and she was laid to rest on March 21 at Freedom Farms Cooperative, which she helped to found.

From The University of Southern Mississippi Digital Archive
"An Oral History with Fannie Lou Hamer" www.lib.usm.edu/~spcol/crda/oh/hamertrans.htm

LET FREEDOM RING

Mississippi Freedom Summer, 1964

**Fannie Lou Hamer's Testimony Before the Credentials Committee, Democratic National Convention
Atlantic City, New Jersey – August 22, 1964**

To listen to the speech go to:

<http://publicradio.org/tools/media/player/americanradioworks/features/sayitplain/flhamer>



Fannie Lou Hamer giving her testimony before the Credentials Committee of the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, N.J., on August 22, 1964.

Mr. Chairman, and to the Credentials Committee, my name is Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, and I live at 626 East Lafayette Street, Ruleville, Mississippi, Sunflower County, the home of Senator James O. Eastland, and Senator Stennis.

It was the 31st of August in 1962 that 18 of us traveled 26 miles to the county courthouse in Indianola to try to register to become first-class citizens.

We was met in Indianola by policemen, Highway Patrolmen, and they only allowed two of us in to take the literacy test at the time. After we had taken this test and started back to Ruleville, we was held up by the City Police and the State Highway Patrolmen and carried back to Indianola where the bus driver was charged that day with driving a bus the wrong color.

After we paid the fine among us, we continued on to Ruleville, and Reverend Jeff Sunny carried me four miles in the rural area where I had worked as a timekeeper and sharecropper for 18 years. I was met there by my children, who told me that the plantation owner was angry because I had gone down to try to register.

After they told me, my husband came, and said the plantation owner was raising Cain because I had tried to register. Before he quit talking, the plantation owner came and said, "Fannie Lou, do you know — did Pap tell you what I said?"

And I said, "Yes, sir."

He said, "Well I mean that." He said, "If you don't go down and withdraw your registration, you will have to leave." Said, "Then if you go down and

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withdraw,” said, “you still might have to go because we are not ready for that in Mississippi.”

And I addressed him and told him and said, “I didn’t try to register for you. I tried to register for myself.”

I had to leave that same night.

On the 10th of September 1962, 16 bullets was fired into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Tucker for me. That same night two girls were shot in Ruleville, Mississippi. Also Mr. Joe McDonald’s house was shot in.

And June the 9th, 1963, I had attended a voter registration workshop; was returning back to Mississippi. Ten of us was traveling by the Continental Trailway bus. When we got to Winona, Mississippi, which is Montgomery County, four of the people got off to use the washroom, and two of the people — to use the restaurant — two of the people wanted to use the washroom.

The four people that had gone in to use the restaurant was ordered out. During this time, I was on the bus. But when I looked through the window and saw they had rushed out, I got off of the bus to see what had happened. And one of the ladies said, “It was a State Highway Patrolman and a Chief of Police ordered us out.”

I got back on the bus and one of the persons had used the washroom got back on the bus, too.

As soon as I was seated on the bus, I saw when they began to get the five people in a highway patrolman’s car. I stepped off of the bus to see what was happening and somebody screamed from the car that the five workers was in and said, “Get that one there.” When I went to get in the car, when the man told me I was under arrest, he kicked me.

I was carried to the county jail and put in the booking room. They left some of the people in the booking room and began to place us in cells. I was placed in a cell with a young woman called Miss Ivesta Simpson. After I was placed in the cell, I began to hear sounds of licks and screams, I could hear the sounds of licks and horrible screams. And I could hear somebody say, “Can you say, ‘yes, sir,’ nigger? Can you say ‘yes, sir?’”

And they would say other horrible names.

She would say, “Yes, I can say ‘yes, sir.’”

“So, well, say it.”

She said, “I don’t know you well enough.”

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They beat her, I don't know how long. And after a while she began to pray, and asked God to have mercy on those people.

And it wasn't too long before three white men came to my cell. One of these men was a State Highway Patrolman and he asked me where I was from. I told him Ruleville and he said, "We are going to check this."

They left my cell and it wasn't too long before they came back. He said, "You are from Ruleville all right," and he used a curse word. And he said, "We are going to make you wish you was dead."

I was carried out of that cell into another cell where they had two Negro prisoners. The State Highway Patrolmen ordered the first Negro to take the blackjack.

The first Negro prisoner ordered me, by orders from the State Highway Patrolman, for me to lay down on a bunk bed on my face.

I laid on my face and the first Negro began to beat. I was beat by the first Negro until he was exhausted. I was holding my hands behind me at that time on my left side, because I suffered from polio when I was six years old.

After the first Negro had beat until he was exhausted, the State Highway Patrolman ordered the second Negro to take the blackjack.

The second Negro began to beat and I began to work my feet, and the State Highway Patrolman ordered the first Negro who had beat me to sit on my feet — to keep me from working my feet. I began to scream and one white man got up and began to beat me in my head and tell me to hush.

One white man — my dress had worked up high — he walked over and pulled my dress — I pulled my dress down and he pulled my dress back up.

I was in jail when Medgar Evers was murdered.

All of this is on account of we want to register, to become first-class citizens. And if the Freedom Democratic Party is not seated now, I question America. Is this America, the land of the free and the home of the brave, where we have to sleep with our telephones off the hooks because our lives be threatened daily, because we want to live as decent human beings, in America?

Thank you.

LET FREEDOM RING

Mississippi Freedom Summer, 1964

AIM

To learn how did Freedom Schools influenced the Civil Rights Movement.

INTRODUCTION TO FREEDOM SCHOOLS

“The Freedom Schools mean an exposure to a totally new field of learning, new attitudes about people, new attitudes about self, and about the right to be dissatisfied with the status quo. The children have had no conception that Mississippi is a part of the United States; their view of American history is history with no Negroes in it. It’s like making a cake with no butter.”

Mrs. Carolyn Reese, an African-American Detroit public school teacher and administrator of the Hattiesburg Freedom Schools.¹

A major component of Freedom Summer in 1964 were Freedom Schools – to educate African-American children in a way that would open their eyes to a world outside the narrow view imposed upon them by white supremacist Mississippi. The segregated, racist and sub-standard Mississippi school system was not only grossly underfunded, but was a closed system that discouraged dissent and questioning of the status quo.

The Freedom School curriculum ranged widely. It included African-American history, which was not taught in schools in Mississippi, American government, the current political struggle in Mississippi and the United States, the reading of James Joyce and instruction in French. Howard Zinn, in “SNCC The New Abolitionists,” described some of the activities at the schools: “[Y]oungsters struggled to understand ‘A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man’ by James Joyce. They learned about Frederick Douglass, wrote letters to the local editor about segregation, and discussed the meaning of civil disobedience. Some wrote short stories about their lives, and others wrote poems.”² While people of all ages attended the schools, they directed their outreach to 15- and 16-year old students so that they could have an impact upon other children in the segregated schools in the autumn. During the summer of 1964, approximately 2,000 students were attending 30 schools.

The schools were housed in churches, “freedom houses,” and under trees. Most of the teachers were Freedom Summer volunteers, largely college students. Before traveling to Mississippi, the mostly white and affluent volunteers received training at the Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio. Among their number were two white men from New York City: Andrew Goodman, a volunteer and student at Queens, College/CUNY, Michael Schwerner, a Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) staff member who ran the COFO office in Meridian, Mississippi, and an African-American, James Chaney, a CORE staff member and native Mississippian. The three men left Oxford and traveled back to

¹ “Freedom School Curriculum Mississippi Freedom Summer, 1964,” Edited and introduced by Kathy Emery, Sylvia Braselmann and Linda Gold, 2004.

² Howard Zinn, “SNCC The New Abolitionists” Boston: Beacon Press, 1964, 1965, p. 248.

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Mississippi before the other volunteers had arrived. After investigating a church bombing at Mt. Zion Church on June 21, 1964, Neshoba County Deputy Sheriff (and Klansman) Cecil Price arrested them on a speeding charge and put them in the jail. Price and fellow Klansman Sheriff Lawrence Rainey released them at night, then they were murdered by Klansmen, their car hidden and their bodies buried in an earthen dam.¹ When they were reported missing (and correctly presumed murdered), volunteers in Oxford wrote letters to their parents. Below are two examples of these letters, as edited by Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez, the coordinator of SNCC's New York office, when she published the book "Letters from Mississippi."²

QUESTIONS ABOUT FREEDOM SUMMER

Freedom Summer volunteers were driven by a deep sense of idealism and commitment to social justice. To provoke discussion, ask students about their own sense of responsibility to others.

