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Introduction to American Political Culture

egyetemi jegyzet

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Preface

Introduction to American Political Culture is a textbook intended for undergraduate and graduate students whose native language is not English and who have relatively limited exposure to American politics and culture. The textbook was written primarily for students of Pazmany Peter Catholic University (PPCU), majoring in International Relations of Political Science, wishing to have a better understand of American political culture. Importantly, this is not a textbook about American history, American politics, American political system or institutions; rather, this is a textbook that focuses on political culture.

The author of the textbook has taught the course entitled American Political Culture for many years at PPCU, and has recognized a shortage of appropriate textbook in this topic for international students in non-English speaking Universities. This textbook intends to fill this gap by introducing the topic in its broad historical context, reflecting on how American political culture has evolved over time and how it affects national and international political approaches of the United States.

The textbook begins with a chapter on concepts and definitions, where the notion of political culture is discussed, in order to lay the foundation for further chapters. Concepts such as liberty, equality, individualism, the American dream, democracy and exceptionalism are presented and defined. This chapter also contains some general characterizations of the United States of America, specifically for those students who have had little courses in the earlier studies about this country. In the following chapters, students get acquainted with important historical events that defined American political identity, with a focus on movements, agreements, and persons who had a lasting change in how political culture evolved. Each chapter is complemented with a section on the relevance of the topic(s) discussed, focusing on the 20th and 21st centuries. This section highlights both, the continuity of some themes within American political culture, and also how they changed over time.

Throughout the book, political speeches are used as an illustration of themes and concepts that define political culture. Indeed, political and public speeches “have profoundly shaped American history and culture, transforming not only our politics but also our language and our sense of national identity.”¹ With that, discourse is one of the key lenses employed in the textbook to identify and analyze core elements of American political culture. Supplementary texts are included in the Appendix, which contains longer excerpts from speeches, relevant articles, documents and other resources that supplement each chapter and provide a more nuanced understanding of the topics discussed.

Chapters have a similar structure: there are two sub-chapters, a section on how the given topic has manifested in the 20th and 21st century political culture, and then a list of tasks and exercises that help students expand and test their knowledge acquired through this chapter. Throughout the chapters, there are shorter tasks and questions for class discussion or homework. These exercises are aimed at not only checking students’ comprehension, but also develop critical and analytical thinking, based on the topics of the given chapter. Teachers may decide whether these tasks should be discussed in class or as part of homework assignment. The following symbols are used to distinguish between types of exercises:

¹ Library of America. N.d. “American Speeches: Political Oratory from the Revolution to the Civil War.” Accessed July 18, 2022. <https://www.loa.org/books/248-american-speeches-political-oratory-from-the-revolution-to-the-civil-war>



Tasks – short tasks, questions to supplement the chapter’s content



Case study – usually an example of the studied phenomenon through the lived experience of a given group or set in a given location



Questions that require students to think independently, critically and formulate their own opinion

Importantly, this is not a comprehensive history book, neither does the textbook give a detailed account on how political institutions came about or function today; rather, this textbook highlights certain elements from various eras to illustrate how political culture emerged, solidified and continued influencing political beliefs, preferences and events. Sources used in the textbook are diverse, including historical societies and museum websites, university and educational resources, academic article, speeches, newspapers and alike. The entire content of the textbook is designed for a semester long course, covering both in-class material and homework assignments (through the various tasks and exercises). In most chapters further literature is suggested for those students, who wish to learn more about the topic. A list of bibliography at the end each chapter contains not only those resources that were cited in the chapter, but it can also be used as a list of further readings for interested students.

The author is grateful for the support that the Pazmany Peter Catholic University has provided, as well as the constructive comments from the reviewer, Dr. Lee Beaudoen, Assistant Professor at Pazmany Peter Catholic University’s Institute of History, Department of Armenian Studies.

Table of Contents

<i>Preface</i>	2
<i>Chapter 1: Concepts and Definitions</i>	6
Exercises and tasks for this chapter	11
Bibliography	13
<i>Chapter 2: Historical foundations of the United States</i>	15
Settler colonialism	15
Manifest Destiny, Exceptionalism, and “City upon a Hill”	16
Relevance in the 20 th and 21 st centuries	19
Exercises and tasks for this chapter	22
Bibliography	24
<i>Chapter 3: Road to Independence</i>	27
Resistance to Tyranny	27
The American Revolution and Early Self-government	28
Relevance in the 20 th and 21 st centuries	31
Exercises and tasks for this chapter	33
Bibliography	36
<i>Chapter 4: American political culture in the 19th century</i>	38
Territorial expansion and Manifest Destiny	38
Social Tensions and the Civil War	41
Relevance for the 20 th and 21 st centuries	45
Exercises and tasks for this chapter	46
Bibliography	48
<i>Chapter 5: Slavery and race</i>	50
History of racial tensions	50
Progress towards racial equality	53
Relevance for the 20 th and 21 st centuries: The Civil Rights Movement and beyond	56
Exercises and tasks for this chapter	60

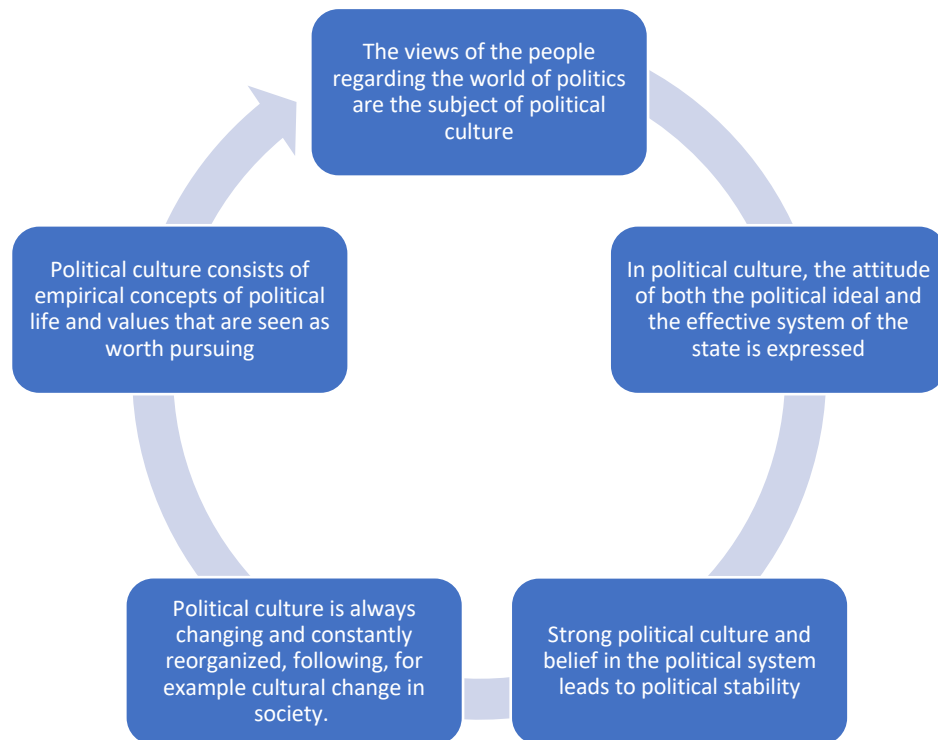
Bibliography	62
Chapter 6: American foreign policy.....	64
Roots of the United States foreign policy: Monroe Doctrine and Roosevelt Corollary	64
Application of the Monroe Doctrine and Roosevelt Corollary in American foreign policy.....	65
Relevance for the 21 st century	68
Exercises and tasks for this chapter	70
Bibliography	73
Chapter 7: Contentious topics in American political culture	75
Case study 1: “The right of the people to keep and bear Arms”	75
Case study 2: Healthcare	80
Exercises and tasks for this chapter	84
Bibliography	86
Concluding remarks.....	88
Bibliography	89
Appendix.....	90
Japanese-Americans in the 20 th century United States.....	90
John O’Sullivan Declares America’s Manifest Destiny, 1845.....	91
Cherokee Petition Protesting Removal, 1836	92
Early agreements: Mayflower Compact	93
Declaration of Independence (excerpt).....	94
Constitution of the United States of America (excerpts)	95
Changing Meaning of Confederate Flag	99
The life and activism of Rosa Parks	103
M.L.King: “I have a Dream” Speech.....	104
Seventh Annual Message (Monroe Doctrine, December 2, 1823); excerpt	107

Chapter 1: Concepts and Definitions

Political culture develops over time and reflects widely shared values and norms about a country's political system. Considering that these norms are widely shared, political culture then becomes a unifying force, binding citizens together and creating a powerful bond between the government and its people. The term is commonly used not only when we discuss different political behavior and attitude in countries, but it is also a concept studied among political scientists. Political culture, in other words, can also be “thought of as a nation's political personality...[it] helps build community and facilitate communication because people share an understanding of how and why political events, actions, and experiences occur in their country” (University of Minnesota 2016, 195).

Political culture is a rather complex term; political culture may influence attitudes, behaviors and conceptions, and in turn political culture itself is shaped by historical, political and social progressions. In presenting features of political culture, Avijit Biswas (2020) suggests the following elements:

Figure 1: Features of political culture



Source: Biswas (2020)

Political culture was most notably studied by Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba, who co-authored their well-known book *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* in 1963. In the book, the authors identified three basic types of political culture (summarized in the figure below), and defined political culture as the “particular pattern of orientation to political action” (quoted in Chilton 1988, 419). Since then, numerous other scholars inquired about the meaning of political culture, but hardly arrived to a consensus.

Suffice to say, political culture is a complex historical concept, which incorporates various sets of norms, behaviors and beliefs.



Task: Can you think of countries that can be characterized by each of the three forms of political culture, described by Almond and Verba? What are the implications of these forms of political cultures for the relationship between the state and society?

Figure 2: Three types of political culture

parochial political culture	subject political culture	participant political culture
<ul style="list-style-type: none">•citizens are mostly uninformed and unaware of their government•citizens tend to take little interest in the political process	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•citizens are somewhat informed and aware of their government•citizens sometimes participate in the political process	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•citizens are informed and aware of their government•citizens actively participate in the political process.

Source: Almond and Verba 1963

This textbook focuses on the political culture in the United States of America and strives to identify the most important shared beliefs that constitute American political culture, by examining the roots and implications of those beliefs. Series of scholarly works pointed out that concepts such as democracy, equality, freedom, individualism, diversity and liberty are ideals and values, which are arguably core to understanding the American political culture. To that end, it is important to trace the historical origins of American political culture, beginning with the first European settlers, and pay attention to how these ideals continued to be mobilized in political discourse.

An important question arises: how do we know that the American society indeed shares the above listed values? The Gallup poll regularly conducts surveys about ideological views of American people. In one poll, for example, Americans were asked how the US compares with other modern, industrial countries and 77% of respondents believed the United States was the best or above average; indeed, as the report concludes, “individual freedoms [is the] nation’s top virtue” (Saad 2013). A more recent study that examined political divisions in American society conclusively argued that despite major disagreements on issues, such as abortion rights or assault weapons, yet an overwhelming majority of Americans share the same values of equality, liberty and progress (Siena College Research Institute 2022). Interestingly, these values were deemed as important regardless of one’s political preferences: “Americans, across regions, political outlooks, the current partisan divide as well as by gender, race, ethnicity and age, all report believing in and embodying core American values” (ibid.).



Task: The authors of the earlier mentioned study (Siena College Research Institute 2022) stated the following:

“Our study confirms that we are a nation divided. We are divided by political affiliation, by our stance on issues and by enduring racial and class divisions. But we are all Americans and we proudly say that we share the core values that are enshrined in our founding documents, those that we teach in elementary school and those that we reinforce in our culture.”

In your country, what are the “core values” that are shared by everyone, which you consider as part of your political culture?

Although concepts such as norms, beliefs or values are rather abstract and hard to define, the table below provides a concise summary of key elements that are core to American political culture (adapted from University of Minnesota 2016, chapter 6, pp. 195-207).

<i>Beliefs and Values</i>	<i>Definition</i>
<i>Egalitarianism</i>	Egalitarianism is the doctrine emphasizing the natural equality of humans, or at least the absence of a preexisting superiority of one set of humans above another. This core American belief is found in the preamble to the Declaration of Independence, which states that “all men are created equal” and that people are endowed with the unalienable rights to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”
<i>Individualism</i>	The principle of individualism stresses the centrality and dignity of individual people. It privileges free action and people’s ability to take the initiative in making their own lives as well as those of others more prosperous and satisfying. ...[Individualism also suggests that] individuals can better themselves through self-reliance, hard work, and perseverance.
<i>Equality of opportunity</i>	Equality of opportunity [is] the belief that each individual has the same chance to get ahead in society. Americans tend to feel that most people who want to get ahead can make it if they’re willing to work hard.
<i>American creed</i>	he creed, which was composed by New York State Commissioner of Education Henry Sterling Chapin in 1918, refers to the belief that the United States is a government “by the people, for the people, whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed.” The nation consists of sovereign states united as “a perfect Union” based on “the principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity.”
<i>Exceptionalism</i>	American exceptionalism is the view that America’s exceptional development as a nation has contributed to its special place in the world. It is the conviction that the country’s vast frontier offered boundless and equal opportunities for individuals to achieve their goals. Americans feel strongly that their nation is destined to serve as an example to other countries.
<i>Patriotism</i>	the love of one’s country and respect for its symbols and principles.

<i>Rule of law</i>	idea that government is based on a body of law, agreed on by the governed, that is applied equally and justly. The Constitution is the foundation for the rule of law.
<i>Capitalist economic values</i>	Capitalist economic systems emphasize the need for a free-enterprise system that allows for open business competition, private ownership of property, and limited government intervention in business affairs.
<i>Multiculturalism</i>	Multiculturalism celebrates the unique cultural heritage of racial and ethnic groups, some of whom seek to preserve their native languages and lifestyles. The United States is home to many people who were born in foreign countries and still maintain the cultural practices of their homelands.
<i>“Melting pot”</i>	“Melting pot” describes how immigrants from many different backgrounds came together in the United States.

While the above-described beliefs, values and norms are popularly seen as part of the American political culture, nevertheless some can be a source of societal tension and disagreements as well. For instance, the “melting pot identity” is often used in the context of the United States, referring to diverse cultures and ethnicities forming the fabric of American society, yet throughout its history, certain ethnic groups were unwelcomed and discriminated in the country. The case study in the Appendix section describes the example of Japanese-Americans, based on the research of the National Japanese American Memorial Foundation.²



Case study: Read about a short history of Japanese-Americans and the anti-Japanese sentiments in the country in the 20th century. Discuss the following questions:

- Do you know of other (ethnic) groups who were been discriminated in the history of the United States?
- What are the long-lasting the consequences of such discriminatory policies?



Think critically: are there other values in the table above that might be disputed, similarly to the melting pot? Identify those values and discuss why they might be debated as part of the American political culture.

The next question worth addressing is how these values and beliefs manifest in political life? The example of former president Barack Obama may be instructive: when Barack Obama became an influential political actor, there was a growing interest in his background. Obama was

² Read more about the Foundation on their website: <https://www.njamemorial.org/discrimination>

elected as the 44th president of the United States in 2009 and served until 2017. He was the first African-American president, whose mother was a white American and his father was Kenyan. His family history stirred a debate in the US, which culminated in the years preceding his election. More specifically, much criticism centered around Obama's patriotism, which we defined above as "the love of one's country and respect for its symbols and principles."