You can revisit these questions after the lesson to see if students would answer these questions differently after what they have learned.

1. What does it mean to be part of a community or a nation and how does that relate to one's responsibility? Would you go and march for someone else's rights?
2. What would be the limits for you to get involved for the sake of others (i.e., does it have to be a relative)?

QUESTIONS ABOUT FBI POSTER

1. Why do you think it was necessary for the FBI to be involved in the investigation of the missing civil rights workers in addition to Mississippi law enforcement.
2. Civil rights activists had been murdered in Mississippi prior to the disappearance of Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman. Why do you think that their murders attracted the attention of the national media, the FBI and the U.S. Justice Department when the others had not?

QUESTIONS ABOUT BARBARA MUTNICK'S LETTER

1. What is the author's emotional reaction to the killing of the three workers?
2. What is her analysis of generational points of view?
3. Write back to Barbara about an experience in which you put yourself in danger for something you believed in.
4. Do you believe "how important students can be in a society"? Do students have a special role to play in changing American society?

¹ President Johnson, believing the disappearance might be a hoax, wiretapped the phones of Schwerner and Goodman's families in case they called home. Many of Mississippi's leaders, including Price and Rainey, also argued that the disappearance was a hoax to garner media attention.

² For background on the murders of Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman and the subsequent trials, go to: <http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/price&bowers/Account.html> and <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/21/national/21cnd-civil.html>

LET FREEDOM RING

QUESTIONS ABOUT SYLVIA WONG'S LETTER

1. Why do you think she writes the time of day?
2. What does the author mean by the "movement"?
3. Why do you think Martinez crossed out the first and third paragraphs?
4. Can you comprehend "why people die to achieve something so basic"?

BENJAMIN PERKINS

I. Opening activity

Have a student read the poem aloud in class and then have students answer the questions below.

1. What is the rugged mountain that Negroes are climbing? Where are they climbing to?
2. Why do you think Perkins believes that "the future promises a brighter day?"
3. What event influenced the writing of the poem? At this point the teacher can present MLK Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech.
4. Benjamin Perkins was a student at a Freedom School. What message does he present in the poem that represents the goals of the Freedom Schools?

STUDENT ACTIVITY/HOMEWORK

Have students write their own poems about fighting against injustice in their lives.

QUESTIONS ABOUT "MCCOMB, U.S.A."

1. The introduction to "McComb U.S.A." says "The events related in the play have been selected from the actual happenings of the summer; the dialog is taken from the actual words spoken at the time." Explain why you think the play should or should not be considered a primary source.
2. Why does the "Old Woman" change her mind about registering to vote after she hears about the deaths of the COFO workers, Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman?
3. Three themes run through this play and the civil rights movement: hope, fear and freedom. Find examples of each of these themes and then explain how they can exist side-by-side.
4. In this play, there are African-Americans, such as Mrs. Aylene Quin, who are challenging white supremacy and African-Americans like the Tom Preacher, who won't challenge it. Explain why you think they have different responses to oppression.
5. Why does the "Old White Man" believe African-Americans "are taking our freedom away!" by integrating a restaurant? What does he mean by freedom?

HOMEWORK OR EXTENSION ASSIGNMENT (REQUIRES ACCESS TO A NEW YORK TIMES DATABASE):

The McComb Freedom School students based their play on actual events. Because The New York Times covered events in Mississippi, it is possible to substantiate many of the events described in the play. Using a Times search engine, students can put in the names of people, towns mentioned in the play and the year 1964 to see if the Times reported on them. In addition, if students cannot find an event, they can write and/or debate about whether the play is trustworthy as a primary source. Additionally, students can brainstorm about what other sources they could use to verify events in the play.

LESSON VI – MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM SUMMER 1964

LET FREEDOM RING

Mississippi Freedom Summer, 1964


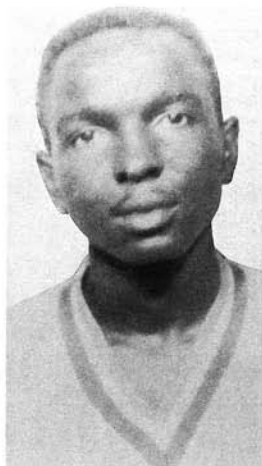

The FBI published this poster a week after Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman were reported missing. Freedom Summer volunteers learned of their disappearance as they prepared to leave Oxford, Ohio, to go to Mississippi.

MISSING

CALL
FBI


THE FBI IS SEEKING INFORMATION CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARANCE AT PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI, OF THESE THREE INDIVIDUALS ON JUNE 21, 1964. EXTENSIVE INVESTIGATION IS BEING CONDUCTED TO LOCATE GOODMAN, CHANEY, AND SCHWERNER, WHO ARE DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:

ANDREW GOODMAN	JAMES EARL CHANEY	MICHAEL HENRY SCHWERNER
-----------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------------

<p>RACE: White</p> <p>SEX: Male</p> <p>DOB: November 23, 1943</p> <p>POB: New York City</p> <p>AGE: 20 years</p> <p>HEIGHT: 5'10"</p> <p>WEIGHT: 150 pounds</p> <p>HAIR: Dark brown; wavy</p> <p>EYES: Brown</p> <p>TEETH: Good</p> <p>SCARS AND MARKS: none missing</p>	<p>RACE: Negro</p> <p>SEX: Male</p> <p>DOB: May 30, 1943</p> <p>POB: Meridian, Mississippi</p> <p>AGE: 21 years</p> <p>HEIGHT: 5'7"</p> <p>WEIGHT: 135 to 140 pounds</p> <p>HAIR: Black</p> <p>EYES: Brown</p> <p>TEETH: Good</p> <p>SCARS AND MARKS: 1 inch cut scar 2 inches above left ear.</p>	<p>RACE: White</p> <p>SEX: Male</p> <p>DOB: November 6, 1939</p> <p>POB: New York City</p> <p>AGE: 24 years</p> <p>HEIGHT: 5'9" to 5'10"</p> <p>WEIGHT: 170 to 180 pounds</p> <p>HAIR: Brown</p> <p>EYES: Light blue</p> <p>TEETH: Good</p> <p>SCARS AND MARKS: Pock mark center of forehead, slight scar on bridge of nose, appendectomy scar, broken leg scar.</p>
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SHOULD YOU HAVE OR IN THE FUTURE RECEIVE ANY INFORMATION
 CONCERNING THE WHEREABOUTS OF THESE INDIVIDUALS, YOU ARE
 REQUESTED TO NOTIFY ME OR THE NEAREST OFFICE OF THE FBI.
 TELEPHONE NUMBER IS LISTED BELOW.



DIRECTOR
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535
 TELEPHONE, NATIONAL 8-7117

June 29, 1964

© Corbis

LET FREEDOM RING

Mississippi Freedom Summer, 1964

Letter from Barbara Mutnick to her parents, June 23, 1964

(The editing marks were made by Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez for the book, "Letters from Mississippi")

I cannot begin to tell you what it is like to be here. Especially now that the first crisis has arisen - the disappearance of the 3 men. ~~One was Chaney and Schwerner - are CORE workers - and the other is~~ ~~The 3rd is a volunteer like me - from NY.~~ But, I'm sure you already know all this. I just want to tell you how it feels to be here -- knowing about them. You feel like it couldn't be real. No - uh-huh. They were in Oxford only a few days before - they couldn't already be in such danger. But then all of a sudden - the disbelief is countered by a vivid picture of reality - that it could be you. And then there's this weird feeling of guilt because it wasn't you - and here you are on a beautiful campus trying so hard to understand just what fear danger is anyway. Everyone suspects the worse ~~seem~~ to have happened to the men but no one says anything. /./.

Parents've been calling here in states of panic. I guess because of the missing men. A lot of kids are trying to be real casual & cool & funny about it everything so they don't worry their folks. This seems silly to me - especially with you - because you're in this with us in the sense that unlike a lot of parents - you realize the significance of this summer as much as I do. And you realize how important students can be in a society - & here's our chance finally. I was thinking that it'll be an easier summer for me than you in a way - because at least I'll always feel in control to a large extent in what's going on around me. But you - I guess - will feel helpless. Anyway, I don't believe ~~it~~ & I don't think the people here believe that I'll be hurt badly this summer. But there will be times - I imagine - when we'll all be a little scared. The important thing to keep remembering is that I really want to do this - and the goals have to keep being shoved to the foreground crowding out the fears.. Or at least remaining more important than them. So ~~let's~~ let's not play little game with each other ~~about~~ by avoiding things - & actually misrepresenting them as so many of the kids here are doing. Let's not be alarmists. And remember that this summer is going to be my first important challenge - & I'm gonna grow-up a lot. /./.