For example, Obama was accused of not respecting core symbols of the country when he did not hold his hand over his heart while singing the national anthem (Star Spangled Banner) at the Harkin Steak Fry in Iowa in 2007, or for not wearing an American flag pin. This raised the question of what patriotism is, how is one to prove that they are loyal, patriotic to their country, and whether adherence to particular symbols should indicate a sense of patriotism. Obama has responded to this criticism in the following manner:

"At certain times over the last 16 months, I have found, for the first time, my patriotism challenged – at times as a result of my own carelessness, more often as a result of the desire by some to score political points and raise fears about who I am and what I stand for... I will never question the patriotism of others in this campaign. And I will not stand idly by when I hear others question mine... the question of who is – or is not -- a patriot all too often poisons our political debates... Throughout my life, I have always taken my deep and abiding love for this country as a given. It was how I was raised; it is what propelled me into public service; it is why I am running for president... For me, as for most Americans, patriotism starts as a gut instinct, a loyalty and love for country rooted in my earliest memories... As I got older, that gut instinct – that America is the greatest country on earth -- would survive my growing awareness of our nation's imperfections: it's ongoing racial strife; the perversion of our political system laid bare during the Watergate hearings; the wrenching poverty of the Mississippi Delta and the hills of Appalachia... Not only because, in my mind, the joys of American life and culture, its vitality, its variety and its freedom, always outweighed its imperfections but because I learned that what makes America great has never been its perfection but the belief that it can be made better." (Parker and Miller 2018)

In other words, Obama is suggesting to redefine patriotism as a feeling we express towards our country and a respect for how it functions, rather than the display of any particular symbol. For the US, as Obama alludes to it too, exceptionalism of the country and its people is that core value that distinguishes American patriotism from any other. This is an important element of the Obama's speech, which will be recurring in this textbook as a core theme in American political culture. The claim that "America is the greatest country on earth" – the sense of exceptionalism and greatness must be understood from a historical perspective, discussed in further chapters.

Equality of opportunity may be taken as a second example: the concept is deeply rooted in the earliest foundations of American political ideals of justice and equality. As a 2012 report by the Henderson Center for Social Justice, Berkeley Law suggests, "the American ideal of equality was proclaimed in the earliest declaration of our nationhood. Today, equal opportunity is a moral obligation of our democracy to a diverse citizenry, and works to counter the wrongs of discrimination, both past and present." In 1928, President Herbert Hoover stressed the importance of equal opportunity as a component of what American exceptionalism:

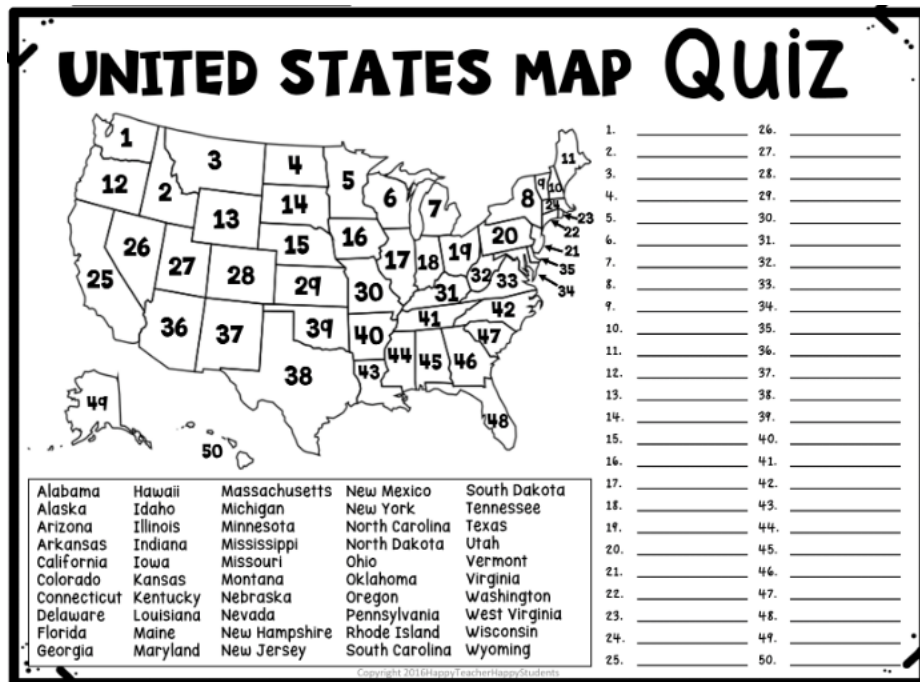
“It differs essentially from all others in the world. It is the American system. It is just as definite and positive a political and social system as has ever been developed on earth. It is founded upon a particular conception of self-government; in which decentralized local responsibility is the very base. Further than this, it is founded upon the conception that only through ordered liberty, freedom and equal opportunity to the individual will his initiative and enterprise spur on the march of progress. And in our insistence upon equality of opportunity has our system advanced beyond all the world.” (Hoover 1928)

Nevertheless, as further chapters demonstrate, inequalities have generated decisive social, economic and political tensions in the United States, and numerous American presidents pointed out detrimental forms of inequalities, some of which have taken structural forms. In 1957, President Dwight Eisenhower criticized discrimination in the country: “Let every citizen of the United States, whether an employer or employee, farmer or businessman, join in the effort to abolish all artificial discrimination which hinders the right of each American to advance in accordance with his merits as a human being and his capacity for productive work” (Eisenhower 1957). Then, most recently, President Joe Biden pointed out the inequality in income: “It doesn’t matter if you’re an electrician, an accountant, or part of the best damn soccer team in the world, the pay gap is real. And this team is living proof that you can be the very best at what you do and still have to fight for equal pay” (Biden 2021).

In other words, values of American political culture should be understood as beliefs and ideals that emerged historically and may have changed in meaning and significance over time. There were also many conflicts throughout American history, which also mobilized the discourse of American political culture, at times understood differently. To trace these processes, the following chapters will focus on certain themes, evoking the list of values presented in the table above as part of this chapter.

Exercises and tasks for this chapter

Try to place as many states on the map of the US as you can. Check your answers.



Source: <https://www.liveworksheets.com/ti1341039yt>

List as many presidents of the United States as you can. Put them in chronological order and discuss what was their most significant decision or policy

Would you pass the US citizenship test? Try to answer the questions below, which are part of the US citizenship test.

1. Name three of the 13 original colonies
2. What is one thing Benjamin Franklin is famous for?
3. Why did the colonists fight the British?

4. Before he was President, Eisenhower was a general. What war was he in?
5. What are two rights in the Declaration of Independence?
6. Who was President during World War I?
7. Who was President during the Great Depression and World War II?
8. When was the Constitution written?
9. Name one of the two longest rivers in the United States
10. Under our Constitution, some powers belong to the federal government. What is one power of the federal government?

Source: https://civicsquestions.com/?gclid=CjwKCAjwwdWVBhA4EiwAjcYJEAjP-iIXaw4PQyyNsXHsiHI1qFRN5tlb1GM3xY4JOi1jhsOSgteBwBoCbxUQAvD_BwE

Language and Accents: The United States is a very diverse country, even linguistically. Besides people speaking different languages, there are also different accents of English spoken across the country. Can you recognize any accents? Discuss what you know about accents and watch the following video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4HLYe31MBrg>

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Chapter 2: Historical foundations of the United States

Settler colonialism

In January 2019 at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. a confrontation took place between political demonstrators, and the most circulated footage from this event was a clash of a white high school student and a Native American activist. This confrontation resulted in public outrage and heated discussion that centered on race and ideological beliefs. The event brought existing racial and political tensions to the forefront and highlighted (once again) the need to look critically at the situation of Native Americans. The Washington Post commented the event in the following way:

“American Indians remain one of the most vulnerable groups in this country, and the cost of ignorance about them is already too high. ... Indigenous people from the Washington area and beyond had gathered for the march, hoping to be seen and heard. People waved signs that read, ‘We will not be silenced’. They marched in their traditional dress, demanding that part of their heritage be noticed. Two women held a white sheet stained with red handprints, bearing the message, ‘Justice for Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women’.” (Vargas 2019)



Tasks: Conduct research independently about this event and read news from various perspectives. Several videos were circulated at the time, and here is one of them: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0JMkzakXgIY>. Try to address the following questions: What is your impression of the conflict? What might have caused this conflict? Was this conflict discussed in your national media?

Importantly, this incident, as the commentary in the Washington Post pointed out, highlights the importance of understanding the history of Native Americans, in order to contextualize their current situation in the United States and grasp the complexities of racial relations in the country. For this, the very foundations of the United States have to be revisited, beginning with the 16th century, when the European explorations reached North America and explorers discovered this land. This period is described differently; some call it “the invasion of the North American continent and its peoples” (National Geographic n.d.a), others explicitly call it colonialism and exploitation of North American by Europeans (Library of Congress n.d.). Yet there are also those who celebrate the political foundations of the United States that “sprang naturally from the process of building a new society on virgin land” (Wallach 2010, 11), implying that the land was “virgin.”



Tasks 1: Explore the educational activities on the National Geographic website's Resource Library (<https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/european-colonization-north-america>), which describe in great detail the era of North American colonialism by the Spanish, British, French and Dutch, and the simultaneous resistance of North Americans. Choose any of the modules and familiarize yourself with this era. Summarize what you learnt in class.

Task 2: Explore the Mapping History project of the University of Oregon, where you can find fascinating resources on interactive maps. Pay particular attention to maps that show how the number of European settlers changed from between 1700 and 1780, ethnic diversity in 1750, the struggle for colonial control, and the development of Native American cultures. You can access the website at the following link:
<https://mappinghistory.uoregon.edu/english/US/US04-02.html>

In other words, when discussing the foundations of the United States history, there is a “very important point to keep in mind: European colonization and settlement of North America (and other areas of the so-called ‘new world’) was an invasion of territory controlled and settled for centuries by Native Americans” (National Geographic n.d.a). In this book, we refer to this period as a specific form of colonialism: settler colonialism. According to Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz is a historian and professor emeritus in Ethnic Studies at California State University, “The history of the United States *is* a history of settler colonialism. The objective of settler-colonialism is to terminate and replace the presence of Indigenous Peoples as peoples” (Dunbar-Ortiz 2019). Historical findings demonstrate that Native peoples indeed inhabited every region in North America before European settlers arrived.

Manifest Destiny, Exceptionalism, and “City upon a Hill”

By examining the discourse at this time, we can identify some of the early elements of those values that were recognized as core to contemporary American political culture. One of the most known columnists in the mid-19th century was John Louis O’Sullivan, who coined the word “manifest destiny,” which he defined as “the long-standing American belief in the God-given mission of the United States to lead the world in the transition to democracy” (Stanford University Press n.d.a). Only after 1845 the term entered conventional discourse. Importantly, manifest destiny should also be seen as tightly related to “the concept of American exceptionalism, that is, the belief that America occupies a special place among the countries of the world” (Smithsonian American Art Museum n.d.).



Case study: Read two excerpts, one from John O’Sullivan entitled “Annexation,” which was originally published in *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, Volume 17 (New York: 1845), 5-6, 9-10, and one from the Cherokee Petition Protesting Removal, 1836 (House Documents, Otherwise Publ. as Executive Documents: 13th Congress, 2d Session-49th Congress, 1st Session. United States congressional serial set. Doc. No. 286, pp. 1-5). Then, discuss both excerpts and the claims of Native Americans and settlers.

In other words, the connection between manifest destiny and exceptionalism was particularly pronounced in the 19th century, “each signaling that there was a God-given, sanctioned right to conquer the land and displace the ‘uncivilized’, non-Christian peoples who, it was believed, did not take full advantage of the land which had been given to them” (Smithsonian American Art Museum n.d.). Americans at the time believed that they had divine entitlement, that they were destined to expand their lands, build unique political institutions and remake the world, as their way of life and institutions would be the example for the rest of the nations.

Another set of ideology that fueled exceptionalism was “a city on a hill” concept, which originated from as early as 1630. That year, John Winthrop delivered a sermon to his fellow settlers before they reached New England, in which he famously used the phrase “a city on a hill,” describing “the expectation that the Massachusetts Bay colony would shine like an example to the world” (Stanford University Press n.d.b). In his sermon, Winthrop explicitly divided humanity into rich and poor, powerful and subjugated:

“God Almighty in his most holy and wise providence hath so disposed of the condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignity; others mean and in subjection. ... We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when He shall make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, “may the Lord make it like that of New England.” For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us.” (Stanford University Press n.d.b).

It was precisely these ideologies, or the perceived divine right and duty to conquer land and continue expanding, that justified takeover of lands that belonged to the Native peoples. Numerous historical studies documented the methods used to subjugate the Native population, ranging from pacts to the spread of diseases that were deadly to the Native people but not European settlers. Some examples are presented below.

The period between 1778 and 1820 is sometimes referred to as the “Treaty Era,” because since the first treaty was signed between the United States and the Delaware Tribe in 1778, nearly 400 more treaties followed (Howard University School of Law Library n.d.). What in fact these treaties secured is the exclusion of other European countries from colonizing North American lands that were already occupied by the white settlers (ibid.). It is also important to remember that the United States Constitution was written in this era: written in 1787, ratified the following year and in operation since 1789, making it the “the world’s longest surviving written charter of government” (The United States Senate n.d.). Subsequently, the Constitution provided the legal framework to enter into treaties with the Native Tribes, although critics suggest that the terms of these treaties were often not respected:

“The power to declare war and make treaties derives from Articles I and II of the United States Constitution. Under Article I, Congress shall have the power to ‘regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes’ and to ‘declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water’. Additionally, under Article II, the President may ‘make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur’ ... Despite Article VI of the Constitution defining treaties as ‘the

supreme Law of the Land’, the United States has often reneged the promises it has made with Native American tribes. Often, negotiators and representatives of the U.S. government entered into agreements with tribal nations under false pretenses, securing land cessions from tribes and then going back on their word. Even those treaties made in good faith were often unilaterally altered by the Senate before ratification without consultation with the tribe about which the treaty was concerning. It was not until the mid-1800s that the United States judiciary intervened to correct the imbalance of power.” (Howard University School of Law Library n.d.)

Besides treaties, there were instances of what some sources call “colonial germ warfare” the most known and best documented example of which was the Fort Pitt incident of “deliberately spreading smallpox among unsuspecting populations, but it likely was not the first time such a stratagem was employed by military forces” (Gill 2004). There are still investigations and disagreements whether the spread of the disease was intentional and whether it was used repeatedly (read a discussion about the controversy by Kiger 2019); nevertheless, there is no doubt that the colonizers warfare against Native Americans was indeed brutal. It is also beyond doubt that there were epidemics in the 17th and 18th centuries among Native American populations, as a result of exposure to European diseases (like smallpox), to which Native Americans did not have immunity, while many Europeans did (National Geographic n.d.b)



Think critically: The Indigenous Digital Archive (IDA) has an impressive database of treaties in their “IDA Treaties Explorer” available at <https://digitreaties.org>, where you can read over 350 ratified Indian Treaties, visualize the territorial implications of these treaties and explore the present-day implications. Spend some time on this website and write a short essay about how these treaties may still have an effect, centuries after they were ratified on 1) current situation of Native Americans; 2) ethnic tensions between Native Americans and the majority population. You do not need to have an in-depth understanding about the Native Americans in the present-day United States to complete this assignment, but you can conduct independent research.

As a consequence, the population of Native Americans declined drastically, while simultaneously the population of European settlers increased at the time of colonialism. Today, Native Americans tend to be some of the most impoverished, deprived groups in the US. According to the most recent US Census data from 2020, Native Americans make up about 2% (or 6.79 million people) of the total population in the country, while they have the highest poverty rate that stands at 25.4% and the lowest educational achievement rates, compared to other ethnic groups in the country (Asante-Muhammad, et al. 2022). Politically, improvements have been made in addressing tribe sovereignty:

“Tribal sovereignty refers to the right of American Indians and Alaska Natives to govern themselves. The U.S. Constitution recognizes Indian tribes as distinct governments and they have, with a few exceptions, the same powers as federal and state governments to regulate their internal affairs. Sovereignty for tribes includes the right to establish their own form of

government, determine membership requirements, enact legislation and establish law enforcement and court systems.” (National Conference of State Legislatures 2013)

Relevance in the 20th and 21st centuries

In every era, each American president has mobilized and reminded Americans of the importance about the values and ideals described in this chapter. For instance, centuries after Winthrop delivered his sermon, his text, especially the “city upon a hill” concept, “has been quoted by almost every president to hold office: John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and Barack Obama,” and in particular it became the cornerstone of Reagan’s articulation of American exceptionalism—the idea, as he explained, “that there was some divine plan that placed this great continent between two oceans to be sought out by those who were possessed of an abiding love of freedom and a special kind of courage” (Van Engen 2020). Moreover, textbooks widely quoted Winthrop to explain the foundations of the United States statehood (ibid.). Let’s read and analyze some of these speeches. Below are excerpts from speeches by John F. Kennedy from 1961, Ronald Reagan from 1989, Barack Obama from 2006, and Donald Trump from 2017.