Love,
Barbara

LET FREEDOM RING

Mississippi Freedom Summer, 1964

Letter from Sylvia Wong to her father, June 24, 1964

(The editing marks were made by Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez for the book, "Letters from Mississippi")

Dear Dad,
 ./.
 Happy Birthday!

~~I'd rather Mommy didn't read this since she's worried enough already. Bruce~~
~~her brother~~
 got to the Columbus SNCC office from the airport with quite a lot of trouble.
 He tried to call SNCC but couldn't reach them. I'll explain the details another
 time, but a car came to the airport, with several white men in it and searched
 closely with their headlights. Bruce hid in a field overnight and so wasn't
 detected. At daylight he walked to the SNCC office—about six miles from the
 airport.

¶ The mood up here is, of course, very strained with those three guys who
 disappeared Sunday dead, most likely. Saturday night, I ate dinner with the
 wife of one of them. She was telling me about all the great things she and
 her husband were ~~working~~ on. She looks younger than me. What does she do
 now? Give up the movement? If Bruce ~~and~~ I decide to stay in the Movement
 after this summer, we'll never know if the other one will come home alive;
 I don't think I'm strong enough to live under that. What a terrible rotten
 life this is! I feel that the only meaningful type of work is the Movement
 but I don't want myself or anyone I've met to have to die. I'm so shook up that
 death just doesn't seem so awful anymore, though. I'm no different from anyone
 else and if they're risking their lives, then so must I. I never knew of such
 violence and terrorism before. ~~Mississippi is another world.~~

The movement people are wonderful. Jimmy Travis, a Negro who was shot
 in the back of the head while driving through Mississippi made an extemporaneous
 speech yesterday which was the most moving thing I've ever heard. He's going
 to be back in Mississippi this summer. ~~I just can't comprehend why people must~~
 die to achieve something so basic and simple as Freedom.

¶ I can't say don't worry, because we all know how dangerous this is. I will
 be as careful as I can be and not be stupid, but I do feel I must go. Love, *Sylvia*

LET FREEDOM RING

Mississippi Freedom Summer, 1964

Poem by Benjamin Perkins

THE NEGROES ARE CLIMBING

The Negroes are climbing the rugged mountain
With determined feet they climb on and on.
Some have reached the top of the mountain
Thousands struggle day by day.....

The valley of ignorance they leave behind
The old corrupted tradition the wind has
blown away.
Slavery is buried in the sand of time....

And behold, the future promises a brighter day,
To the gulf of slavery they shall return no more.
They pave the road that they leave behind
For a new generation is on its way....

Three hundred years of humiliation and deprivation
must go.
Justice and equality are their goal.....

Benjamin Perkins

LET FREEDOM RING

Mississippi Freedom Summer, 1964

Excerpt from Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech, August 28, 1963

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with a new meaning, "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring."

LET FREEDOM RING

“MCCOMB, U.S.A.” DOCUMENTING HISTORY ON THE STAGE

Freedom Schools, like all who challenged white supremacy in Mississippi, faced violence. The United States Justice Department had pleaded with the Mississippi Project not to open a school in McComb, but the organizers went ahead and 105 children attended the school over the summer. The McComb Freedom School began in the backyard of the McComb Freedom House, which had been bombed a week earlier. It later moved into a church. Students wrote a play called “McComb, U.S.A.” based on the events of that summer.¹ The following are excerpts from the play. Students should be familiar with Freedom Summer and the Freedom Schools before reading the play and with some terms such as Tom and Tom Preacher, referring to “Uncle Tom.” The play also uses racial epithets, which students may be uncomfortable reading aloud. Teachers should use discretion on whether students should read out these words when performing the play and/or leave it to the students’ discretion.

To read the full play go to: <http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/courses/ci407ss/>

EXCERPTS FROM MCCOMB, U.S.A.

“A play about McComb, Mississippi, during the summer of 1964.”
 “The events related in the play have been selected from the actual happenings of the summer; the dialog is taken from the actual words spoken at the time. If any license has been exercised in compiling this production it has only made slight changes to the strict chronology of events.”

“Presented in 1965 by the students of McComb Freedom School.”*

PARTS	Legislator	Second Man	Roy Lee
	White Liberal	Briarmont	Teacher
Voice Announcer	Negro Girl	Old Woman	Student
Lewis Allen	Tom	Old White Man	Judge
Sheriff	Worker	Negro Woman	Newsman
White Man	Policeman	Alarmist	First
Housewife	Boy	Tom Preacher	Second
Fred A. Ross	White Preacher	First Cop	Third
Mechanic	Young Man	Second Cop	Fourth

POLICEMAN:	You heard me, niggers! Move along . . . and don't go forgetting who you-all are.
VOICE:	By the first few weeks of spring, the incident list was already indicating the violent summer ahead. Shots had been fired into five Negro homes, Negro churches all over the community were the target for cross-burnings, Lewis Allen had been shot, Negro property had been burned, and already beatings and intimidations had been too numerous to list . . .

¹ In 1961 110 McComb high school students walked out of school when police arrested four fellow students at a Greyhound bus station sit-in. Many of their younger siblings attended the Freedom School.

* From the manuscript copy of the play in the Henry Bowie Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

LET FREEDOM RING

YOUNG MAN:	There were three of us in the car when we were stopped at Summit. They forced us into the woods at gun point and then they beat us with brass knuckles on their hands for eight minutes ...
VOICE:	Civil Rights workers still kept coming to Pike County . . .
YOUNG MAN:	We have no choice. War has been declared. To leave now would be disastrous. If we left now, we would be responsible for what would be the bloodiest reprisal against the Negro people within living memory. We have begun! We must go on!
<i>(During the next scene the song 'Keep your eyes on the prize' as background.) (Explosion)</i>	
VOICE:	June 22nd. Home of Freddie Bates bombed.
<i>(Explosion)</i>	
VOICE:	On the same day, home of Curtis Bryant, leader of the local NAACP, bombed.
<i>(Explosion)</i>	
VOICE:	June 22nd. Home of Corrine Andrews bombed.
VOICE:	The Sheriff, answering the accusation that his police force did not appear to be very active in tracing those responsible for the bombings, said:
SHERIFF:	Those responsible for these outrages are so-called civil rights workers. These anarchists will be brought to justice.
<i>Younger Worker with Tom.</i>	
WORKER:	Well, the Sheriff seems to be pretty smart after all. He says he knows who done the bombings.
TOM:	Is that right. Mr. Sheriff, he's a mighty 'portant man. Better not try anything when he's around. Smart as a bird dog, that Mr. Sheriff . . .
WORKER:	He said the niggers been bombing their own houses –
<i>(Explosion)</i>	
VOICE:	<p>July 8th. COFO Headquarters, the Freedom House, bombed. Two workers, one white and one Negro, hurt by the blast. One of the Freedom School students wrote a poem about what had happened:</p> <p>I came not for fortune, nor for fame, I seek not to add glory to an unknown name; I did not come under the shadow of night, I came by day to fight for what's right. I shan't let fear, my monstrous foe, Conquer my soul with threat and woe. Here I have come and here I shall stay, And no amount of fear my determination can sway. I asked for your churches, and you turned me down, But I'll do my work if I have to do it on the ground.</p>

LET FREEDOM RING

<i>(Group singing: "They say that Freedom's a constant struggle.")</i>	
OLD WOMAN:	When the news came that the three boys – their names was Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, and Mickey Schwerner – had been beaten and shot to death over in Neshoba County, I got a strange feeling come over me. It was like fear, but somehow it was different. These three boys had died for me and I asked myself what was I doing for them. Before, when the COFO worker came to see me, I told him I was too old to vote. The day after I heard the news, I went down to the courthouse on my own to register. I still don't know how I was able to do it . . .
VOICE:	Pike County is typical of many counties in Mississippi. The 15,000 or so Negroes there represent about half of the total population. About 250 of these are registered to vote.
OLD WHITE MAN:	(pointing a finger to the Negro woman who is sitting on a high stool) Look! The niggers are taking our freedom away! Just look at her! Do you realize that until this very moment, only white people have ever sat in that restaurant. Black people always went around to the back. Why don't people do something? Why don't they go around to the back?
NEGRO WOMAN:	The COFO people said that coming in here would be Civil Rights Bill or something or other . . . something about public accommodations. Well, all I know is that I've waited all my life, fifty-six years, just to be able to come in here when I felt like and sit down and order a banana split. Lord! I've tasted freedom now!
VOICE:	July 19th. Home of Nat McGee fire-bombed.
<i>(Explosion)</i>	
VOICE:	July 26th. Home of Charles Bryant, bombed and fired upon.
<i>(Explosion)</i>	
VOICE:	August 16th. Negro Supermarket in Burglundtown bombed.
WORKER:	I'm sick of hearing you people tell me that you're too old, too ill, too happy, or too scared to vote. How else are you going to change this rotten state of affairs? How else are you going to get rid of a Sheriff who is either incompetent or a criminal? If you're not willing to do something about it, you have no right to complain. How many of you have enough guts to stand up straight and say, 'We are sick and tired of being sick and tired?'
<i>(SONG: "I'm on my way Ó")</i>	
WHITE LIBERAL:	We are very respectable, very well thought of in the community. When all this fuss started I said to my husband, I said: 'If only people would stop and think and talk, the whole things would be much nicer, don't you think?' Nobody knows yet, but yesterday evening I gave a little dinner party with two people from COFO as guests. Now whatever strange ideas they have, they're really quite nice people . . . I'm going to mention it, let it drop casually, you know, at the bridge party tonight. I want to see their faces when I tell them . . . (phone rings) Hello, this is the Heffners. . . Oh, please you don't understand . . . Oh, let me explain. (She places the phone back and then cries silently.)

LET FREEDOM RING

VOICE:	Suddenly the Heffners had trouble. Their phone rang continually with hate calls. They watched as armed men waited outside their suburban house. There were to be no more bridge parties in McComb for them. Soon afterwards, they packed up everything they had and left the state.
<i>(Song: "Oh Freedom")</i>	
TOM PREACHER:	Let the church say Amen. Yes, Lord. Yes, indeed. The spirit is among us today. (Amens) I would like to personally thank our brother, Pastor Rich, the visiting minister of God, for his fine sermon this morning. (Amens, Yes, Lords, etc.) Friends, we done had ourselves some good old-fashioned religion this morning. Yes, sir. (Agreements) Now while the choir sings that fine old song "Meet Me at the River," we'll have the collection and I would like you to show your appreciation for Pastor Rich's fine sermon . . . show that you ain't ungrateful for getting some of the old Bible spirit.
WORKER:	I wonder if you'd let me say a few words just before we finish.
TOM PREACHER:	Why, yes . . . , there's no reason why we shouldn't listen to our young visitor from the COFO workers, is there, friends? As long as it doesn't take too long . . .
WORKER:	Thank you. I'm here, we are here, because there's something wrong in Mississippi. We've had more bombings than you can count on both your hands, churches have been burned to the ground, people have been killed. What have the police done about it? Nothing! What are they or anyone else going to do about it? Nothing! And yet you can all sit here singing and saying 'Amen' and feeling good AS IF NOTHING HAD HAPPENED! You're not even angry!
TOM PREACHER:	Just a minute! Just a minute! Slow down a minute, young lady! I would like to remind you that this a church of God. You can't come in here and start telling us to get angry.
WORKER:	I'm sorry to have to argue with you, Sir. But Negroes in McComb, everybody in this congregation has every reason to be as mad as Hell –
TOM PREACHER:	STOP! You're cursing in a holy church of God.
WORKER:	But people ought to be very angry –
TOM PREACHER:	Get out! Get out!
WORKER:	How can we overcome our fear of the white folks when we're frightened of each other –
TOM PREACHER:	Get out! (pause). The choir will now sing and we will have our collection. And start praying.

LET FREEDOM RING

VOICE:	One of the first people to step over the line of disapproval and stand firmly on the side of civil rights workers in McComb was Mrs. Aylene Quin. When nobody dared to say hello to them as they walked from door to door along the red dust road, Mama Quin welcomed the workers to her cafe. If they had no money, and this was often the case, they were still welcome. No civil rights worker ever walked out of Mama Quin's cafe feeling hungry. That's why they bombed her home in September. The blast nearly killed her two youngest children as they lay asleep in the front bedroom. On the same night, the bombers visited a Negro church and blew that up too. COFO held a mass protest meeting at the ruined church the following evening, and a young Freedom School Teacher stood up to speak.
TEACHER:	<p>I'm going to speak loud and clear so you can all hear me. I especially want those cops standing at the back there with their guns and billy clubs to hear. I want them to pay particular attention, because it concerns them as much as anybody.</p> <p>We have been beaten in the streets. We have been bombed. We have been burned.</p> <p>Now, we are beginning to get up from the ground where we're been sitting patiently for so long. You people at the back who call yourselves policeman, guardians of the peace, know this too, and you're scared. That's why you're here tonight. Because you're scared! You know that Negroes are fed up with that good-old Southern custom of injustice. You are scared that the time may have come when they would realize that they had nothing to lose. Scared that they have reached a point where they will hit back . . .</p>
STUDENT:	<p>Poem: Shell of Fear</p> <p>When looking in a book, I noticed the buds of cotton. How ripe was the cotton that awaited to pop out of its shell. They are looking upon me, the Negro of Mississippi, who are ripe enough to pop out of our shell of fear. Not like the cotton that will lie and wait to be pulled out or not, if so be the case. No, we will pop out, Bloom, and grow in the sunlight of freedom.</p>
VOICE:	Ladies and gentleman of the audience, men and women of the world, black and white people. We have reached the beginning.

LET FREEDOM RING

Mr. ROBESON: Just like Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman were underground railroaders, and fighting for our freedom, you bet your life . . .

Mr. ARENS: Now I would invite your attention, if you please, to the Daily Worker of June 29, 1949, with reference to a get-together with you and Ben Davis. Do you know Ben Davis?

Mr. ROBESON: One of my dearest friends, one of the finest Americans you can imagine, born of a fine family, who went to Amherst and was a great man.¹

THE CHAIRMAN: The answer is yes?

Mr. ROBESON: Nothing could make me prouder than to know him.

THE CHAIRMAN: That answers the question.

Mr. ARENS: Did I understand you to laud his patriotism?

Mr. ROBESON: I say that he is as patriotic an American as there can be, and you gentlemen belong with the Alien and Sedition Acts, and you are the nonpatriots, and you are the un-Americans, and you ought to be ashamed of yourselves.

THE CHAIRMAN: Just a minute, the hearing is now adjourned.

Mr. ROBESON: I should think it would be.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have endured all of this that I can.

Mr. ROBESON: Can I read my statement?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, you cannot read it. The meeting is adjourned.

Mr. ROBESON: I think it should be, and you should adjourn this forever, that is what I would say . . .

Source: Congress, House, Committee on Un-American Activities, Investigation of the Unauthorized Use of U.S. Passports, 84th Congress, Part 3, June 12, 1956; in "Thirty Years of Treason: Excerpts from Hearings Before the House Committee on Un-American Activities," 1938–1968, Eric Bentley, ed. (New York: Viking Press, 1971), 770.

<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6440>

¹ Benjamin Davis was an African-American lawyer and political activist. A graduate of the Harvard Law School, he became a Communist after his involvement in a civil rights case in Georgia in 1930. He came to New York in 1935 and became editor of the "Negro Liberator" and later "The Daily Worker." He won election to the New York City Council as a Communist in 1943 and 1945. In 1949, he and ten other Communists were convicted under the Smith Act, which made it illegal to advocate the overthrowing of the government. Davis was serving a prison term when Robeson answered this question.
http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/kingpapers/article/davis_benjamin_jefferson_jr_1903_1964/

LET FREEDOM RING

How Have Farm Workers Struggled for Economic Freedom?

UNIT SEVEN *World in Uncertain Times: 1950–Present*

Chapter III Decade of Change: 1960s

<http://www.emsc.nysed.gov/ciai/socst/pub/sscore2.pdf> (p. 149)

These questions and documents can be used in conjunction with the New York State Education Department standard curriculum for grade 11 Social Studies: United States History and Government. Students will be able to discuss women's role in organizing farm labor and minority rights.