In 1961, president-elect John F. Kennedy delivered a speech, which later became known as the “City Upon a Hill” speech to a Joint Convention of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in Boston:

“But I have been guided by the standard John Winthrop set before his shipmates on the flagship Arbella three hundred and thirty-one years ago, as they, too, faced the task of building a new government on a perilous frontier. ‘We must always consider’, he said, ‘that we shall be as a city upon a hill—the eyes of all people are upon us’. Today the eyes of all people are truly upon us--and our governments, in every branch, at every level, national, state and local, must be as a city upon a hill—constructed and inhabited by men aware of their great trust and their great responsibilities. For we are setting out upon a voyage in 1961 no less hazardous than that undertaken by the Arbella in 1630. We are committing ourselves to tasks of statecraft no less awesome than that of governing the Massachusetts Bay Colony, beset as it was then by terror without and disorder within.... Courage-judgment-integrity-dedication—these are the historic qualities of the Bay Colony and the Bay State--the qualities which this state has consistently sent to this chamber on Beacon Hill here in Boston and to Capitol Hill back in Washington. And these are the qualities which, with God's help, this son of Massachusetts hopes will characterize our government's conduct in the four stormy years that lie ahead.” (Kennedy 1961)

As earlier mentioned, Ronald Reagan has made the “city upon a hill” a central element of his perception of America. In 1989, he delivered a speech, a Farewell Address to the Nation, where he explicitly defined his vision of “the shining city upon a hill”:

“The past few days when I've been at that window upstairs, I've thought a bit of the ‘shining city upon a hill’. The phrase comes from John Winthrop, who wrote it to describe the America he imagined. What he imagined was important because he was an early Pilgrim, an early freedom man. He journeyed here on what today we'd call a little wooden boat; and like the other Pilgrims, he was looking for a home that would be free. I've spoken of the shining city all my political life, but I don't know if I ever quite communicated what I saw when I said it. But in my mind, it was a tall, proud city built on rocks stronger than oceans, wind-swept, God-blessed, and

teeming with people of all kinds living in harmony and peace; a city with free ports that hummed with commerce and creativity. And if there had to be city walls, the walls had doors and the doors were open to anyone with the will and the heart to get here. That's how I saw it, and see it still.” (Reagan 1989)

In 2006, serving in the US Senate and three years before elected president of the United States, Barack Obama delivered a Commencement Address at the University of Massachusetts in Boston:

“It was right here, in the waters around us, where the American experiment began. As the earliest settlers arrived on the shores of Boston and Salem and Plymouth, they dreamed of building a City upon a Hill. And the world watched, waiting to see if this improbable idea called America would succeed. For over two hundred years, it has. Not because our dream has progressed perfectly. It hasn't. It has been scarred by our treatment of native peoples, betrayed by slavery, clouded by the subjugation of women, wounded by racism, shaken by war and depression. Yet, the true test of our union is not whether it's perfect, but whether we work to perfect it. Whether we recognize our failings, identify our shortcomings, and then rise to meet the challenges of our time.” (Obama 2006)

Finally, Donald Trump delivered his inaugural speech in 2017 in which he did not quote the “city upon a hill” phrase directly, but instead referenced Winthrop’s sermon through President Reagan’s “shining city upon a hill” metaphor, evoking America as a shining example:

“We assembled here today are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital and in every hall of power. From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. From this day forward, it's going to be only America first, America first. ... We will follow two simple rules: Buy American and hire American. We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first. We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example. We will shine for everyone to follow.” (Trump 2017)



Task: Underline in each speech references to the “city upon a hill” metaphor. Discuss in pairs, groups, or together in class why this metaphor can be used in different eras and by different presidents. What are the similarities and differences in using this term in your opinion?

The short (and selective) analysis of early US history also laid the foundation to our better understanding of ethnic tensions, which have consistently divided American society. There are multiple instances in which these tensions manifested; one example is the dispute over the oil pipeline in North Dakota (Dakota Access Pipeline or Bakken pipeline), which was planned to partially run near the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, situated across the border between North and South Dakota. Tensions peaked in 2016, and the conflict was widely covered by national and international media. Consider the position of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe on the matter, which evokes the importance of early treaties and highlights the importance of Indigenous sovereignty and cultural preservation:

“The position of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe is that the Dakota Access Pipeline violates Article II of the Fort Laramie Treaty, which guarantees the ‘undisturbed use and occupation’ of reservation lands surrounding the proposed location of the pipeline. In 2015 the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, operating as a sovereign nation passed a resolution regarding the pipeline stating that ‘the Dakota Access Pipeline poses a serious risk to the very survival of our Tribe and ... would destroy valuable cultural resources’.” (Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian n.d.)

To make their voices heard, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe organized various forms of protests, such as horseback rides, campaigns and marches, sometimes joined by their allies and environmentalist groups. Global attention turned to this conflict after September 2016, when Standing Rock Chairman David Archambault II addressed the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva, Switzerland, in order to rally global support to stop the construction of the pipeline (NBC News 2016). In his speech, the Chairman cited the 1851 Treaty of Traverse des Sioux and 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie, which were ratified by the U.S. Senate recognizing the tribe’s national sovereignty; he continued:

“I am here because oil companies are causing the deliberate destruction of our sacred places and burials. Dakota Access Pipeline wants to build an oil pipeline under the river that is the source of our nation’s drinking water...but the oil companies and the government of the United States have failed to protect our sovereignty rights...this company has knowingly destroyed sacred sites and our ancestral graves with bulldozers...our courts failed to protect our sovereign rights.” (Archambault II 2016).

Meanwhile, Energy Transfer, a Texas-based company that responsible for developing the pipeline claimed the following:

“The Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) is the safest and most environmentally sensitive way to transport crude oil from domestic wells to American consumers. It is the result of an extensive process that involved review and approval by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and regulators in North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, and Illinois. It is among the safest, most technologically advanced pipelines in the world.... The Dakota Access Pipeline created roughly 10,000 jobs during construction and is a critical link from the Bakken formation, which supports more than 80,000 North Dakota jobs. Environmental protection and public safety are top priorities for Energy Transfer. With a long history of safely constructing and operating pipelines, Energy Transfer is committed to minimizing and mitigating the impacts to land properties. ... This Dakota Access Pipeline crosses almost entirely private land, often already in use for other utility easements. The pipeline does not cross the Standing Rock Sioux reservation, even at the portion of the pipeline that was the subject of dispute at Lake Oahe. In developing the route, the United States Army Corps of Engineers had hundreds of contacts with dozens of tribes regarding the Dakota Access project. In addition, the U.S. Army Corps reached out to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe nearly a dozen times to discuss archaeological and other surveys conducted before finalizing the Dakota Access route.” (Dakota Access Pipeline n.d.)



Task: Discuss the position, arguments, pros and cons of both sides. Divide the class to groups and debate the conflict: one group represents the oil company and the other group represent the Native American Tribe. Debate can follow the Oxford-style debate format, with the following statement discussed: The Dakota Pipeline should not be built.

Exercises and tasks for this chapter

Analyze historical maps on Native American tribes on the Library of Congress website from different centuries, available at:

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3301e.ct000669/?r=0.129,0.72,0.7,0.349,0> and

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3701e.ct003648r/?r=0.022,0.145,1.05,0.524,0>. Discuss what you can see on the maps. Then conduct your own research about the following tribes, pay special attention to where these tribes live today. Place these tribes on the blank map below. Groups of students can conduct in-depth research about selected tribes and present their findings in class.

Names of tribes:

Iroquois

Creek (Muscogee)

Blackfeet (Siksikaitsitapi)

Apache

Sioux

Chippewa

Choctaw

Navajo

Cherokee



Source: <https://www.waterproofpaper.com/printable-maps/united-states.shtml>

Fill out the table below based on the speeches introduced in this semester mobilizing the “city upon a hill” concept, and relying on your knowledge of world history. If you are unsure about the historical context of the time when these speeches were delivered, conduct short research online and read about the presidents and the political, economic and societal context of the time.

Speeches	Political context	Social challenges and tensions	Meaning and relevance of “city upon a hill” metaphor
Kennedy, 1961			
Reagan, 1989			
Obama, 2006			

Trump, 2017			

Consider the following collection of articles, each criticizing and examining how Winthrop’s sermon from 1630 remained an important theme to how US Presidents explained America and American culture. Read some of these online articles, summarize each of them, and identify points that you agree and disagree with. Explain your opinion.

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2. Siddiqui, Sabrina (2016). “Obama flips the script on Republicans with Reagan-esque DNC speech” *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/28/obama-republicans-speech-democratic-convention-patriotic>
3. Wilkie, Carter (2019). “How modern leaders got John Winthrop’s ‘City on a Hill’ wrong” *Commonwealth Nonprofit Journal of Politics, Ideas and Civic Life*. Available at: <https://commonwealthmagazine.org/book-review/how-modern-leaders-got-john-winthrops-city-on-a-hill-wrong/>

Read the Constitution of the United States of America, available (including an annotated Constitution) on the website of the US Senate: https://www.senate.gov/civics/constitution_item/constitution.htm. Compare the Constitution to the one in your own country, what are the similarities and differences?

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silenced-a-meaningful-march-days-after-trump-joked-about-a-native-american-massacre/2019/01/18/f7d93bdc-1b79-11e9-88fe-f9f77a3bcb6c_story.html.

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Chapter 3: Road to Independence

Resistance to Tyranny

There was growing resistance to the British rule in North America among those who settled in the hope of starting a new life. In the case of Britain, efforts to extract revenues from North American colonies (to recoup some of the costs that Britain incurred defending its American colonies) infuriated settlers, who increasingly demanded independence. The phrase “no taxation without representation” from 1765 signified settlers’ rage over economic exploitation while they had no political influence. Among the revenue-raising acts were the following:

Name of the Act	Description
Royal Proclamation of 1763	Restricted the opening of new lands for settlement.
Sugar Act of 1764	Placed taxes on luxury goods, including coffee, silk, and wine, and made it illegal to import rum.
Currency Act of 1764	Prohibited the printing of paper money in the colonies.
Quartering Act of 1765	Forced colonists to provide food and housing for royal troops
Stamp Act of 1765	Required the purchase of royal stamps for all legal documents, newspapers, licenses, and leases
Molasses Act of 1733	Established a prohibitive six pence per gallon duty on molasses (the basis of rum) imported into the colonies from non-British colonies in the West Indies
Tea Act of 1773	Eliminated all duties on tea that it re-exported to the colonies (aimed at bailing out the virtually bankrupt East India Company)

Source: Wallach 2010 and The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation n.d.

Several acts of resistance ensued; the most known and first case of defiance to the British rule was the case of the Boston Tea Party. The Boston Tea Party occurred on December 16, 1773 in Boston, Massachusetts, where American colonists threw tea into the harbor that was imported by the British East India Company. This incident “showed Great Britain that Americans wouldn’t take taxation and tyranny sitting down, and rallied American patriots across the 13 colonies to fight for independence” (History 2022). In other words, these acts laid the foundation for future independence:

“Colonial assemblies denounced the law [Stamp Act], claiming the tax was illegal on the grounds that they had no representation in Parliament. Colonists were likewise furious at being denied the right to a trial by jury. Many viewed the tax as an infringement of the rights of Englishmen, which contemporary opinion held to be enshrined in Magna Carta. Protests throughout the colonies threatened tax collectors with violence. Parliament finally bowed to pressure and repealed the Stamp Act in March 1766, but the colonial reaction set the stage for the American independence movement.” (Library of Congress n.d.)

Restrictive acts also worked to unite the settlers, who organized protests that simultaneously promoted political self-rule as well. For example, in 1765, as a response to the

Stamp Act, “Massachusetts called for a meeting of all the colonies – a Stamp Act Congress – to be held in New York in October 1765,” and “Committees of Correspondence were also formed in the colonies to protest the Act” (National Constitution Center 2021). While there was still no general consensus regarding the relationship with the British, yet dissatisfaction was noticeably growing. But the gathering in New York later proved to be imperative for the foundation of the independent United States, as several of the delegates would later sign the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution (ibid.). As a result of the Congress, an important document was composed, the Declaration of Rights and Grievances, which represented the joint position of the delegates (ibid.).



Think critically: Consider the following excerpt from the above-mentioned Declaration:

“That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them, but with their own consent, given personally, or by their representatives. That the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great-Britain. That the only representatives of the people of these colonies, are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed on them, but by their respective legislatures.” (National Constitution Center 2021)

Think about how this passage might indicate early democratic thinking and how freedom was defined at this time.

The American Revolution and Early Self-government

The colonists discussed, planned and even exercised a various degree of self-government, sometimes in the form of collective agreement. One of the earliest forms of such agreements was the Mayflower Compact, a governing document signed by pilgrims on the ship in 1620 as they approached at Cape Cod, agreeing to live according to certain rules (The Mayflower Society n.d.). Right after agreeing to the Mayflower Compact, a governor was elected for their colony, called Plymouth Plantation. Vicki Oman and Richard Pickering, historians and spokespersons for Plymouth Plantation, which is an organization dedicated to the historically accurate reconstruction of the Pilgrims’ experience in Plymouth, highlighted the importance of Mayflower compact and Plymouth Plantation 400 years later: “when the pilgrims came to Plymouth, they were not all the same...and they had to unite to create a community and that was done by the Mayflower Compact...the Mayflower Compact was used to respond to crisis, when a community could have imploded it bound all of the men together...and the Mayflower Compact becomes a constitution for Plymouth Colony for 72 years” (NBC News Learn 2020).

As the population and the number of towns grew, representatives were sent to political meetings. With that, self-rule and an early form of representative government had taken root, and estrangement from Great Britain increasingly grew, culminating in the American Revolution, led by George Washington as the commander-in-chief, which is also known as the United States War of Independence that lasted from 1775 until 1783. In fact, this was an international war because France and Spain joined the colonies against Britain in 1778 and 1779 respectively (Wallace 2021). Understandably, “by June 1776, with the Revolutionary War in full swing, a growing majority of the colonists had come to favor independence from Britain” and hence “on

July 4, the Continental Congress voted to adopt the Declaration of Independence, drafted by a five-man committee including [Benjamin] Franklin and John Adams but written mainly by [Thomas] Jefferson (History 2021b).

While a detailed examination of the Revolution is beyond this textbook, suffice to say that it brought recognition to the United States and Great Britain was forced to formally recognize its independence after 8 years of battles. The Declaration asserted that the 13 Colonies are free and independent, breaking ties with Great Britain. Importantly,

“The Declaration of Independence, issued on July 4, 1776, enumerated the reasons the Founding Fathers felt compelled to break from the rule of King George III and parliament to start a new nation. In September of that year, the Continental Congress declared the “United Colonies” of America to be the “United States of America... The Treaty of Paris ending the American Revolution and granting the 13 original colonies independence was signed on September 3, 1783.” (History 2021a)

For this reason, 4th of July is celebrated as Independence Day, a federal holiday in the United States. On this, patriotic displays are very common across the country. Gatherings are common among families and friends, while politicians also make statements on this day about the achievements and the history of the country.

After the declaration of independence, the early United States was recognized as independent with western boundaries to the Mississippi River (History 2021b). This truly was the founding period for the United States, illustrated best by the increasing use of the word American to describe people of the 13 colonies: “By 1763 the word “American” was commonly used on both sides of the Atlantic to designate the people of the 13 colonies” (Brittanica n.d.). While English language and culture tended to prevail, yet the population of the colonies was extremely diverse: In Europe and Britain the colonies were popularly seen as land of promise, and besides European colonists, there were also enslaved Africans (Brittanica n.d.). These diverse peoples were united by their desire to fight for independence and break away from the British rule.



Task: Conduct your own research using the suggested websites below to learn more about the history of the 13 colonies and about individual states. Divide the states among the class, each student or group responsible for researching one of the 13 states. Present your findings in class and collectively identify the importance of the 13 regions in the statehood, nationhood and future political culture of the United States.