This lesson is appropriate for units on: labor movements, reform and minority rights. The lesson may require more than one class period.

AIM

Students will be able to:

- describe conditions faced by farm workers and their strategies to change those conditions
- explain how women were active in the farm workers movement
- explain the obstacles faced by the farm workers movement

VOCABULARY

migrant farm worker; boycott; National Labor Relations Act of 1935; collective bargaining; La Causa (the cause); Huelga (strike); United Farm Workers of America

ACTIVITIES

I. Opening activity

- A. Instruct students to read the excerpt of the play “Flor Campesina” in “Forged Under the Sun,” by Maria Elena Lucas (Document Group A).
- B. Have students answer the following questions:
 1. How does the author portray the life of a farm worker?
 2. Select several specific words or lines that you think best indicate the author's view of the life of farm workers. Why do you chose these specific lines?
 3. What do you think was the purpose of the play? What in the play leads you to that conclusion?
- C. Discuss student responses to the opening activity and the play.
 1. Ask students why the character Rosamaria continued working as a farm worker. What social, political and economic factors kept her there?
 2. How does Rosamaria change at the end of the play and why?

LET FREEDOM RING

II. Group activity

Divide students into small groups and inform them of their tasks.

Each group should have a reporter, recorder and materials handler. Each group will read and/or examine materials about the strategies used to address the problems faced by farm workers and/or the obstacles to their progress. Group members work together to complete the tasks on their handouts. The final task in each group's directions could be a group assignment developed in class or an individual assignment to complete as homework.

Group A: Maria Elena Lucas (text)

Group B: Dolores Huerta biographical information (text with visual product)

Group C: Statement of Dolores Huerta (text and visual with visual product)

Group D: Don't Buy Grapes flier (text with visual product)

Group E: El Mosquito Zumbador (text with visual or performance product)

Group F: Chavez Quote and Photographs (text and visuals with written product)

III. Share learning

Each group's reporter:

- briefly describes the materials used by the group
- explains the strategies and obstacles that farm workers faced
- reads and/or displays the group's product

IV. Discussion

What types of strategies and obstacles appeared repeatedly in group reports?

Why do you think that the farm workers faced such strong opposition?

Why do you think that the public gave so much support to the boycotts?

If you were a farm worker, which strategy would you personally have used to advocate for improved living and working conditions and why?

V. Assessment possibilities

A. Freedom can be defined in many different ways.

B. Design a memorial to the members of the farm workers movement. Write an explanation of the design (a description of its appearance and the reasons for it) and include any text that would appear.

C. Write a poem dedicated to members of the farm workers movement.

VI. Possible extension activities

A. Research the living and work conditions of farm workers today. Create a display or essay that compares the conditions to those prior to the emergence of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (U.F.W.O.C.).

B. Select a particular event in the farm workers' movement and locate documents and other materials that represent the point of view or official response of the growers, local law enforcement agencies or other government agencies. Write a comparison of the points of view on the event.

LET FREEDOM RING

VII. Additional resources:

Online resources: Go over timeline and overview of farm labor movement with students. Remind students that the United Farm Workers (U.F.W.) and Cesar Chavez were central to Rosamaria's transformation.

DISCOVERING HISTORY IN TODAY'S NEW YORK TIMES

1. Visit the Times Topics pages on Labor and Unionization at [NYTimes.com](https://www.nytimes.com/topics/labor). What seem to have been the top labor issues in the U.S. and around the world in the past 10 years? When you feel well-informed about labor issues, stage a class roundtable discussion in which students play the roles of key people involved in a recent labor dispute or in a fictional situation that you develop based on a real one. For example, students might play union organizers and leaders, company executives and workers. Try to resolve the issue at hand.
2. Use The New York Times to research influential labor leaders other than Cesar Chavez and Maria Elena Lucas, such as Crystal Lee Sutton, whose struggles in a textile factory in the 1970s were portrayed in the movie "Norma Rae." Choose one leader and write a page designed for inclusion in a textbook about his or her challenges and accomplishments.
3. What conditions do farm workers face today? What percentage of farm laborers are members of minority groups? Are the minority workers often discriminated against and/or mistreated? What is the government doing to protect farm workers? Read and clip coverage in The Times about farm workers. Then write an editorial about how far, if at all, farm workers have come from the days of Cesar Chavez.
4. What is a grassroots movement? How effective are grassroots movements? How do they gain momentum? Look for mentions of grassroots movements in The New York Times, and choose one to investigate more deeply. Then choose an issue that you care about and, using what you learned, develop an idea for your own grassroots effort. Swap ideas with your classmates and comment on each other's plans, with an eye to how to get attention and participants, and how to be effective.

LET FREEDOM RING

Group A: Maria Elena Lucas

Directions: Read the excerpts from the review of “Forged Under the Sun,” by Maria Elena Lucas. As you read, underline the words or phrases that describe Lucas or her work or that have the greatest impact on you. Use the review and your excerpts from the play “Flor Campesina” in “Forged Under the Sun” to answer the following questions.

- A. What similarities and differences do you see in the life of Maria Elena Lucas and the characters in the play?

- B. How does what you know about Lucas’ life affect your understanding or perception of the play?

- C. What do you think the title of the book, “Forged Under the Sun,” refers to? Do you think it might have more than one meaning? Discuss.

- D. What strategies did Lucas use to work for improved conditions for farm workers? What success did she have?

- E. What obstacles did Lucas face in her fight for farm workers?

Review the words and phrases that you underlined while reading the review. Select which you feel are most important to know about or understand Maria Elena Lucas and use them to write a found poem.

LET FREEDOM RING

Group A

Maria Elena Lucas

Forged Under the Sun/Forjado Bajo el Sol: The Life of Maria Elena Lucas.

Excerpts from a review by Barbara Kingsolver, from the *Women's Review of Books*, February 1, 1994

The Life Of Maria Elena Lucas is probably the most difficult one I have ever read about or imagined. She was born in 1941, the first of seventeen children in an impoverished family in Brownsville, Texas. She and her siblings scavenged streets and garbage cans for survival; her only other economic option there would have been prostitution. In summers her family made the dangerous trip north with other migrant farmworkers. They lived and worked in the fields, were harassed by farm owners and the police, and survived (or often, didn't survive) the stark hazards of impossibly hard work in degrading and unsanitary conditions. As an observant child, she bore constant witness to illness, starvation and death.

At the age of fifteen, bent on escaping her abusive father, Maria Elena married a man who turned out to be no less abusive and whose family treated her, literally, as a slave. After many years she managed a difficult escape and continued her life as a farm laborer and, now, a single mother. She raised her children in a society that threatened her for being female and humiliated her children for being poor and Latino – a pain that eventually cost one of her sons his life. In 1988 she was sprayed with agricultural chemicals that nearly killed her. She lost consciousness; over the next hours her heart stopped three times. She was completely disabled for months. Pain, loss of equilibrium, sporadic losses of visual and mental acuity and other unpredictable symptoms still haunt her. . .

Lucas began organizing her coworkers by bringing them together for plays, music and a children's Mexican dance troupe. In the late 1970s she discovered the United Farm Worker movement. In the 1980s she joined the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) in Onarga, Illinois, and worked with other women to mount a successful campaign against Campbell Soup. As a grassroots organizer, she reached thousands of workers with the message of hope for change through collective strength. Within the labor organizing community she still struggled with sexism, but she honed her skills and continued her work as an organizer even after she was poisoned. This meant remaining in the fields where further exposure to chemicals might kill her; she went anyway.

LET FREEDOM RING

Group A

Maria Elena Lucas

Excerpts from “Flor Campesina,” a play by Maria Elena Lucas

ACT I

NARRATOR: Miguel, Rosamaría, and their children live in a small hut on a vegetable ranch. The patrón charges them \$25 a week to use the sanitary facilities. He does not charge them rent for the hut.

They work in the fields, picking and cleaning many kinds of vegetables. Soon they will be picking tomatoes. After they have worked Monday through Friday from 6am to dusk, and Saturday from 6am to 5pm, the time finally comes for them to stop working. The patrón comes to pay them and says that they have made very good money, that they have earned \$150. He takes out the \$25 charge for the facilities, hands Miguel \$125 in cash, and leaves. Miguel then takes Rosamaría and the children to the supermarket of the town, where they buy \$70 worth of food and put \$30 worth of gas in their old car. When they return to their hut, Miguel kisses Rosamaría and tells her he'll be back soon . . .