Suggested websites:

History: <https://www.history.com/topics/colonial-america/thirteen-colonies>

BallotPedia: https://ballotpedia.org/Original_thirteen_states

ThoughtCo: <https://www.thoughtco.com/the-original-13-us-states-3322392>

WeThePeople: <https://wethepeople.scholastic.com/grade-4-6/thirteen-american-colonies.html>

Watch the following video together about how the United States went from 13 to 50 states: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vmcx3d2xtlE> (“From 13 Colonies to 50 States - How the USA Grew on the Learning Videos Channel”)

The road to independence was gradual: first, the Articles of Confederation were written as a “bridge between the initial government by the Continental Congress of the Revolutionary period and the federal government provided under the U.S. Constitution of 1787” (History 2021b). Four years after the Declaration of Independence, in 1787 the United States Constitution was composed in Philadelphia, where delegates – including George Washington, James Madison and Benjamin Franklin – attended the Constitutional Convention (History 2010a). The following year, in 1788 the Constitution was ratified and came into effect in 1789. In his first inaugural speech in 1789, President George Washington reflected on the importance of the revolution and the new government’s role in protecting liberties. Also note the references to God, which we have mentioned in the previous section under exceptionalism:

“...In obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a Government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men more than those of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities from which the event has resulted can not be compared with the means by which most governments have been established without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence. ... Having thus imparted to you my sentiments as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the Human Race in humble supplication that, since He has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness, so His divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend. (National Archives n.d.)

The US Constitution is “the world’s longest surviving written charter of government” and “its first three words – ‘We The People’ – affirm that the government of the United States exists to serve its citizens” (United States Senate n.d.). In other words, throughout the Constitution the supremacy of the people is stressed several times. Then, “for over two centuries the Constitution has remained in force because its framers successfully separated and balanced governmental powers to safeguard the interests of majority rule and minority rights, of liberty and equality, and of the federal and state governments” (United States Senate n.d.). When you read excerpts from

the Constitution in the Appendix, keep in mind that the first ten amendments constitute the Bill of Rights.



Task: Read three excerpts in the Appendix, one from the Mayflower Compact, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Based on these documents, discuss the importance and the meaning of the following terms: liberty, democracy, supremacy of the people, tyranny, role of government, and freedom.

Relevance in the 20th and 21st centuries

This chapter showed how political momentum had begun and grew with time in the early history of the United States, that led to the colonies demanding more economic and political independence. For example, the Mayflower Compact is often cited “as providing the basis for modern American democracy and ...there can be no denying its importance in establishing a social contract for the settlers to live by,” while “its presence helped ensure order and survival in Plymouth Colony and the basis for self-governance which went on to inspire future generations” (Mayflower 400 n.d.).

Some sources call it “the first constitution known to have been written in the New World” (Vile n.d.), and Winston Churchill famously called the Mayflower Compact “one of the more remarkable documents in history, a spontaneous covenant for political organization” (Ernst 2020, 28). It is also important to highlight that this was a written document, whereas England had an unwritten constitution. With that, “the idea of government by law” became “that of the written constitution, unchangeable by ordinary legislative means,” which became a model for many nations and states “to create their own identities and to limit government powers” (ibid.).

There was a growing discussion about political and citizenship rights at this time, as well as the importance of a limited government serving the people. The concept of a limited government to avoid tyranny remained core aspects of American political culture. An illustrative example of this is the Speech by Ronald Reagan’s earlier quoted Farewell Address to the Nation. Pay close attention when reading the excerpt about the relationship between government and liberty:

“My fellow Americans: This is the 34th time I’ll speak to you from the Oval Office and the last. ... back in the 1960’s, when I began, it seemed to me that we’d begun reversing the order of things -- that through more and more rules and regulations and confiscatory taxes, the government was taking more of our money, more of our options, and more of our freedom. I went into politics in part to put up my hand and say, “Stop.” I was a citizen politician, and it seemed the right thing for a citizen to do. I think we have stopped a lot of what needed stopping. And I hope we have once again reminded people that man is not free unless government is limited. There’s a clear cause and effect here that is as neat and predictable as a law of physics: As government expands, liberty contracts.” (Reagan 1989)

The Declaration of Independence is not only a founding document of the United States that is celebrated every year on 4th of July, but its importance has seeped into the American political culture over the centuries. Let’s consider an excerpt from a speech delivered by Calvin Coolidge, the 30th president of the United States from 1923 to 1929, for the 150th anniversary

celebration of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1926. Note that the speech clearly elevates the importance of the document beyond the history of the United States, and the value Coolidge attributes to the Declaration in uniting all Americans:

"Fellow Countrymen: We meet to celebrate the birthday of America. The coming of a new life always excites our interest. ... At the end of 150 years the four corners of the earth unite in coming to Philadelphia as to a holy shrine in grateful acknowledgment of a service so great, which a few inspired men here rendered to humanity, that it is still the preeminent support of free government throughout the world.... Amid all the clash of conflicting interests, amid all the welter of partisan politics, every American can turn for solace and consolation to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States with the assurance and confidence that those two great charters of freedom and justice remain firm and unshaken. Whatever perils appear, whatever dangers threaten, the Nation remains secure in the knowledge that the ultimate application of the law of the land will provide an adequate defense and protection.... We are obliged to conclude that the Declaration of Independence represented the movement of a people. It was not, of course, a movement from the top. Revolutions do not come from that direction. It was not without the support of many of the most respectable people in the Colonies, who were entitled to all the consideration that is given to breeding, education, and possessions.... The Continental Congress was not only composed of great men, but it represented a great people." (University of California, Santa Barbara n.d.)

Finally, the so-called Founding Fathers of the United States are those political leaders, who excelled at this very time to bring about independence for their country: these are revolutionary leaders who were able to unite the Thirteen Colonies, participated in the war for independence from Great Britain, and contributed to building an early government for their new country. Usually, seven political leaders are named as Founding Fathers: John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and George Washington, collectively, they were the signers of the earlier discussed founding documents. (Others have also contributed to the early development of the new nation and its government.) Undoubtedly, by reviewing the history of the Confederation, it becomes clear that this was an imperative period with instructive experience in self-government in forms of written documents, which helped form a new nation. Nevertheless, the commemoration of these events can also be a source of controversy. Consider, for example, the speech by Tom Cotton, a Senator from the state of Arkansas, who also served as a member of the Republican Party in the U.S. House of Representatives from 2013 to 2015.

Now, the Thanksgiving season is upon us and once again we have much to give thanks for. But this year we ought to be especially thankful for our ancestors, the Pilgrims, on their four hundredth anniversary. Their faith, their bravery, their wisdom places them in the American pantheon. Alongside the Patriots of 1776, the Pilgrims of 1620 deserve the honor of American founders. Sadly, however, there appear to be few commemorations, parades, or festivals to celebrate the Pilgrims this year, perhaps in part because revisionist charlatans of the radical left have lately claimed the previous year as America's true founding. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Pilgrims and their Compact, like the Founders and their Declaration, form the true foundation of America. So count me in Coolidge's camp. On this anniversary a century ago, he proclaimed, 'it is our duty and the duty of every true American to reassemble in spirit in

the cabin of the Mayflower, rededicate ourselves to the Pilgrims' great work by re-signing and reaffirming the document that has made mankind of all the earth more glorious.' Some—too many—may have lost the civilizational self-confidence needed to celebrate the Pilgrims. Just today, for instance, The New York Times called this story a “myth” and a “caricature”—in the Food Section, no less. ...But I for one still have the pride and confidence of our forebears, so here today, I speak in the spirit of that cabin and I reaffirm that old Compact. (Cotton 2020)

The speech was delivered before Thanksgiving, which is a national celebrated at the end of November (fourth Thursday of November). The origins of this holiday go back to the already mentioned 17th century, when the Plymouth colonists and one of the Native Peoples (Wampanoag) shared some autumn harvest. Recently, this celebration came under scrutiny, highlighting the racist origins and dark past of the Thanksgiving celebration (partially what Senator Cotton references above). One account describes this period as “series of brutal but dimly remembered early conflicts between Native Americans and colonists in New England, New York, and Virginia,” calling on a reevaluation of the meaning of the holiday (Cain and Hadden 2020).

Indeed, while the U.S. National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) states that “In looking at the first Thanksgiving feast from the point of view of its Native participants, it is possible to understand how integral the concept of giving thanks is to Native world views,” highlighting the role Native Americans played in saving some colonists from starvation by teaching them “how to grow corn and other vegetables ... how to cook corn as well as cranberries and squash...[and] how to master hunting and fishing (Kim 2021). Meanwhile, “many Native Americans see Thanksgiving as a ‘National Day of Mourning’,” considering the devastation, injustice and conflicts between Native Americans and the colonialists since early times (ibid.).



Think critically: Discuss in class the importance of Thanksgiving for American culture and for that of Native Americans. Design – together, in groups or individually – a recommendation of how to celebrate (or whether to celebrate) Thanksgiving in the country and give reasons. Anticipate dissatisfaction on both sides and try to appease them in your recommendation.

Exercises and tasks for this chapter

Interview an American, and ask them about how they celebrate Thanksgiving holiday and the 4th of July. Fill out the questionnaire below:

Thanksgiving and 4th of July Celebrations questionnaire:

- 1) What do you usually do on this holiday?
- 2) Do you celebrate the same way every year?
- 3) Do you know the origins of this holiday?
- 4) Is this a holiday that is celebrated the same way across America?
- 5) If not, who celebrates it differently and why?
- 6) Does this holiday unite all Americans, in your opinion?

Analyze the answers and write a short critical essay about how these holidays are celebrated and what social tensions these holidays may pose. Add some of your own thoughts as well.

Read a critical account on Thanksgiving holiday, written by Peter C. Mancall, who as an Andrew W. Mellon Professor of the Humanities at USC Dornsife College of Letters, Arts and Sciences entitled “The first Thanksgiving is a key chapter in America’s origin story – but what happened in Virginia four months later mattered much more” and published in 2021 in The Conversation, available at <https://theconversation.com/the-first-thanksgiving-is-a-key-chapter-in-americas-origin-story-but-what-happened-in-virginia-four-months-later-mattered-much-more-170853>. Pay attention to the following details:

- What happened in Virginia and why is it important for our understanding of early American political culture?
- What are the long-term implications of this analysis?
- How would you describe the early relationship between the colonists and Native Americans?
- In your opinion, how should Thanksgiving be taught in schools?

Analyze Woodrow Wilson’s speech from 1915 entitled “Address to the Daughters of the American Revolution, in which the 28th President of the United States (serving between 1913 - 1921) highlights the importance of the American Revolution. Answer the questions below about the highlighting parts in the speech.

“There is a very great thrill to be had from the memories of the American Revolution, but the American Revolution was a beginning, not a consummation, and the duty laid upon us by that beginning is the duty of bringing the things then begun to a noble triumph of completion. For it seems to me that **the peculiarity of patriotism** in America is that it is not a mere sentiment.... The glory of the men whose memories you honor and perpetuate is that they saw this vision, and it was a vision of the future. It was a vision of great days to come when a little handful of **three million people upon the borders of a single sea** should have become a great multitude of free men and women spreading across a great continent, dominating the shores of two oceans, and sending West as well as East the influences of individual freedom. These things were consciously in their minds as they framed the great Government which was born out of the American Revolution; and every time we gather to perpetuate their memories it is incumbent upon us that we should be worthy of recalling them and that we should endeavor by every means in our power to emulate their example....**The American Revolution was the birth of a nation;** it was the creation of a great free republic based upon traditions of personal liberty which theretofore had been confined to a single little island, but which it was purposed should spread to all mankind. And the singular fascination of American history is **that it has been a process of constant re-creation, of making over again in each generation the thing which was conceived at first....** So from generation to generation **strangers have had to be indoctrinated** with the principles of the American family, and the wonder and the beauty of it all has been that

the infection has been so generously easy. For the principles of liberty are united with the principles of hope... but men were drawn out of every climate and out of every race because of an irresistible attraction of their spirits to the American ideal. They thought of America as lifting, like that great statue in the harbor of New York, a torch to light the pathway of men to the things that they desire, and men of all sorts and conditions struggled toward that light and came to our shores with an eager desire to realize it, and a hunger for it such as some of us no longer felt, for we were as if satiated and satisfied and were indulging ourselves after a fashion that did not belong to the ascetic devotion of the early devotees of those great principles. Strangers came to remind us of what we had promised ourselves and through ourselves had promised mankind... America has a great cause which is not confined to the American continent. It is the cause of humanity itself."

Source: Woodrow Wilson, Address to the Daughters of the American Revolution Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. Accessed on 5 July, 2022. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/318189>

In what way is the American Revolution an ongoing process? Is it still ongoing? In what way?

How does Wilson define patriotism?

Who does Wilson refer to when he says "three million people upon the borders of a single sea"?

In what way was the Revolution the birth of a nation?

Who are the strangers and what kind of indoctrination Wilson might be referring to?

What is Wilson's vision of the United States in terms of its society and politics? Do you agree with this vision?

Study one of the battles during the American Revolution and make a short presentation in class. Use the following website compiled by George Washington's Mount Vernon: <https://www.mountvernon.org/george-washington/the-revolutionary-war/washingtons-revolutionary-war-battles/>. Consider additional resources available online at the Museum of the American Revolution website, available at <https://www.amrevmuseum.org>. After the

presentations, discuss the military tactics and possible reasons for overall American victory in the Revolution.

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Chapter 4: American political culture in the 19th century

Territorial expansion and Manifest Destiny

In the 19th century and extending into the early 20th century, there were major territorial expansions that increased the size of the United States. Besides ideological reasons (Manifest Destiny, explained further), new territories were needed due to economic depressions that drove Americans westward, and the population explosion as well: as a result of high birth rates and growing immigration to the US, the country's population went from around 5 million people in 1800 to about 23 million by 1850 (History 2010). The most significant treaties of territorial expansion were the following:

- purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803 for \$15 million, negotiated by Thomas Jefferson.

This colossal purchase of rich land (considering its natural resources and forests) nearly doubled the size of the United States, and 15 of contemporary Western states of the US would be carved out from this territory (Harriss 2003). Jefferson described the newly acquired land in the following manner: "The fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season, important aids to our treasury, an ample provision for our posterity, and a wide-spread field for the blessings of freedom" (ibid.). The importance of the Louisiana purchase should not be underestimated. An eminent historian, Douglas Brinkley for example claimed that

"With the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, this is one of the three things that created the modern United States. If we had not made this purchase, it would have pinched off the possibility of our becoming a continental power. That, in turn, would have meant our ideas on freedom and democracy would have carried less weight with the rest of the world. This was the key to our international influence." (ibid.)

For Napoleon, as historian Thierry Lentz contends, "It was basically just a big real estate deal. He was in a hurry to get some money for the depleted French treasury...he did manage to sell something that he didn't really have any control over—there were few French settlers and no French administration over the territory—except on paper" (Harriss 2003).

- acquisition of Florida from Spain in 1819 through a treaty concluded of Adams-Onís John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State appointed by President James Monroe from 1817 until 1825, was able to acquire Florida for the United States by using the weakness of Spain due to its military engagements with France. In fact, as a result of a rebellion staged by American settlers in Florida, seeking independence from Spain, President James Madison and Congress seized the opportunity to claim the region (USA Department of State, Office of the Historian n.d.). Spain was then given an ultimatum, either to control the region or surrender it to the US. As a result, "Minister Onís and Secretary Adams reached an agreement whereby Spain ceded East Florida to the United States and renounced all claim to West Florida. Spain received no compensation, but the United States agreed to assume liability for \$5 million in damage done by American citizens who rebelled against Spain. Under the Onís-Adams Treaty of 1819 ... Spain surrendered its claims to the Pacific Northwest. In return, the United States recognized Spanish sovereignty over Texas" (ibid.).

- Texas independence of 1836 and annexation to the United States

Texas had its own declaration of independence, which was signed in 1836 at Washington-on-the-Brazos (commonly referred to as the "birthplace of Texas"), focusing the rights of citizens to

life, liberty and property of the citizen (The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History n.d.). The declaration was a response to the war with Mexico between 1835 and 1836, known as the Texas Revolution or War of Texas Independence. By the time the war broke out, Texas was scarcely populated by Mexicans, and instead was the home of Native populations and settlers (Americans and other foreigners); there were growing grievances and demands for independence (Wallenfeldt 2021). Meanwhile, in the United States, the annexation of Texas became a widely discussed political topic since the beginning of Westward expansion (Neu 2015), although in Texas there was strong opposition to joining the United States. For example, Mirabeau B. Lamar, the second president of the Republic of Texas serving from 1838, warned his people against a unification with the United States:

“I cannot regard the annexation of Texas to the American Union in any other light than as the grave of all her hopes of happiness and greatness; and if, contrary to the present aspect of affairs, the amalgamation shall hereafter take place, I shall feel that the blood of our ma[r]tyred heroes had been shed in vein” (quoted in Winders 2002, 41)

Despite some opposition, partly out of fear of Great Britain’s attempts to “reap commercial advantages from Texas trade,” there was more willingness to join the United States, and in 1845 the U.S. Congress admitted Texas to the United States as part of the Union (Neu 2015).