ROSAMARÍA: What difference does it make if I leave this forsaken ranch today. What difference does it make if I grab my blankets and rags, because, after all, I own hardly nothing, and I go away from this forsaken ranch. I'm sick of this life, of the work and of the boss. Of living dead of hunger, but then, who forces me into this? Well, I really am a fool.

From the time I get up at the light of dawn, cross myself and commend myself to God, it's pull, pull, like a burro, without stopping. I work to get some money together to get out of this misery, and my crazy old man to go off and get drunk.

And then there's the boss, who gets after us and pushes us, driving us like animals with their horns close to the ground.

Cheapskate old boss, he knows very well that I don't make enough even to eat. He knows very well that I go around barefoot, but then, who forces me into this? Well, I really am a fool . . .

LET FREEDOM RING

ACT II

[Rosamaría, Miguel, their children and many farm worker friends work in the fields picking tomatoes in the Ranch of Vipers. Some of them chat and laugh, others are singing. In the distance one can hear the sound of an airplane. It comes closer and closer ... the plane flies over the field and the farm workers, spraying them with pesticides. Everyone complains and yells at the airplane.]

DON LUPITO: Damnit! They're spraying us with their grime!

GLORIA: Watch out, old dirtbag!

ROSAMARÍA: Hey, we're not worms!

LUCÍA: Hey, stop it! God, what barbarians!

MIGUEL: Cover your face with something! Cover your face!

[Finally the plane leaves. Everything is covered with pesticides: the tomato fields, the farm workers, the drinking water, their lunch, the ditch, everything. The farm workers rub their bodies with their hands to try to clean themselves a little, and then continue picking tomatoes.] . . .

PATRÓN: Hey, this isn't good, c'mon, move it! Not a lot of tomatoes, not a lot of money, understand? C'mon, move it!

[The boss, with an angry face, stays to watch them work. The women, serious and quiet, pick faster. After a while the boss leaves and Lucía rushes to Gloria.]

LUCÍA: Now, Gloria, because it's going to be time to eat and the men will arrive soon.

[The women make a wall of baskets and form a circle around Gloria to cover her in her time of necessity.]

WOMEN: A human act.

[Soon one begins to hear the men shouting that it's time to eat. Some run to the ditch to wash their hands, others break up tomatoes to wash their hands with the juice, then all of them gather at the edge of the field to eat, laughing, chatting and offering their lunch to each other.]

NARRATOR: And this is how, day after day, the beautiful harvest season is spent, and the many seasons of harvest, and many things happen . . . Miguel is consumed by drunkenness and wastes away, and Rosamaría is left all alone.

LET FREEDOM RING

ACT III

NARRATOR: Rosamaría continues living the only life she has known, dragging her burdens along the ruts in the fields, harvest after harvest, state after state; the summer harvest ends, and the winter arrives, lashing at her with cold, hunger, misery, gnawing away, like a hungry rat, her mind, her energy and her youth . . .

One day comes the last straw.

[. . . sign appears labeled, the National Labor Relations Act of 1935.]

ROSAMARÍA: (shouting) Noooo! No, it can't be possible, my God! I don't want to be a slave! Why, my sweet God? Why, answer me! Why have you abandoned me, if I've never offended you? Answer me! Whose God are you, then? Answer me!

[Rosamaría cries pitifully until her cries are silenced by a tender voice . . .]

THE VIRGIN: Rosamaría, Rosamaría, don't cry anymore, please, Rosamaría. Look, search for the man whom they call César Chávez.

You will find him where the sun sets and the beast falls, where a black eagle flies in my flag, in the fields where they sing "De Colores." There, reigning you shall find Justice, Peace, God and César Chávez. Fly, fly, black eagle, and when you return to these fields, "De Colores" you shall sing.

[By the time Rosamaría raises her head, The Virgin is gone.]

ROSAMARÍA: (shouting) Lucía! Chumba! Lola! Don Lupito! Gloria! Rosa! Trino! Chita! I'm going to look for César Chávez! We'll see each other when I come back as a Chavizta!

NARRATOR: And that is what happened . . .

ROSAMARÍA: My General César Chávez, my name is Rosamaría De Los Campos, alias La Chavizta, Mr. President. I represent the AFL-CIO United Farm Workers in this state. I second the motion to approve the resolutions made by our companion and dear brother, Rufino Contreras, because I believe in God, peace and justice for the farm workers' struggle. Thank you, Mr. President.

[And the great Moses of the farm workers movingly requests a general vote . . .]

CÉSAR CHÁVEZ: All those who are against us, let them fall on their knees and beg God to forgive them.

All those who are for us, let them sing "De Colores," and may God bless them, and long live the United Farm Workers!

END

LET FREEDOM RING

Group B: Dolores Huerta Biographical Information

Directions: Review the mentions of Dolores Huerta in the timeline and read the excerpts from the biographical articles on Huerta. As you read, underline the words or phrases that describe Huerta, her work or that have the greatest impact on you.

Answer the following questions:

A. What roles did Huerta play in working for improved conditions for farm workers?
What did she do (type of activities)?

B. What success did she have?

C. What obstacles did Huerta face in her fight for farm workers?

Review the words and phrases that you underlined while reading. Select which you feel are most important for understanding Dolores Huerta and write them in the white spaces on the “Viva Dolores” poster along with your comments and questions about her life and work. At the bottom of the poster, write a one-paragraph explanation of your choices.

LET FREEDOM RING

Group B

Dolores Huerta Biographical Information

Excerpts from

http://www.doloreshuerta.org/dolores_huerta_foundation.htm

Her [Dolores's] efforts paid off in 1961 when she succeeded in obtaining the removal of citizenship requirements from pension and public assistance programs for legal residents of the United States and California State disability insurance for farm workers.

She was also instrumental in passage of legislation allowing the right to vote in Spanish, and the right of individuals to take the drivers license examination in their native language. In 1962 she lobbied in Washington D.C. for an end to the "captive labor" Bracero Program. In 1963 she was instrumental in securing Aid for Dependent Families ("AFDC"), for the unemployed and underemployed . . .

In 1966, Dolores negotiated the first NFWA contract with the Schenley Wine Company. This was the first time in the history of the United States that a negotiating committee comprised of farm workers and a young Latina single mother of seven, negotiated a collective bargaining agreement with an agricultural corporation. The grape strike continued and the two organizations ("AWA" and "NFWA") merged in 1967 to form the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee ("U.F.W.O.C."). As the main U.F.W.O.C. negotiator, Dolores successfully negotiated more contracts for farm workers, she also set up hiring halls, the farm workers ranch committees, administrated the contracts and conducted over one hundred grievance and arbitration procedures on behalf of the workers.

These contracts established the first medical and pension benefits for farm workers and safety plans in the history of agriculture. Dolores spoke out early against toxic pesticides that threaten farm workers, consumers, and the environment. The early U.F.W.O.C. agreements required growers to stop using such dangerous pesticides as DDT and Parathyon. Dolores organized field strikes, directed the grape, lettuce and Gallo Wine boycotts, and led the farm workers in campaigns for political candidates. As a legislative advocate, Dolores became one of the U.F.W.'s most visible spokespersons. Robert F. Kennedy acknowledged her, the farm workers, and Cesar's help in winning the 1968 California Democratic Presidential Primary moments before he was assassinated in Los Angeles.

Dolores directed the U.F.W.'s national grape boycott that resulted in the entire California table grape industry signing a three-year collective bargaining agreement with the United Farm Workers . . .

LET FREEDOM RING

Dolores directed the east coast boycott of grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines . . .

In 1974 she was instrumental in securing unemployment benefits for farm workers. In 1985 Dolores lobbied against federal guest worker programs and spearheaded legislation granting amnesty for farm workers that had lived, worked, and paid taxes in the United States for many years but [were] unable to enjoy the privileges of citizenship. This resulted in the Immigration Act of 1985 in which 1,400,000 farm workers received amnesty.

Dolores worked with Cesar for over thirty years until his death in 1993. Together they founded the Robert Kennedy Medical Plan, the Juan De La Cruz Farm Workers Pension Fund, the Farm Workers Credit Union, the first medical and pension plans and credit union in history for farm workers. They also formed the National Farm Workers Service Center (visit www.NSWSC.org) which today provides affordable housing with over 3,700 rental and 600 single family dwelling units, and educational radio with over nine Spanish Speaking Radio Stations throughout California, Washington and Arizona.

In 2002 Dolores was the second recipient of the Puffin Foundation/Nation Institute Award for Creative Citizenship (visit www.nationinstitute.org) that included a \$100,000 grant which she utilized to establish her long time dream, the Dolores Huerta Foundation's Organizing Institute.

The Foundation's mission is to focus on community organizing and leadership training in low-income under-represented communities.

At age seventy-five (75), Dolores Huerta still works long hours serving as President of the Dolores Huerta Foundation leading the development of the organization and the Organizing Institute as well as the community organizing. It is not unusual to find her traveling regularly to cities across North America educating the public on public policy issues affecting immigrants, women, and youth. She speaks at colleges and organizations throughout the country in support of "La Causa".

LET FREEDOM RING

Group B

Dolores Huerta Biographical Information

“Viva Dolores!”

Image of U.F.W. organizer, Dolores Huerta, speaking into megaphone,
by Favianna Rodriguez Giannoni



LET FREEDOM RING

Group C: “Don’t Buy Grapes”

Directions: Read the flier and answer the following questions about it.

- A. Which company was targeted by a strike and why?
- B. What did the company do to deal with the strike?
- C. How did grape growers respond to the boycott of the company’s grapes?
- D. How did the union respond to the grape growers’ collective action?
- E. Who is the audience for the flier? What is its purpose?


Make a visual timeline that illustrates the events described in the flier. You should include your answers to A, B, C and D. Your illustrations can be as simple as those on the flier itself, but should be original. Write a paragraph in your own words to serve as a caption for the timeline.

LET FREEDOM RING


Group C

"Don't Buy Grapes," 1969


You are making history.

 You live in the biggest agricultural State in the world's most productive nation.

Grapes are California's number one agricultural product. The Giumarra corporation is the largest producer of table grapes in the world. Yet the men, women, and children who work in the fields of this great corporation are denied what every American worker has the right to expect, a collective bargaining agreement with their employer. Without such an agreement, a man is at the mercy of big business. He is valued, like the soil is valued, as a producing unit; and he is stepped on like the soil is stepped on.

 In 1967, Giumarra's workers demanded a collective bargaining agreement. When it was denied them, they left the fields in protest. The Giumarra Corporation then imported mere human producing units from other States and from across the border, some illegally.


When these new workers later learned about the strike, many joined, but others were so desperate as to sell out their brothers by becoming strikebreakers. Giumarra thus gradually rebuilt his work force.

 When American consumers responded to the plight of the farm workers by refusing to buy Giumarra's grapes, California agribusiness began to close ranks. Other growers allowed Giumarra to confuse the public by lending him their labels. This forced the farm worker to take on the entire grape industry at once - like David against Goliath. And the cry went up to America and the world: "Don't Buy Grapes!"

—A few misinformed people have called the grape boycott illegal. It is not illegal.

A primary boycott is legal for any type of worker. A secondary boycott is legal for farm workers, since they are not covered by the national Labor Relations Act. For the past fourteen months American citizens have responded with the traditional spirit of justice by avoiding grapes like the plague.

In some parts of the country, major food-store chains have recognized the will of the American people by agreeing to handle no more grapes until the massive grape industry recognizes the rights of those whose labor provides our nation with food.

 Why does Los Angeles lag behind? Why do the food-store chains in this city continue to stock grapes, even when consumers refuse to buy them?

The answer is simple. No large food-store chain in Los Angeles acts alone. The big chains continue to carry grapes, not because the people want them, but because the biggest and strongest chains control the rest. Big business in America is no longer interested in supplying what the American consumer wants. Big business is out to make the American consumer buy what big business has to sell.

Safeway is the largest food-store chain in the West. Please do not shop at Safeway until its management agrees to stop handling California table grapes, or until the giants of the table-grape industry agree to negotiate with the chosen representatives of their laborers.

PLEASE DON'T SHOP AT SAFEWAY.

Citizens' Don't Buy Grapes Committee
3016 1/2 East First Street
Los Angeles, California 90063
265-1053

LET FREEDOM RING

Group D: “El Mosquito Zumbador”

Directions: Read “El Mosquito Zumbador” (the Spanish or English version).

Answer the following questions:

A. Why are the farm workers on strike?

B. What has Di Giorgio done that is upsetting the workers?

C. Review the timeline. What is the legal status of Di Giorgio’s actions at that time?
What law addresses such actions?

D. What actions are the farm workers planning against Di Giorgio?

E. Who is the audience for this flier? How do you know?

F. Why does the flier attack Di Giorgio as un-Christian?

G. According to the flier, why are the Teamsters an unacceptable choice for the farm workers?
What do you think is their relationship to Di Giorgio?

For presentation:

A. Create a cartoon that satirizes Di Giorgio and his actions. Write a caption for it and a paragraph that explains the cartoon.

B. Create a satirical skit about Di Giorgio and his actions that portrays the striking farm workers’ point of view.

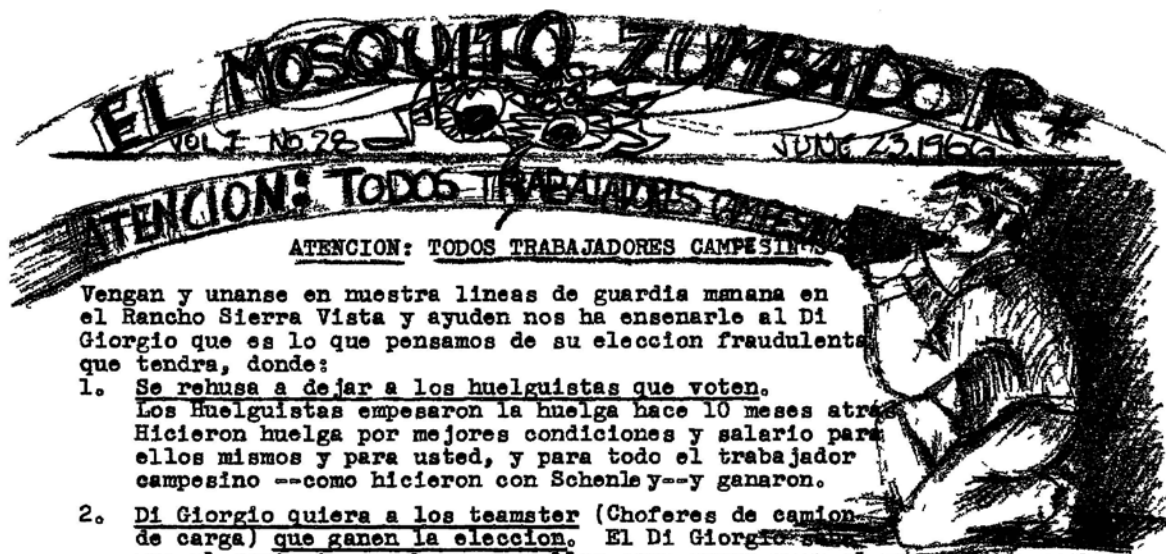
LET FREEDOM RING

Group D

VOCABULARY TO KNOW

picket line; Teamsters

El Mosquito Zumbador, 1966



EL MOSQUITO ZUMBADOR
VOL. 7 No. 28 JUNE 23, 1966

¡ATENCIÓN! TODOS TRABAJADORES CAMPESINOS

Vengan y unanse en nuestra línea de guardia mañana en el Rancho Sierra Vista y ayuden nos ha enseñarle al Di Giorgio que es lo que pensamos de su elección fraudulenta que tendrá, donde:

1. Se rehúsa a dejar a los huelguistas que voten.
Los Huelguistas empezaron la huelga hace 10 meses atrás. Hicieron huelga por mejores condiciones y salario para ellos mismos y para usted, y para todo el trabajador campesino --como hicieron con Schenley--y ganaron.
2. Di Giorgio quiere a los teamster (Choferes de camión de carga) que ganen la elección. El Di Giorgio sabe que el contrato que haga con ellos será suave para él y muy duro para los trabajadores campesinos. El sabe que el contrato que haga con la NFWA será para los trabajadores campesinos! Por eso es que tiene miedo que vote la NFWA.

ES ESTA UNA ELECCION LIBRE? No! Esta es una elección forzada como las que tienen y tenían en Russia y Alemania facista.

LE AYUDARA ESTO A LOS TRABAJADORES? No! venderá a los trabajadores a las manos de Di Giorgio y los Teamsters (Choferes de Camión de Carga)

ES ESTO UN ACTO CRISTIANO? No! Este es el acto más inmoral que cualquier patron ha perpetrado en contra sus trabajadores.