- Oregon territory acquired through Oregon Treaty signed between the US and British in 1846

The acquisition of Oregon territory represents best the powerful ideology of Manifest Destiny (described in more detail below). James Knox Polk, was the 11th president of the United States, serving from 1845 to 1849, was committed to Manifest Destiny, and some even credit him with fulfilling the Manifest destiny and reshaping the American state and nation. In fact, Polk was elected as president on the “Democratic Party’s expansionist pledge to seize all of the Oregon territory for the United States” (Miller Center n.d.). The Oregon Treaty, which concluded negotiations over final boundaries between America and Britain, two countries that jointly occupied Oregon territory since 1818, granted the United States the territories of contemporary states of Idaho, Washington, Oregon, and Montana, and Britain retained control “above the 49th parallel and full control over Vancouver Island” (Miller Center n.d.).



Task 1: Explore the Mapping History project of the University of Oregon, where you can find fascinating resources on interactive maps. Pay particular attention to map that shows the territorial expansion of the United States between 1783 and 1853. You can access the map at the following link: <https://mappinghistory.uoregon.edu/english/US/US09-01.html>

Task 2: Conduct independent research about the siege to the Alamo during the Texas Revolution. Combine both, historical sources and contemporary importance of the site. Discuss your findings in class and share images you’ve collected during your research. In addition, debate the question of Texan identity (or “what it means to be Texan”), a question to which this chapter will return.

Importantly, expansion at this time was justified by Manifest Destiny – a phrase that was coined in 1845 by John O’Sullivan, the editor of both the Democratic Review and the Morning News at the time, and proclaimed that the United States is destined by God to expand their country, while spreading democracy and capitalism across North America. Manifest Destiny then also espoused convictions in the morality of expansionism and exceptionalism, advocating that the American people possessed exceptional virtues and were able to organize unique political institutions, and hence were predestined to redeem the West, claim North America and spread their mission. With the words of O’Sullivan at the time,

“.... the right of our manifest destiny to over spread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federaltive development of self government entrusted to us. It is right such as that of the tree to the space of air and the earth suitable for the full expansion of its principle and destiny of growth.” (quoted in Lubragge 2015)



Think critically: Even though the concept Manifest Destiny was coined in 1845, the philosophy behind it undoubtedly existed since the earliest times of American history. Some see it as a form of “imperialistic expansion” while others as the foundation of the United States. Consider the following thoughts:

“...American belief in superiority of U.S. culture is anything but new; it is as old as the culture itself. This attitude was manifest in the actions of settlers when they first arrived on this continent and massacred or assimilated essentially the entire ‘savage’ Native American population. This attitude also reflects that of the late nineteenth-century age of imperialism, during which the jingoists attempted to fulfill what that believed to be the divinely ordained ‘manifest destiny’ of American expansion.” (Gill 2004, 22).

“...Manifest Destiny emerged naturally and inevitability out of fundamental want and need to explore and conquer new lands and establish new borders. With this growth came moral, cultural, social ideological and economical differences between people, states and countries. ...Manifest Destiny can be argued as the sole reason for why America itself has a history. Few Americans had ever assumed that the boundaries of the United States would stand forever unchanged. Manifest Destiny was the driving force responsible for changing the face of American history. It was the philosophy that created a nation.... The idea of Manifest Destiny is as old as America itself.” (Lubragge 2015)

Critically discuss these two opposing viewpoints about Manifest destiny. Which one do you agree with and why?

Many scholars have analyzed Manifest Destiny in the early history of the United States. Among them was historian Albert K. Weinberg, in his 1935 book *Manifest Destiny* first codified the elements of American Manifest Destiny, which are presented in the figure below.

Figure 3: Elements of American Manifest Destiny

Security	Virtuous Government	National Mission/Divine Ordination
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •the first generations of Americans saw their unique position on the eastern edge of a new continent as an opportunity to create a unique nation: a continental-sized nation, not many small nations as in Europe (less borders to protect, enabling cohesive foreign policy) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Americans saw their Constitution as the ultimate, virtuous (with high moral standards) expression of enlightened governmental thought (unlike European monarchies) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Americans believed that God, by geographically separating the U.S. from Europe, had given them the chance to create the ultimate government. It stood to reason, then, that He also wanted them to spread that government to unenlightened people. Immediately, that applied to Native Americans.

Source: Weinberg (1935)

Social Tensions and the Civil War

Recent historical research demonstrates that Manifest Destiny was not such a widespread conventional wisdom at the time as we might believe. In fact, in their 2017 study entitled “Alternative Wests: Rethinking Manifest Destiny,” Andrew Isenberg and Thomas Richards revisit the popular culture in the 19th century American and conclude that

“... before about 1885, U.S. history textbooks made little mention at all of western expansion. Authors were generally not shy about touting American greatness, but they preferred to celebrate the Revolution or American manufacturing. They treated western expansion not as providential destiny but as a matter of political contestation.... It was not until the end of the nineteenth century, after the surprisingly rapid consolidation of large parts of western North America into the United States... that ... manifest destiny—particularly Polk’s acquisitions of Oregon, Texas, and much of northern Mexico—assumed its aura of inevitability.” (Isenberg and Richards 2017, 9-10).

It was not necessarily for humanitarian reasons however, but rather security and other motives may have played a role why Westward expansion was not supported by many. For example, the authors quote newspaper articles from the time, such as the 1839 piece from the *Arkansas Gazette*: “the policy of concentrating on our borders large bodies of armed and hostile Indians, smarting under a sense of recent injury, was generally supposed to be rather dangerous to the quiet of the frontier” (Isenberg and Richards 2017, 8). In some places Americans simply “conceded the power and autonomy of the natives” (ibid.)

What is clear from the study of Isenberg and Richards is not only that the inevitability inherent in Manifest Destiny became a reality only in the late 19th century, but also that settlers at the time were keenly aware of the tensions that expansion has caused. The ideology of Manifest Destiny that largely fueled and justified territorial expansion indeed led to injustices, manifested

in, for example, forced removal of Native Americans from their historical homelands, ethnic conflicts and various forms of social tensions. As earlier suggested in the “think critically” task, this time is viewed by some scholars as an era of imperialism, which affected not only North America, but also foreign policy of the United States (the topic of Chapter 5).



Task: familiarize yourself with the Module on “American imperialism” prepared by the Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company (2018) and available at https://www.mv.org/cms/lib/PA02218547/Centricity/Domain/107/SE_M06.pdf. In this module, you can trace the development of American imperialism in the context of global politics. Having read the module, discuss the following questions:

- Was American expansionism inevitable?
- How was American imperialism different from European imperialism?
- What kind of impact did American imperialism have on the world?

There were several tensions that territorial expansion fueled; as the historian Major Wilson aptly put it, “Conflict thus became one of the chief ideological fruits of manifest destiny” (1970, 157). Furthermore, “The rapid expansion of the United States intensified the issue of slavery as new states were added to the Union, leading to the outbreak of the Civil War” (History 2010). Steven E. Woodworth, an American Civil War historian, arrived at a similar conclusion, suggesting that territorial expansion at this time raised the issue of expansion of slavery and thus paved the road to the Civil War, or disunion of the country (Childers 2011). Another historian, David Fotouhi highlighted this relationship as well, claiming that “territorial gains came at a price: they brought the sleeping giant of slavery out into the open... Manifest destiny and the ensuing struggle to adapt this ideal into a policy agenda of expansion ...[left] many permanent marks on the nation and contribut[ed] to the long-term causes of the civil war” (Fotouhi 2006).

This observation merits further attention. At this time, with a growing (and contentious) debate regarding the expansion of slavery into the newly acquired territories intensified the internal conflicts about slavery and freedom. With territorial expansion, the United States also grew into a huge nation, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, which only added to the internal differences. Besides disparities in attitudes towards slavery, there were other significant differences between north and south, summarized in the table below. The table clearly reveals that slavery as an institution was intertwined with the Southern economy, culture and way of life, while in the North, slavery was opposed.

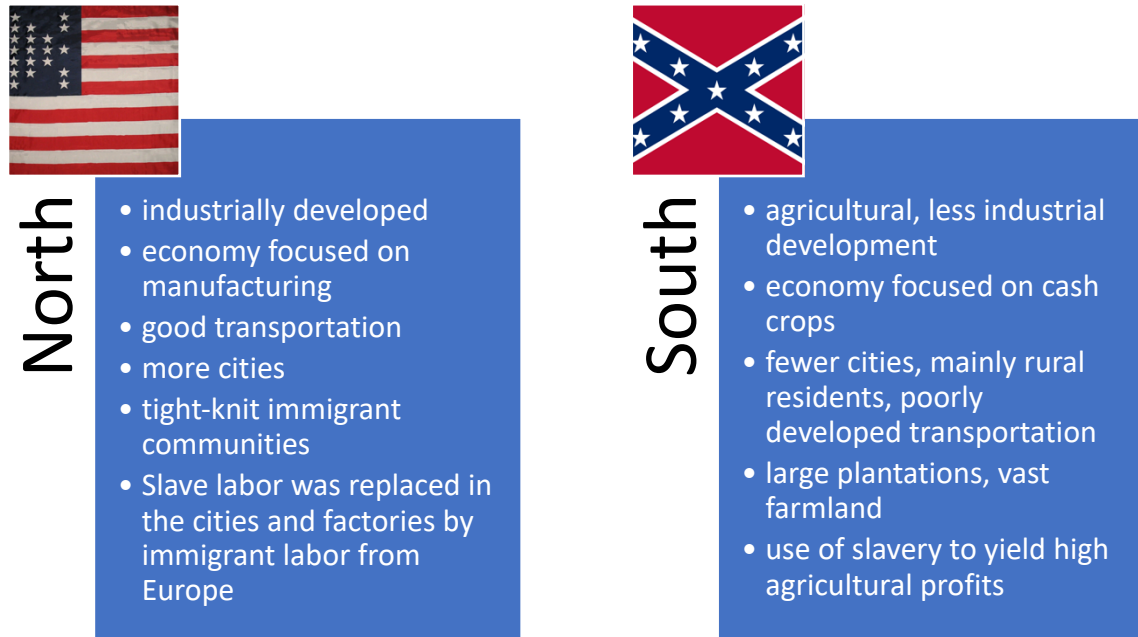


Case study: Read an excerpt from Gaines M. Foster's article entitled "Today's Battle Over the Confederate Flag Has Nothing To Do With The Civil War" in the Appendix, which looks at how the meaning of the Confederate flag changed over time and its appeal today. Having read the article, fill out the following table:

Timeframe	Meaning of Confederate Flag	Supporters of the Flag	Opponents of the Flag

The Civil War began in 1861, "after decades of simmering tensions between northern and southern states over slavery, states' rights and westward expansion," and lasted until 1865 when the Confederate states surrendered (The Westport Library n.d.). It was fought between the North (the Union) and the South (confederate states) (see figure below). The final spark was the appointment of Abraham Lincoln as the 16th American president, as "the election of Abraham Lincoln, the first president from the anti-slavery Republican Party, was too much for the Southern States to bear, and so the process of secession began" (The American Battlefield Trust n.d.). Lincoln famously claimed: "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free."

Figure 4: Differences between the North and South during the US Civil War



Source: American Battlefield Trust. "The North and the South." Accessed on July 7, 2022 from <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/north-and-south>

As a detailed account of the Civil War is outside of the scope of this book, students are advised to explore the topic on their own, using some of the resources indicated in the "Exercises and tasks for this chapter" below. In short, the Civil War as an unparalleled bloody conflict in the history of the United States. In 1863, when the war was still ravaging the country, Lincoln seized the occasion to talk about unity and exceptional qualities of the country:

"Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal... It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion, that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." (Rappeport 2014)

The Gettysburg Address (named after the place where the speech was delivered, in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, which was also the site of one of the bloodiest battles in early July of 1863) became "recognized as one of the most powerful statements in the English language and, in fact, one of the most important expressions of freedom and liberty in any language" (National Geographic 2022). The "new birth of freedom" indeed came to fruition, although Lincoln was assassinated days after the conclusion of the Civil War. Importantly, the Civil War also had lasting legacies, especially in contemporary manifestations of Southern collective memory and the use of paraphernalia from the Civil War today. This topic is further explored in the next section reflecting on the relevance of these events on American political culture of the 10th and 21st centuries.

It was during the third year of the Civil War that Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. This was a milestone in American history, although at first the Proclamation had limited effect and did not result in immediate end of slavery. Importantly, the Proclamation “transformed the character of the war” which meant that “every advance of federal troops expanded the domain of freedom” and black men were accepted into the Union Army and Navy (National Archives n.d.). With the Proclamation, the Civil War acquired a new meaning, and the fight for the Union become a war for freedom and equality. Today, the original of the Emancipation Proclamation is held at the National Archives in Washington, DC.³

Relevance for the 20th and 21st centuries

In this section, we will take a closer look at how Manifest Destiny and the Civil War has seeped into contemporary American political culture, especially through the mobilization of these terms and events in speeches. The relevance of these events has been stressed by multiple scholars, who claims that it would not be possible to understand American history, identity or political culture without studying the importance of Manifest Destiny. As Michael Lubragge aptly put it in his essay, “Manifest Destiny ... is a phenomenon. It cannot be tied to a date, event or even a specific period of time. Manifest Destiny existed and still exists as the philosophy that embraces American history as a whole. Manifest Destiny is an intangible ideology that created American history” (Lubragge 2015).

Analyzing political speeches, it is evident that Manifest Destiny is not always used to reference the past; instead, a new Manifest Destiny may be used as a guiding force for America’s expansion. For example, Donald Trump in his 2020 State of the Union address evoked Manifest Destiny in the following manner:

“In reaffirming our heritage as a free Nation, we must remember that America has always been a frontier nation. Now we must embrace the next frontier, America’s manifest destiny in the stars. I am asking the Congress to fully fund the Artemis program to ensure that the next man and the first woman on the moon will be American astronauts — using this as a launching pad to ensure that America is the first nation to plant its flag on Mars.” (Trump 2020)

Here, Trump uses the frontier and Manifest Destiny as a metaphor to promote exploration of space, which he compares to the Western frontier of the 18th century.

Manifest Destiny is also evoked, although not directly, in the 2003 State of the Union address of George W. Bush (Mariscal 2003). In his speech, Bush declared:

“Americans are a resolute people, who have risen to every test of our time. Adversity has revealed the character of our country, to the world, and to ourselves. America is a strong nation and honorable in the use of our strength. We exercise power without conquest, and we sacrifice for the liberty of strangers. Americans are a free people, who know that freedom is the right of every person and the future of every nation. The liberty we prize is not America’s gift to the world; it is God’s gift to humanity.” (Bush 2003)

³ The copies of the 5 pages of the Proclamation can be seen at the following website:
<https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured-documents/emancipation-proclamation>

The implications of this speech closely follow the 19th century definition of Manifest Destiny: Americans are blessed with God-given liberty, which America has the duty to spread to other nations. To add to the context, this speech was delivered the same year as the US-led invasion of Iraq took place, and hence some references to foreign policy relate to America's involvement in the Middle East.

Finally, the era of the Civil War has been evoked multiple times as a powerful reminder of divisions in American society. Another famous speech by Abraham Lincoln, besides his Gettysburg Address was “A House Divided” speech delivered in Springfield, Illinois on 16 June, 1858. In this speech, Lincoln famously said: “A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved – I do not expect the house to fall – but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other” (Lincoln 1858). Today, deep-seated polarization and divisions within American society can be understood as rooted in the historical legacies of this period (see for example Vivian 2018).

In the above presented quotes from Lincoln, we can discern the importance of union, which according to Lincoln was unique in the context of the United States history, and should be honored before any political preferences. Furthermore, this union must stand for values, such as equality and freedom—the moral foundations of the country. Of course, Lincoln was primarily concerned with positions on slavery pulling the country apart at the time of the Civil War, but some see the same logic applicable to multiple issues today that cause inequalities in the US society, such as race, religion, rights and more (Vivian 2018). The ultimate question is, then, whether commitments to basic principles can still unite the diverse people of the United States or not.



Think critically: Pick one of the most current news about social, political cultural or other conflicts in the United States, and discuss whether these conflicts are related to issues of inequalities, what are the arguments of both sides of the debate, and whether in your opinion this conflict can be resolved by stressing unity.

Exercises and tasks for this chapter

What role did artists play in shaping public understandings of the US West? Look at pieces of art from the National Gallery of Art, which chronicle Westward expansion. Discuss the experience from various perspectives, explain what you see on the pictures and reconstruct the lived history of this time. The website is available at <https://www.nga.gov/learn/teachers/lessons-activities/uncovering-america/manifest-destiny-west.html>. Also consider the following educational activities prepared on this website:

- Manifest Destiny and the West: Point of View Narratives
- Manifest Destiny and the West: Developing Cultural Awareness
- Manifest Destiny and the West: American Exceptionalism

For those specifically interested in the clash of cultures during this era, consider the tasks prepared by the Smithsonian American Art Museum, available at <https://americanexperience.si.edu/historical-eras/expansion/pair-pigeons-egg-head-speculator/>.

One of the most famous paintings from this time is “American Progress” from 1872 by John Gast. Look at the painting below (public domain, part of the Autry Museum of the American West collection, source: Wikimedia, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:American_Progress_\(John_Gast_painting\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:American_Progress_(John_Gast_painting).jpg)). Write a short essay about the painting.



Learn more about the history of the American Civil War.

The American Battlefield Trust, America’s leading heritage land preservation organization that is committed to educating the public about battles, compiled some remarkable resources about the Civil War, accessible at <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/civil-war>. Choose any of the following sections (or several sections) and educate yourself through self-study about the causes, development and outcomes of the Civil War:

- Brief overview of the American Civil War
- Trigger events of the Civil War
- Civil War leaders
- Civil War casualties
- Civil War facts
- The reasons for secession: A documentary study
- John Brown’s Harpers Ferry Raid
- And others related to the Civil War

Also note that there are “battle overviews” that give detailed historical recounting of various battles during the Civil War. Choose one battle and fill out the questionnaire below (this task will require some additional research):

Location of the battle: _____

Show the site of the battle on a map.

Date of the battle: _____

Briefly describe the circumstances of the battle:

Who won the battle? _____
Consequences of the battle (short- and long-term legacies):

Briefly describe contemporary forms of commemoration of the battle (holidays, museums, etc):

Find images about the battle and present them in class.

Finally, watch the documentary entitled *Living The Civil War: American History through Southern Eyes* available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U9fSGOP4SUU>. Discuss in class how the Southern perspective different from that of the North; focus on the motives of the Civil War.

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Chapter 5: Slavery and race

History of racial tensions

As the previous chapter demonstrated, the civil war was a paramount conflict in the American history, which began the long road of emancipation of slaves in the country. While a further discussion about the Civil War is beyond the scope of this book, students are encouraged to explore further details through online resources and self-study. This chapter focuses on slavery and racial relations in the United States. Slavery, was a growing tension in North America long before the Civil War. The first slaves arrived almost at the same time as the first settlers: “Twelve years after the 1607 founding of the first permanent British settlement, at Jamestown, Virginia, a privateer docked there with some ‘20 and odd Negros’ it had captured from a Spanish ship in the Caribbean. The settlers purchased this ‘cargo’, the original slaves in the future United States” (Friedman 2008, 4).



Task: There are many resources online that you can use to improve your knowledge about the Civil War. From the previous chapter, take a look at the bibliography and study some of the resources on the topic. Watch the following documentary about the American Civil War that contains footage from the battlefields and related events:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GTuqs4YOHT0>

Later, starting with the second half of the 17th century, as the global slave trade intensified, the price of slaves declined, resulting in the spread of slavery in North America. “By 1770, African Americans comprised about 40 percent of the population in the southern colonies and a majority in South Carolina. (Slaves were also found in the northern colonies, but the slave population there never exceeded about 5 percent)” (Friedman 2008, 4). In turn, as the number of slaves grew, so did the oppressive, ruthless treatment of slaves, in the hope that any rebellion or even acts of uprising can be prevented. These changes seeped into social relations as well, and anti-black racism became an established norm of the society at the time. With slavery becoming such an integral part of the fabric of the United States, these social relations challenged equality, freedoms and the very democracy – values that the United States was founded on.

Slavery, however, was an institution that was difficult to erase through legislative or political changes alone. It was a particularly controversial issue, considering the reliance of the South on slavery: cotton plantations in particular were extremely labor- and thus slave-intensive, and thus abolition of slavery would result in not only political and social changes, but huge economic losses for the white plantation owners in the South. After the Civil War, slavery was increasingly obsolete in the North, nevertheless slavery remained a major concern and a contentious issue for decades to come. Importantly, the African-American population was not silenced by their oppression; in fact, there were many instances of not only resistance to the injustices they endured, but also demands for political and cultural expressions on various platforms. As the National Museum of American History (n.d.) describes,

“Enslaved black southerners fought slavery in ways large and small—from open rebellion to subtle acts of resistance. Some ran away, poisoned food, or preached freedom at religious services held in secret. Yet for many people survival itself was a form of resistance. While their lives were curtailed by the institution of slavery, freedom was never far from their thoughts.”

Consider the following examples of sources of durability and acts of resistance from the 19th century:

Figure 5: Durability and acts of resistance among African-Americans in the 18th and 19th century

Journals

- In 1827 individual African Americans such as Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm published the first African-American newspaper, Freedom's Journal, in which Black people demanded to be allowed to make their case against slavery
- In 1847, Frederick Douglass launched The North Star, the first of several newspapers he would publish to promote the causes of equal rights for blacks and for women

Family Bonds

- Although slave masters split up families, the slaves' tight family bonds were a source of strength.
- Many scholars have noted the "remarkable stability, strength, and durability of the nuclear family under slavery."

Black Churches

- For African-American slaves, religion offered a measure of solace and hope.
- After the American Civil War, black churches grew in membership, influence, and organizational strength, which helped in future mobilization efforts.

Source: Taylor 2005; Friedman 2008



Think critically: Find passages from the Declaration of Independence (1776) and the early drafts of the Constitution that are incompatible with slavery. Discuss them in class. Discuss how proponents of slavery nevertheless attempted to maintain the institution of slavery in the United States. Also consider the story of Thomas Jefferson himself:

"The United States' Declaration of Independence (1776) includes stirring language on universal brotherhood: We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." And yet its principal draftsman, Thomas Jefferson, was himself a slaveholding Virginian. Jefferson understood the contradiction, and his draft sharply condemned the slave trade — although not slavery itself — calling it "a cruel war against human nature". But the Continental Congress, America's de facto government at the time, deleted the slave trade reference from the Declaration to avoid any controversy that might fracture its pro-independence consensus. It would not be the last time that political expediency would trump moral imperatives." (Friedman 2008, 8)

Are there other instances from different period of the US history when "political expediency would trump moral imperatives"?

The “Jim Crow” laws legalized segregation. It was an apartheid system, which was “was more than a series of rigid anti-black laws. It was a way of life” (Pilgrim 2000). In many ways, the achievements of the Reconstruction era were almost all lost with Jim Crow laws, which made denial of liberties, equal rights and freedoms legal. Racism was particularly wide-spread (and appealing) during times of economic depression in the late 19th century, and white supremacy was the underlying logic of social affairs, especially in the South. Accounts from the time document how Jim Crow laws touched every part of life, from entertainment to transportation, jobs, voting and many more; “by 1914, Texas had six entire towns in which blacks could not live” (Constitutional Rights Foundation n.d.). Segregation reached such a point that some whites barely, if at all, interacted with blacks.



Task: Consider the following Image Gallery compiled by the Ferris State University, chronicling Jim Crow America: <https://www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/what2.htm>. Based on this visual representation of America at this time, discuss what social, political and cultural life was like with a focus on African-American experience.

To illustrate how wide-spread the implications of Jim Crow laws on everyday life were, consider the following etiquette norms (Pilgrim 2000):

- “A black male could not offer his hand (to shake hands) with a white male because it implied being socially equal. ...A black male could not offer his hand or any other part of his body to a white woman, because he risked being accused of rape.
- Blacks and whites were not supposed to eat together. If they did eat together, whites were to be served first, and some sort of partition was to be placed between them.
- Under no circumstance was a black male to offer to light the cigarette of a white female - that gesture implied intimacy.
- Blacks were not allowed to show public affection toward one another in public, especially kissing, because it offended whites.
- Blacks were introduced to whites, never whites to blacks.
- Whites did not use courtesy titles of respect when referring to blacks, for example, Mr., Mrs., Miss., Sir, or Ma'am. Instead, blacks were called by their first names. Blacks had to use courtesy titles when referring to whites, and were not allowed to call them by their first names.
- If a black person rode in a car driven by a white person, the black person sat in the back seat, or the back of a truck.
- White motorists had the right-of-way at all intersections.”

Violation of this etiquette resulted in violence, loss of jobs and even death, as abuse of Black people was possible with impunity. Naturally, racial relations were not straight-forward, and there were plenty of whites who did not support racial segregation. Already under slavery in the 19th century, there are accounts of white people who aided hundreds of slaves to escape into the North or sheltered runaways (Goodheart 2015). There were also abolitionist groups and entire movements, such as the Underground Railroad, a nationwide network that resisted enslavement and helped runaway slaves. Resistance and defiance of racial segregation grew over time and culminated in the Civil Rights movement, when acts of resistance became more commonplace – a topic that merits more attention in the net section.

Importantly, throughout centuries of racial injustice and oppression, the African-American community was nevertheless able to build an intellectual and institutional capital, manifested through forms of resistance, informal institutional bonds and other acts of defying a system that oppressed an entire segment of the population. During the Reconstruction era, which is one of the foci of this chapter, “sixteen African Americans served in Congress...more than 600 in state legislatures, and hundreds more in local offices from sheriff to justice of the peace scattered across the South,” forming a Black political leadership that pushed for racial equality (Foner 2021). All this formed a foundation that would later lead to the civil rights movement in the 20th century.

Progress towards racial equality

The era that began with the 1860s is known as Reconstruction era, when the task of integrating newly freed (officially at least) African Americans necessitated that some inequalities resulting from slavery were redressed. While some see it as the first serious attempts at achieving interracial democracy and justice, others view it critically, suggesting that no root causes of racial discrimination were efficiently addressed. Regardless, this era signifies a time of significant transformation of American society and with that, political culture as well. A testament to that are constitutional amendments from this time, which “permanently abolished slavery, defined birthright citizenship and guaranteed due process and equal protection under the law, and granted all males the ability to vote by prohibiting voter discrimination based on race, color, or previous condition of servitude (Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments)” (National Historical Park South Carolina 2021).

After Lincoln was assassinated in 1865, Andrew Johnson became the president of the United States. It was under Andrew Johnson that the Southern States, as members of the Union, had to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, which prohibits slavery. Johnson also offered pardons to Southern whites (except Confederate leaders and wealthy planters), reinstating their political rights. While Johnson insisted that state governments strictly abolish slavery, state governments were relatively autonomously managing their affairs, implementing racial codes (Foner 2021). Arguably, Johnson was led by “a combination of personal stubbornness, fervent belief in states’ rights, and racist convictions,” and as a result, the Civil Rights Act of 1875 that “affirmed the “equality of all men before the law” became the first substantial law in the United States history enacted over a president’s veto (Urofsky 2022; Foner 2021). In mere 8 years, in 1883 U.S. Supreme Court declared the act unconstitutional, legalizing the notion of “separate but equal” (Urofsky 2022).

In other words, instead of implementing change towards more freedoms and liberties for everyone, many states adopted Black Codes, which regulated and restricted the freedoms and rights of former slaves. In fact, “These laws typically imposed curfews, banned possession of firearms, and even imprisoned as vagrants former slaves who left their plantations without permission” (Friedman 2008, 19). As a result, there was an increasing outcry to “reconstruct” the South, to assure civil rights and liberties of the black population, and in general safeguard freedoms of all people living in the United States. In particular, the Congress was adamant about the Southern states ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment, which reads as follows:

“All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor

shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.” (The Fourteenth Amendment was passed by Congress June 13, 1866 and ratified July 9, 1868; National Constitution Center n.d.)



Task: Familiarize yourself with more details about the Reconstruction era through the study provided by the US Department of the Interior, entitled “The Era of Reconstruction, 1861-1900) and available at:

<https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/upload/Reconstruction.pdf>



Think critically: During the Reconstruction era—an era that is sometimes called the Second Founding—profound questions were debated in Americans that relate to freedom, democracy, liberty and other foundational concepts. How would you define the following concepts from the perspective of Reconstruction-era United States and contemporary United States:

- What does freedom mean?
- What kind of country should America be to adhere to its core values?
- What kind of political system should govern the United States?
- What are the rights of citizenship, and who could be a citizen? (National Historical Park South Carolina 2021)

Some of the more important Amendments, Acts and Codes of Reconstruction era were the following:

Name of the Reform	Description
Thirteenth Amendment	ratified in December 1865 and abolished slavery in the United States
Fourteenth Amendment	adopted in 1868 and addressed issues of equal protection and due process under the law.
Fifteenth Amendment	ratified in 1870 and prohibited federal and state governments from denying a citizen the right to vote based on race.
"Black Codes"	passed in 1865 and 1866 in southern states, restricting the freedom of Blacks in the region, and allowing for the newly freed Black population to be arrested and sentenced to hard labor.
The Enforcement Acts	three bills passed by the Federal government in 1870 and 1871 intended to protect African American rights. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The first act in 1870, among other things, banned the use of terror, force or bribery to prevent people from voting because of their race, and granted equal opportunity for every person despite race to vote;

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The second act in 1871 permitted federal oversight of local and state elections. - The third act, known as the Ku Klux Klan Act, made state officials liable in federal court for anyone being deprived of their civil rights or equal protection under the law.
Civil Rights Act of 1875	guaranteed African Americans equal treatment in public transportation and public accommodations and service on juries. The U.S. Supreme Court declared the act unconstitutional in the Civil Rights Cases (1883).
Jim Crow laws	racial segregation laws that established an apartheid system, and remained in force from 1877 until 1965, mandating racial segregation as policy in all public facilities in the Southern states.
“Separate but equal”	legal doctrine that permitted racial segregation: separation of services, facilities, accommodations, housing, medical care, education, employment, and transportation along racial lines as long as the quality of the services and facilities were equal. Under this legal doctrine racial segregation was not considered a breach of the Fourteenth Amendment. Plessy v. Ferguson (163 U.S. 537 1896) was a Supreme Court decision that legalized the doctrine of racial segregation known as “separate but equal.”

Source: <https://guides.lib.jjay.cuny.edu/c.php?g=288398&p=1922458> and Urofsky 2022

Interestingly, while white superiority has strongly defined racial relations in North America from its very conception, it was a of Black a former slave of Black and Native American parents, who was among the first documented cases of martyrs for American patriotism (History 2022a). The story of Crispus Attucks goes back to the 18th century, when tensions between Great Britain and its American colonies intensified (described in Chapter 2). British troops were sent to Boston, which was seen as a key city of colonial resistance, where violence erupted on March 5, 1770. Known as the Boston Massacre, Attucks was the first victim of violence, and later became a symbol of the abolitionist movement and his image and story were seen and told to demonstrate his patriotic virtues” (quoted in American Battlefield Trust n.d.). He was widely seen as a true martyr, “the first to pour out his blood as a precious libation on the altar of a people's rights” (PBS n.d.). Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. described the life of Crispus Attucks as an inspiration for his own struggle for equal rights: “He is one of the most important figures in African-American history, not for what he did for his own race but for what he did for all oppressed people everywhere. He is a reminder that the African-American heritage is not only African but American and it is a heritage that begins with the beginning of America” (quoted in American Battlefield Trust n.d.)



Task: Review the timeline of American history entitled “400 years since slavery.” published in the Guardian and available at <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/aug/15/400-years-since-slavery-timeline>. Read how forms of subjugation of a race changed in these centuries and discuss how it affected racial relations and political culture in the country.

Relevance for the 20th and 21st centuries: The Civil Rights Movement and beyond

Although the Union victory after the Civil War freed millions of slaves in the country, nevertheless the legacy of slavery continued to influence the history and racial relations in the United States, while the road to true freedom turned out to be much longer and more arduous than many thought at the time.