NECESITAMOS SU AYUDA Vengan al Rancho Sierra Vista el Viernes por la mañana a las 6:00 y juntense con la línea de guardia y juntense con nosotros en oración en el sepulcro de la Virgen De Guadalupe donde oraremos por las almas de Di Giorgio y los teamsters (Choferes de Camión de Carga) por este infame acto que no es Cristiano.***

ATTENTION: ALL FARM-WORKERS!!!

Come and join our picket line tomorrow at Sierra Vista and help us show Di Giorgio what we think of the phony election he is holding at which:

1. He refuses to let the strikers vote.
These strikers started the strike 10 months ago. They struck for decent wages and conditions for themselves and you, and all farm-workers like they did at Schenleys--and WON!
2. Di Giorgio wants the Teamsters to win the election.
He knows the contract he makes with them will be easy on him and hard on the workers. He knows the contract he is going to have to make with the NFWA will be for the workers! That is why he is afraid to let the NFWA vote.

LET FREEDOM RING

IS THIS A "FREE" ELECTION? No! It is a forced election like they had in Russia and Nazi Germany.

WILL THIS HELP THE WORKERS? No! It will sell the workers into the hands of Di Giorgio and the Teamsters.

IS THIS A CHRISTIAN ACT? No! This is the most Immoral act any employer has ever perpetrated against his workers.

SO, WE NEED YOUR HELP!!!

Come to Sierra Vista Friday morning at 6:00 A.M. and join our picket-line, and join with us in prayer at the Shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe out there where we will pray for the souls of Di Giorgio and the Teamsters for this infamous, un-Christian act!!!

Viva la Huelga!



NFWA
P.O. BOX 130-102 Albany St.
Delano, California
Ph. 725-8661

LET FREEDOM RING

Group E: Statement by Cesar Chavez

Directions: Read the statement by Cesar Chavez regarding obstacles faced by the strikers and protestors.

Answer the following questions:

A. How did Chavez view the United States government's position in terms of the growers during strikes?

B. How do you think the government may have justified its actions?

C. How did strikes become violent?

D. What in the statement supports Chavez's statement that "unchecked raw power" was being used against strikers and protestors?

LET FREEDOM RING

Group E

Chavez Statement

**Excerpts from Hearings before the Committee on Labor and Human Resources,
U.S. Senate, 96th Congress, 1st Session, 1997**

For so many years we have been involved in agricultural strikes; organizing almost 30 years as a worker, as an organizer, and as president of the union — and for all these almost 30 years it is apparent that when the farm workers strike and their strike is successful, the employers go to Mexico and have unlimited, unrestricted use of illegal alien strikebreakers to break the strike. And, for over 30 years, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has looked the other way and assisted in the strikebreaking...

We have observed all these years the Immigration Service has a policy as it has been related to us, that they will not take sides in any agricultural labor dispute... They have not taken sides means permitting the growers to have unrestricted use of illegal aliens as strikebreakers, and if that isn't taking sides, I don't know what taking sides means...

The growers have armed their foremen. They have looked to professional agencies to provide them unlimited numbers of armed guards recruited from the streets, young men who are not trained, many of them members of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party...who are given a gun and a club and a badge and a canister of tear gas and the authority and permission to go and beat our people up, frighten them, maim them, and try to break the strike by using this unchecked raw power against our people...

LET FREEDOM RING

Brief Overview and Timeline of the Farm Labor Movement

Attempts at organizing farm labor in the early 20th century had very limited success. There was no legal protection to keep employers from firing employees who joined a union or to require them to recognize unions and allow employees to bargain collectively. While all workers found it difficult to unionize, farm workers faced additional obstacles.

“Farm laborers suffered from high rates of illiteracy and poverty (average family earnings were just \$2,000 in 1965), they also experienced persistently high rates of unemployment (traditionally around 19 percent) and were divided into a variety of ethnic groups: Mexican, Arab, Filipino, and Puerto Rican. That farm workers rarely remained in one locality for very long also hindered unionism, as did the ease with which employers could replace them with inexpensive Mexican day laborers, known as braceros, who were trucked into California and the Southwest at harvest time. Farm workers were specifically excluded from the protection of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. Unlike other American workers, farm workers were not guaranteed the right to organize, had no guarantee of a minimum wage and had no federally guaranteed standards of work in the fields. State laws requiring toilets, rest periods and drinking water in the fields were largely ignored.”

“Cesar Chavez,” Hearings Before the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, U.S. Senate, 96th Congress, 1st Session, 1997

- 1903 Sugar beet strike in Oxnard, California, by the Japanese Mexican Labor Association.
- 1913 Wheatland, California, strike by the Industrial Workers of the World.
- 1935 The National Labor Relations Act excluded farm workers from the right given to other workers to join unions and engage in collective bargaining.
- 1941 The United States and Mexican governments began the Bracero program to supply needed farm labor during World War II.
- 1955 The Community Service Organization was begun to assist Mexican Americans in California. Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez met while working for it.
- 1960 Dolores Huerta founded the Agricultural Workers Association (A.W.A.) while working for C.S.O.
- 1962 Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta resigned their C.S.O. positions after the organization denied Cesar’s proposal to organize farm workers.
Chavez, Huerta and others organized farm workers into the National Farmworkers Association (N.F.W.A.)
- 1964 The Bracero program ended.
- 1965 In September, the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (A.W.O.C.), composed primarily of Filipino farm workers, went on strike against the Delano, California, table grape growers. The N.F.W.A. joined the strike. The farm workers movement became known as La Causa (the Cause).
Chavez led a 250-mile march from Delano to Sacramento to draw attention to the problems faced by migrant farm workers.
Huerta successfully negotiated the first N.F.W.A. contract with Schenley Wine Company.

LET FREEDOM RING

- 1967 N.F.W.A. and A.W.O.C. joined together to become the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee (U.F.W.O.C.).
Chavez fasted almost a month to model nonviolent protest and draw attention to La Causa. The U.F.W.O.C. began a nationwide boycott of all table grapes when growers targeted by a strike started using the labels of other grape growers. More than 14 million Americans honored the boycott.
- 1968 The U.F.W.O.C. endorsed Robert Kennedy as candidate for president, helping him win the California Democratic primary election and demonstrating the national importance of the Union.
- 1969 The Delano growers signed contracts with the U.F.W.O.C.
- 1970 The U.F.W.O.C. launched a strike and lettuce boycott in response to the Teamsters Union (reputed as corrupt and working against worker rights) being invited by Salinas lettuce and vegetable growers to represent their workers, in order to prevent the U.F.W.O.C. from organizing them.
- 1972 The U.F.W.O.C. became the United Farmworkers Union (U.F.W.) after acceptance as a full member of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.
- 1973 The U.F.W. struck when grape growers signed what it believed were sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters Union. Two farmworkers were killed in the violence that accompanied confrontations between strikers, their supporters and persons brought in by the Teamsters.
- 1975 The California Agricultural Labor Relations Act gave farmworkers the right to secret ballot in elections selecting a union and required growers to recognize and bargain with unions so elected.
- 1980s U.F.W. membership declined.
- 1993 Cesar Chavez dies in Yuma, Arizona. His funeral in Delano, CA, is attended by 40,000 people. Arturo Rodriguez is named new U.F.W. president.
- 1994 Cesar Chavez is awarded a posthumous Medal of Honor by President Clinton.
- 1994 U.F.W. wins new contracts representing workers in rose, mushroom, strawberry, wine to
2004 grape, lettuce and vegetable workers in California, Florida and Washington state.
- 2000 California establishes a state holiday in honor of Cesar Chavez.
- 2003 Cesar E. Chavez commemorative stamp is issued by the United States Postal Service.

Sources:

"Cesar Chavez," Digital History

http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/mexican_voices/voices_display.cfm?id=110

The Fight in The Fields: Cesar Chavez and The Farmworkers' Struggle

<http://www.pbs.org/itvs/fightfields/cesarchavez1.html>

"Dolores Huerta Biography," The Dolores Huerta Foundation

http://www.doloreshuerta.org/dolores_huerta_foundation.htm

NOTE: A much more detailed timeline focusing on Cesar Chavez and the larger Labor and Civil Rights movements is available at www.pbs.org/itvs.fightfields/timeline.html