Task: In the Appendix, read excerpts from an academic article that analyzes the political legacies of American slavery, written by Avidit Acharya, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen and published in the Journal of Politics in 2016. Pay special attention to how institutionalized racism continues to influence political culture for centuries.

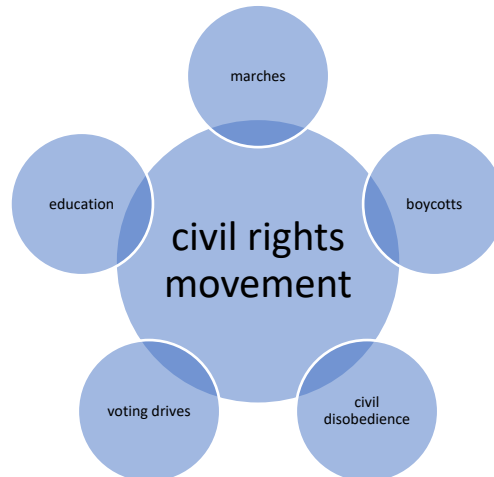
Indeed, it was the “unmet promises of Reconstruction led to the modern civil rights movement 100 years later” (National Historical Park South Carolina 2021). While Reconstruction governments attempted to create a “New South” based on expanded equity between races, in the South social and economic transformation moved slowly, and equality for Blacks remained nothing but an aspiration for African Americans for decades to come. Reconstruction, however, did allow for independent cultural, social and political institutions established by the Black population, while white supremacist organizations, most notably the Ku Klux Klan, were responsible for many atrocities committed against the Blacks. As the fervor of Reconstruction waned, it was clear that “a new racial system had been put in place in the South, resting on the disenfranchisement of Black voters” (Foner 2021).


Change towards equality came after World War II (WWII), especially with President Harry Truman, who was critical of Jim Crow laws and promoted racial equality. Importantly, Truman established the President’s Committee on Civil Rights and in 1948 he desegregated the United States military, which was a milestone achievement in the struggle for equality (United States House of Representatives 2008). These policies also met with some backlash in the South of the country. Not surprisingly then, the time after WWII and until 1968 is also known as the Second Reconstruction, when ongoing civil and human rights abuses, as well as forms of racial discrimination were finally addressed more profoundly; this was the time that attempted to “to fulfill the political and social agenda of Reconstruction” (Foner 2021).

After Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower became the 34th president of the United States, and served for two terms between 1953 and 1961; Eisenhower “promoted equality in the federal arena—desegregating Washington, D.C., overseeing the integration of the military, and promoting minority rights in federal contracts” (United States House of Representatives 2008). In the meantime, Southern conservatives still had considerable political power and influence in the country, and any profound change in racial relations was cumbersome. The civil rights movement was a particularly important phase in American history, with great consequences for

the American political culture as well. The movement involved various efforts that were aimed at drawing attention to the unequal treatment of Blacks in America (see chart below).

Figure 6: Elements of the Civil Rights Movement



 Case study: Read about the life and activism of Rosa Parks in the Appendix and discuss her role in the movement.

The work of African American civil rights activists in the 20th century has made a profound impact on racial relations in the United States. Among these activists were Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois and Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. Martin Luther King was the leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) “established in 1957 to coordinate the action of local protest groups throughout the South” and “with the goal of redeeming ‘the soul of America’ through nonviolent resistance” (Stanford University n.d.). King was an influential leader during the civil rights movement and led numerous boycotts against segregation and injustice. For example, when the famous case of Rosa Parks happened, who famously refused to offer her seat on the bus to a white man and move to the back of the bus, the ensuing successful boycott “brought national attention to the struggle, and launched King to the forefront of a grassroots, nonviolent humanitarian protest movement that, within a decade, profoundly changed American life” (ibid.).



Task: Conduct your own research and write a short biography for one of the chosen civil rights leading figures from the list below:

Mary White Ovington
Booker T. Washington
W. E. B. Du Bois
Martin Luther King Jr.
Thurgood Marshall
Julian Bond
Medgar Evers
Charles Hamilton Houston

James Weldon Johnson
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Oscar Micheaux
Harry T. and Harriette Moore
Mary White Ovington
Roy Wilkins
Carter G. Woodson

King has delivered multiple inspirational speeches and wrote motivating letters. One example is the “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” written in 1963 and later became seen as one of the most important writings of civil disobedience. In the letter, King powerfully explains that all people have a moral responsibility to act when they see injustice, and he also highlights the values that the United States stands for, yet not enjoyed by the African American community:

“...We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with America's destiny. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson etched the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence across the pages of history, we were here. ... We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands. ... One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters, they were in reality standing up for what is best in the American dream and for the most sacred values in our Judeo Christian heritage, thereby bringing our nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in their formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.” (King 1963)

With the growing social unrest, political changes were unavoidable. Under Eisenhower, the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was signed, “the first major civil rights measure passed since 1875,” which “established a two-year U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (CCR) and created a civil rights division in the Justice Department,” and a year later, “the Civil Rights Act of 1960...extended the life of the CCR and stipulated that voting and registration records in federal elections must be preserved” (United States House of Representatives 2008). Then, under J. F. Kennedy’s presidential term that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was conceived, and signed by President L.B. Johnson, which was preceded by series of protests, culminating in “the largest-ever [until that the time] demonstration in the capital: the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom,” when King delivered his famous “I Have a Dream” speech (ibid.). A significant reform bill, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, followed. The following year, in 1965, the Senate passed the Voting Rights Act, which is “one of the most far-reaching pieces of civil rights legislation in U.S. history” and “aimed to overcome legal barriers at the state and local levels that prevented African Americans

from exercising their right to vote as guaranteed under the 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution” (History 2022b).



Task: In the Appendix, read King’s most famous speech “I Have a Dream” and explain its significance for past and contemporary racial relations in the United States, as well as what core values of American political culture the speech highlights and why.

Decades after the civil rights movement, King’s leadership and the achievements of this era are evoked in the United States. For example, the most recent Black Lives Matter movement was widely compared with the 1960s movement, but opinions seem to diverge regarding how comparable the two cases are. Consider this account written by Paul Robinson, a professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania, published in the Newsweek, comparing MLK (Martin Luther King) with BLM (Black Lives Matter):

“Martin Luther King, Jr. proved the great practical value of nonviolent protest. One can't change people's hearts and minds through intimidation and violence. Unfortunately, the Black Lives Matter movement and its progressive supporters seem to have forgotten Dr. King's lessons.... The success of Dr. King's approach has proven itself. In the space of a generation, two centuries of fixed racial inequality was transformed. From a country that denied Blacks the right to vote to a country that elected a Black president. From a country that maintained racial segregation in schools to a country where entire bureaucracies exist to promote racial diversity in colleges. The transformation to a color-blind society is thus far incomplete, but the effectiveness of Dr. King's approach seems difficult to deny. ...Black Lives Matter and its progressive supporters would seem to disagree. The president of Black Lives Matter of Greater New York, Hawk Newsome, argued that his organization and others like it are justified in using destruction to call attention to their grievances. ‘The riot is the language of the unheard’. He explains, ‘I think that it is a tool of white supremacy to say if you want freedom, then you get it by protesting peacefully’. ... The current program of aggression in the streets, of forcing progressive ideological dogma on campus and of intimidating citizens into ideological compliance will bring resentment and resistance and is a losing strategy for making a better society. The resentment created will not bring progressives' desired shift in internalized norms, but will only undermine any such transformation, as Dr. King intuitively understood and preached many years ago.” (Robinson 2020).

Compare this position with that of Simone Sebastian that was published in the Washington Post:

“Black Lives Matter protests have produced one spectacle after another. Peaceful demonstrations in Baltimore and Ferguson, Mo., were followed by riots in which police and activists clashed. Many Americans, weaned on tales of how 20th-century civil rights leaders used nonviolent resistance, criticize today’s advocates for ‘extreme’ tactics and accuse them of inciting violence. ... Mike Huckabee said the civil rights leader would be “appalled” by BLM’s strategy: To address racial injustice, “you don’t do it by magnifying the problems,” he said. But magnifying the problems was King’s key strategy, and he received the same admonishments. Protesters who marched in the streets of America’s most staunchly racist cities and towns were attacked by police dogs, their clothing was tattered by high-pressure fire hoses, and their lives

were taken by police officers' bullets.... He wrote [in the famous 'Letter From Birmingham Jail'] that, in fighting racial injustice, the goal of his demonstrations was "so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored." In other words, violence was not something that simply happened to activists; they invited it. Violence was critical to the success of the 1960s civil rights movement, as it has been to every step of racial progress in U.S. history.... As much as BLM's opponents and supporters (who insist that "this ain't yo mama's civil rights movement") differentiate it from the 1960s effort, these two historical moments have a lot in common. Both have been opposed by more than half of Americans, both have needed violent confrontations to attract national media attention, and both have been criticized for their combative tactics. Whether in the 1960s or the 2010s, the aggressive disruption of American race relations has caused the same anger and fear — from Northerners and Southerners, from blacks and whites, from liberal "allies" and racist adversaries." (Sebastian 2015)



Think critically: Which position do you agree with and why? Discuss in class when violence is justified, what forms of violence may be used (if at all) and for what cases.

Exercises and tasks for this chapter

Explore the National Museum of American History's website available at <https://americanhistory.si.edu/changing-america-emancipation-proclamation-1863-and-march-washington-1963/1863/slavery-america>. Pay special attention to the part on "Slavery in America," including resistance the Civil War, Emancipation and other sub-chapters. Look at the historical artifacts from the time and answer the following questions:

- How were slaves treated in the 19th century United States? What artifacts did you find that demonstrate the inhumane treatment of slaves?
- What were acts of defiance? What happened to slaves who engaged in acts of defiance?
- What are "slave narratives" and why are they important for our understanding of history?

Slave narratives are a particularly important source of historical narrative by the slaves themselves. These narratives recount history from the perspective of the oppressed, bringing their voices to the forefront and presenting how history was seen through their eyes. The Library of Congress has a collection of slave narratives available online at the following website: <https://www.loc.gov/collections/slave-narratives-from-the-federal-writers-project-1936-to-1938/about-this-collection/>. Narratives are organized by state and by names; each student should pick one narrative and re-construct the history based on the writing. The following questions should be answered and presented in class (it might not be possible to answer all questions—students might choose to conduct further research online about the selected case or simply skip the question.)

- Briefly describe the narrator; include a photo of the person or location (include details such as age, family, religion, etc).

Add photo	Description

- Describe the conditions under which slaves lived, based on the narrative.

- Describe the committed injustices as they are described in the narrative.

- Are there are forms of resistance mentioned in the narrative? Why did they occur and what happens in the end?

- What did you find particularly surprising about the story?

- What did you feel like reading this story?

- How can this story help your understanding of the history and political culture of the United States?

Conduct your own research about important court cases in the US history that defined racial relations for decades to come. Choose between the following cases and prepare a description to be presented in class:

Figure 7: List of some court cases in the US history that defined racial relations

Case 1: Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)

- This case institutionalized Jim Crow laws that permitted racial segregation for decades.

Case 2: Brown v. Board (1954)

- The decision of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* is one of the most famous of all Supreme Court cases, because it started the process of de-segregation.

Case 3: University of California Regents v. Bakke (1978)

- The Court decided that a public university may take race into account as a factor in admissions decisions.

Case 4: Loving v. Virginia (1967)

- This decision upheld that state laws prohibiting inter-racial marriage are unconstitutional.

In your presentation, address some of these questions:

- Why did you choose this case?
- What was the significance of the case at the time and now?
- Who were the parties in the case and what were their arguments/grievances?
- Was the court's decision just, in your opinion?
- What were the factors that influenced the court's decision?
- In what way does this case inform American political culture at the time?

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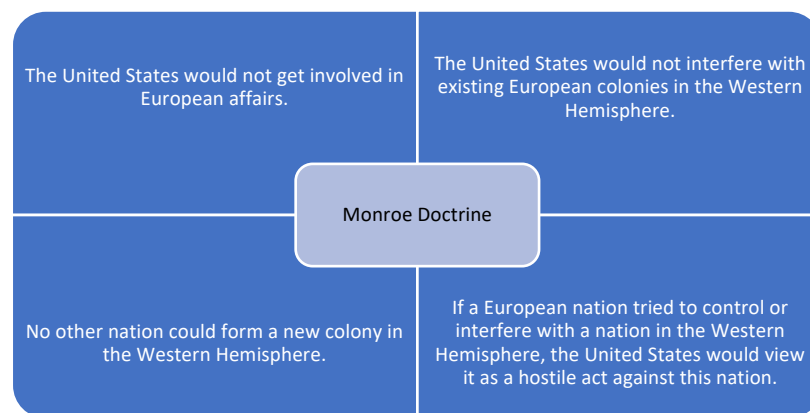
Chapter 6: American foreign policy

Roots of the United States foreign policy: Monroe Doctrine and Roosevelt Corollary

Many consider the Monroe Doctrine as one of the earliest foundational documents, which established American foreign policy. As the earlier chapters demonstrated, the United States (even before it gained independence) had a wide array of economic and political ties with other countries, but the Monroe Doctrine is the best-known US foreign policy towards the Western Hemisphere and truly signifies the beginning of a foreign policy of independent United States. What makes the Doctrine even more important is that it makes a “unilateral statement of US policy,” setting an “independent course for the nation and claim a new role as protector of the Western Hemisphere,” although Monroe “had initially supported the idea of a joint U.S.-British resolution against future colonization in Latin America, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams argued that joining forces with the British could limit future U.S. opportunities for expansion, and that Britain might well have imperialist ambitions of its own” (History 2009).

The Monroe Doctrine was in fact an address to Congress by James Monroe, an American statesman and the fifth President of the United States from 1817 to 1825. Importantly, Monroe cautioned European countries against interfering in the Western Hemisphere, claiming “that the American continents...are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers” (Library of Congress n.d.). The figure below summarizes the most important tenets of the Monroe Doctrine. In Monroe’s message, there was a sharp distinction between Europe, the Old World, and America, the New World, hence attributing different spheres of influence to these regions. In other words, the policy outlined spheres of influence and demanded non-intervention in foreign affairs.

Figure 8: Tenets of the Monroe Doctrine



Task: Familiarize with the political, economic and social context in the United States at the time when the Monroe Doctrine was signed. Pay attention to both, internal tensions and major questions, as well as how foreign policy was discussed at the time. The Library of Congress has a freely available, unique collection of American State Papers, that “contain the legislative and executive documents of Congress during the period 1789 to 1838,” available at: <https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwsp.html>. You can also browse other digital resources that are helpful in understanding this period of American history, also compiled by the Library of Congress: <https://guides.loc.gov/monroe-doctrine/digital-collections/>.

In many ways, the Monroe Doctrine laid the foundation for a new world order, in which the United States wished to protect its own borders, establish a sphere of interest, and establish itself as an emerging power. In his 1901 article, Albert Hart describes that the Monroe Doctrine was pronounced amidst challenging world order: on the one hand Central and South America was in turmoil, with some countries declaring independence yet “obstinately claimed by Spain as still her possessions,” and on the other hand in Europe an order “which was to keep the peace” in fact became “maligned,” while Russia claimed the northwestern coast of America (Hart 1901, 78) – all these conditions put not only American interests in danger, but possibly the very existence of the country. Indeed, although the United States recognized the independence of countries such as Argentina, Chile, Peru, Colombia and Mexico as early as in 1822, yet there were still concerns that European powers would still exert their power and attempt to restore colonial regimes in the region (History 2009).

Given these international threats, the Doctrine was a clear message that the United States will not intervene in European affairs, and will demand the same in return. In fact, the message of the Doctrine is attributed to John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State at the time, who delivered the following advise Monroe in a letter: “Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to meddle with cisatlantic affairs” (Hart 1901, 79).



Task: Read an excerpt from the Monroe Doctrine in the Appendix and describe 1) the most important elements of the US foreign policy, as envisioned at the time the speech was delivered; and 2) how these elements continue defining the US foreign policy today. As you read the speech, also underline elements that provide justification for American exceptionalism.

Application of the Monroe Doctrine and Roosevelt Corollary in American foreign policy

The Monroe Doctrine was then evoked, applied and used as justification for the evolving US foreign policy for centuries to come. Initially, when the United States had a relatively small military and economic strength, the Monroe Doctrine was not evoked as often if at all. It was with the strengthening of its military power (a point that Monroe also discusses in his speech) and economic influence (and with that, growing economic interests appeared beyond the borders of the United States), the country began pursuing a diplomacy largely defined by the Monroe Doctrine. Some examples are analyzed below.

For instance, in 1865 the United States exerted military pressure supporting the Mexican President Benito Juárez in Mexico’s revolt against the Emperor Maximilian (National Archives n.d.). As the context of this intervention, it is important to review some historical antecedents: Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821, but the country remained unstable and economically weak. Ridden with debt, Mexico was unable to pay its debt to European powers, and as a response France exerted colonial aspirations in Mexico, which is where the conflict escalated:

“French troops mobilized for deployment to Mexico. During one French invasion on May 5, 1862, Mexican resistance fighters defeated the French at the Battle of Puebla...The French regrouped, however, and captured Mexico City. They installed an Austrian Hapsburg prince named Maximilian as Emperor of Mexico in 1864. President Abraham Lincoln’s administration

refused to recognize Maximilian and French meddling in Mexican affairs. Lincoln believed this move was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, which warned European nations that the United States would not tolerate further meddling in Western Hemisphere countries.” (US Department of the Interior 2021)

Although there was no military confrontation between the United States and France, France had to withdraw completely from Mexico (primarily due to more urgent political and diplomatic issues).

Then, in 1904, came the well-known Roosevelt Corollary, considered an extension to the Monroe Doctrine, which was provoked by the threat of European creditors to use armed forces in order to collect debts from Latin American countries, which prompted President Theodore Roosevelt to announce that the United States would exercise “international police power” to curb such “wrongdoing” (National Archives n.d.). At this time, the United States was clearly emerging as a global superpower, making bolder steps in its foreign policy, too. Consider excerpts from the speech (Fourth Annual Message) delivered by Theodore Roosevelt in 1904:

The steady aim of this Nation, as of all enlightened nations, should be to strive to bring ever nearer the day when there shall prevail throughout the world the peace of justice. There are kinds of peace which are highly undesirable, which are in the long run as destructive as any war. Tyrants and oppressors have many times made a wilderness and called it peace.... The goal to set before us as a nation, the goal which should be set before all mankind, is the attainment of the peace of justice, of the peace which comes when each nation is not merely safe-guarded in its own rights, but scrupulously recognizes and performs its duty toward others.... A great free people owes it to itself and to all mankind not to sink into helplessness before the powers of evil.... Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.... In asserting the Monroe Doctrine, in taking such steps as we have taken in regard to Cuba, Venezuela, and Panama, and in endeavoring to circumscribe the theater of war in the Far East, and to secure the open door in China, we have acted in our own interest as well as in the interest of humanity at large.... We continue steadily to insist on the application of the Monroe Doctrine to the Western Hemisphere. (Roosevelt 1904)



Think critically: Collect other examples from world history when the United States acted as a „world policy.” Discuss critically in class the pros and cons of such American foreign policy, and its implications on American political culture.

By reading the speech carefully, many elements discussed in Chapter 1 are discernable, especially a sense of exceptionalism of American institutions and values, which elevates the nation to the role of a world police. In this sense, the United States has not only its own interests, but global interests in mind when interfering in certain foreign affairs. Morally, the United States, according to Roosevelt, is ought to help nations to achieve freedom, justice and peace, and, as application of the Monroe Doctrine showed, military power can be exerted towards that

end. Another important implication of Roosevelt's speech is the expansion of the Monroe Doctrine, which has originally meant to keep European powers at distance from the Western Hemisphere, but with this speech there is a justification of actual intervening in countries and regions of the Western Hemisphere.

Admittedly, Theodore Roosevelt, who served as the 26th president of the United States, and at that time the youngest president in the nation's history, was leading the country at a time when "Progressivism emerged as a political movement in response to significant economic, social, and political inequalities" advocating "for many different reforms, the central, shared idea was that the government should lead efforts to change society's ills" (PBS n.d.). Thus, Roosevelt embodied the spirit of Progressivism with many of his policies, such as the regulation of monopolies and social laws for working class America. Besides progressive reforms, he "vigorously led Congress and the American public toward ... a strong foreign policy (The White House n.d.). At this time, the conventional belief that private efforts, hard work and the "invisible hand" of the market can correct social and economic problems more efficiently than any government intervention, was powerfully challenged, but this debate remains a recurring topic in contemporary political culture.

The consequences of the Roosevelt Corollary were evident almost immediately after the speech was delivered: "U.S. Marines were sent into Santo Domingo in 1904, Nicaragua in 1911, and Haiti in 1915, ostensibly to keep the Europeans out," which led to conflicts with Latin American nations who "viewed these interventions with misgiving, and relations between the 'great Colossus of the North' and its southern neighbors remained strained for many years" (National Archives n.d.).



Think critically: Conduct independent research about various military interventions of the United States into Latin America, and prepare your own (critical) political analysis about 1) means of intervention; 2) reasons for intervention; 3) short- and long-term effects of intervention. For a full list consider the following site:

<https://www.yachana.org/teaching/resources/interventions.html>

During the Cold War the Monroe Doctrine was also invoked, albeit symbolically. The well-known case of the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis was an instance of a foreign power (Soviet Union) interfering in the Western Hemisphere, threatening the security of the United States. Without going into the details of the Missile Crisis itself (as it is a commonly covered topic in all history courses), this occurrence was a powerful reminder of continuing vitality and relevance of the Monroe Doctrine. Already in 1960, the position of the USSR was interpreted in the United States as a challenge to the Monroe Doctrine:

"Khrushchev, in a bristling speech to a group of school teachers in the Kremlin on July 9, declared that the period of American dictation in Latin American affairs had passed, and that the Soviet Union was 'raising its voice and extending a helpful hand to the people of Cuba fighting for their independence'. The premier added: 'Now the United States is not so unreachable as it once was.' No specific mention was made of the Monroe Doctrine. However, the speech was immediately interpreted in the West as a direct challenge to that policy. President Eisenhower on the same day issued a statement ... Noting that Khrushchev's pledge of support to Castro

reflected ‘the efforts of an outside nation and of international communism to intervene in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere’” (Dickinson 1960).

In the end, “President John F. Kennedy threw a naval and air quarantine around the island” and after some very tense days, the Soviet Union finally withdrew its missiles (National Archives n.d.).



Task: Watch a video about how the United States became a political and economic leader, entitled “How America became a superpower”:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BShvYeyMm_Y

Relevance for the 21st century

According to many, the Monroe Doctrine became a cornerstone of future U.S. foreign policy not only in the second part of the 19th century and the 20th century, but also in the 21st century as well. Some researchers suggest that WWII was a historical turning point, after which the “American Century” began, “a postwar global order led by the values, institutions, and ultimately the military force of the United States” (Wertheim 2020, summarized in Immerwahr 2020). The military of the United States has expanded greatly, and it became a priority for presidents post-WWII. Harry Truman, for example, stated in late 1945, “We must relentlessly preserve our superiority on land and sea and in the air,” and this build-up continues until today, resulting in “the Pentagon control[ing] around seven hundred and fifty bases in some eighty foreign countries and territories—a pointillist empire that spans the globe (Immerwahr 2020). And the justification for this global military supervision and “widespread application of violence is a familiar one. Were it not for the U.S. military, we are told, the world would be lawless and dangerous” (ibid.).

With that, the Roosevelt Corollary have remained a critical point of discussion and a subject of debate in American politics. Should the United States act as a world hegemon and use its military force around the globe? For example, in 2005, President George W. Bush in his inauguration speech described the international role (and duty) of the United States that in many ways echoed Roosevelt’s speech exactly a century ago. Bush claimed:

“...For a half a century, America defended our own freedom by standing watch on distant borders. After the shipwreck of communism came years of relative quiet, years of repose, years of sabbatical. And then there came a day of fire. We have seen our vulnerability and we have seen its deepest source. For as long as whole regions of the world simmer in resentment and tyranny, prone to ideologies that feed hatred and excuse murder, violence will gather and multiply in destructive power and cross the most defended borders and raise a mortal threat. There is only one force of history that can break the reign of hatred and resentment and expose the pretensions of tyrants and reward the hopes of the decent and tolerant, and that is the force of human freedom. We are led, by events and common sense, to one conclusion: The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands. The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in all the world. America's vital interests and our deepest beliefs are now one. From the day of our founding, we have proclaimed that every man and woman on this earth has rights and dignity and matchless value, because they bear the

image of the maker of heaven and Earth. Across the generations, we have proclaimed the imperative of self-government, because no one is fit to be a master and no one deserves to be a slave. Fancying these ideals is the mission that created our nation. It is the honorable achievement of our fathers. Now it is the urgent requirement of our nation's security and the calling of our time. So it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world.... The great objective of ending tyranny is the concentrated work of generations.... Americans, of all people, should never be surprised by the power of our ideals....” (Bush 2005)

In this speech, there are many inferences to the core values of American political culture. First, Bush clearly emphasizes continuity from the founding of the United States until today, highlighting that the same values that brought the founding fathers together must be protected today. Second, the speech explicitly outlines the values that must be guarded by Americans: democracy, freedoms, liberty and individual rights. These are the values that Americans have protected throughout their history on their own land, and with the historical foundation of the Roosevelt Corollary (not named in the speech), Bush reminds the people of the United States to also remember that there is a duty to protect these values abroad as well. Altogether, the speech is also steeped in the sense of exceptionalism, revealed through the unique history and present of the United States, who is then the sole country that is capable of acting in global interests, based on the message of this speech.

George W. Bush by far was not the only president in the most recent American history who elevated the United States to the role of “world police.” For example, President Barack Obama in 2014 Commencement Address at West Point listed global tensions and highlighted the role of the United States, which culminates in American global leadership:

“I believe in American exceptionalism with every fiber of my being. But what makes us exceptional is not our ability to flout international norms and the rule of law; it is our willingness to affirm them through our actions. ... Which brings me to the fourth and final element of American leadership: Our willingness to act on behalf of human dignity. America’s support for democracy and human rights goes beyond idealism — it is a matter of national security. Democracies are our closest friends and are far less likely to go to war. Economies based on free and open markets perform better and become markets for our goods. Respect for human rights is an antidote to instability and the grievances that fuel violence and terror.” (Obama 2014)

Obama’s speech contains very similar elements: exceptionalism of the United States is explicitly stated, and its leadership role is not exhausted in promoting values core to the country, but actions taken to that end are also justified. This, then, is the same theme as discussed earlier. As professors Dennis Jett and Abram Van Engen argue, the rhetoric of interventions abroad has become a consensus (Jett and Van Engen 2017) – communicated by the political leadership and seemingly accepted by much of the population. This rhetoric drastically changed with the election of Donald Trump in 2017, which served until 2021 as the 45th president of the United States. His slogan of “America First” proposed to re-focus on American interests domestically. While Trump clearly re-affirmed the exceptionalism of the United States, claiming that “In America, we do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an

example for everyone to watch,” he nevertheless believed that it was “a dangerous idea” to believe “that we could make Western democracies out of countries that had no experience or interests in becoming a Western democracy” (quoted in Jett and Van Engen 2017).

It would be still erroneous to conclude that the Monroe Doctrine played no role in the Trump administration’s foreign policy. To the contrary, many observers note that the Doctrine was in fact revived at this time. For example, Newman (2019) points out that Trump has warned in 2018 in his address to the UN General Assembly that “It has been the formal policy of our country since President Monroe that we reject the interference of foreign nations in this hemisphere,” clearly pointing out the historical continuity and relevance of the Doctrine to his political views. In this message, given the evolving geopolitical climate at the time, Trump was referring to Russia and China’s presence in some countries of the region (most notably Venezuela, Cuba and Nicaragua).

Trump’s statement was later echoed by National Security Adviser John Bolton, in a speech to Cuban Bay of Pigs veterans in Miami: “Today we proudly proclaim for all to hear: the Monroe Doctrine is alive and well” (quoted in Newman 2019). Some may find the continuous application of the Doctrine in contemporary international affairs as a dangerous trend for the region. Already in 1914, Hiram Bingham reminded: “let us not forget that the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine involves an attitude of constant suspicion both at home and abroad, which raises barriers against the progress of international good-will and diminishes our influence both in Europe and America (Bingham 1914, 358).

Suffice to say, the global role United States and its consequences remains a contentious debate not only within the United States, but also beyond it. There is no consensus whether it is desirable or not that the United States intervenes in the affairs of other countries, based on what justifications such intervention can happen, and whether it is the legitimate position of the United States to promote certain (moral and political) values or not. Importantly, what is discernable is how elements of American political culture seep into the foreign policy domain, shaping foreign policy discourse and decisions.



Think critically: Read the following quote from President Joe Biden’s remarks at a press conference held in January 2022. Assess the relevance of the Monroe Doctrine:

“We used to talk about, when I was a kid in college, about “America’s backyard.” It’s not America’s backyard. Everything south of the Mexican border is America’s front yard. And we’re equal people. We don’t dictate what happens in any other part of that — of this continent or the South American continent. We have to work very hard on it.”

Source: The White House. 2022. “Remarks by President Biden in Press Conference.”

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/01/19/remarks-by-president-biden-in-press-conference-6/>

Exercises and tasks for this chapter

The Hay Doctrine is arguably the second most affirmative foreign policy in the United States, after the Monroe Doctrine. Conduct independent research, using some of the resources provided below as a starting point, to understand the importance of the Hay Doctrine. Answer the questions listed below.

Resources:

Millard, Thomas F. 1921. *The ABC's of the Hay Doctrine*. Available at:

<https://digitalrepository.trincoll.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1048&context=moore>

Magers, R. V. 1929. John Hay and American Traditions in China. *Social Science*, 4(3), 299–311.

US Department of State. Office of Historian. N.d. “Secretary of State John Hay and the Open Door in China, 1899–1900.” <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1899-1913/hay-and-china>

Questions:

What were the factors that necessitated the formulation of the Hay Doctrine?

What regions or countries is the Doctrine primarily concerned with and why?

What is the goal of the Doctrine?

What American Interests are served through the Doctrine?

In what way, if at all, are the two doctrines (Hay Doctrine and Monroe Doctrine) complementary or follow a similar general principle of foreign policy?

In what way is the Doctrine still imperative to understanding American foreign policy?

In what way did this Doctrine influence American political culture?

Should the United States act as a world police or not? Read the two accounts arguing for a different answer. First, underline the main arguments in both texts. Then, think about the pros and cons of United States' role as a "world police" and fill out the table below. Finally, listen to an hour-and-a-half-long NPR debate where the question "Should America Be the World's Policeman?" is discussed with a panel of experts in an Oxford-style debate, part of the series *Intelligence Squared U.S.*, available at <https://www.npr.org/2008/02/20/19180589/should-america-be-the-worlds-policeman>.

"The United States Must Be the World's Policeman" (excerpt)

By Anders Fogh Rasmussen, a former prime minister of Denmark and a former secretary-general of NATO

"Only America has the material and moral greatness to stop the slide into chaos and foster peace. ... From my former positions as prime minister of Denmark and secretary-general of NATO, I know how important American leadership is. ... The world needs such a policeman if freedom and prosperity are to prevail against the forces of oppression, and the only capable, reliable and desirable candidate for the position is the United States. The presidential elections thus come at a pivotal point in history. The Middle East is torn by war. In North Africa, Libya has collapsed and become a breeding ground for terrorists. In Eastern Europe, a resurgent Russia has brutally attacked and grabbed land by force from Ukraine. China is flexing its muscles against its neighbors—and the rogue state of North Korea is threatening a nuclear attack. In this world of interconnections, it has become a cliché to talk about the "global village." But right now, the village is burning, and the neighbors are fighting in the light of the flames. Just as we need a policeman to restore order; we need a firefighter to put out the flames of conflict, and a kind of mayor, smart and sensible, to lead the rebuilding. Only America can play all these roles, because of all world powers, America alone has the credibility to shape sustainable solutions to these challenges. ... When America retrenches and retreats—if the world even thinks that American restraint reflects a lack of willingness to engage in preventing and resolving conflicts—it leaves a vacuum that will be filled by crooked autocrats across the world. ... American isolationism will not make the U.S. and other freedom-loving countries safer and more prosperous, it will make them less so and unleash a plague of dictators and other oppressors. Above all, American isolationism will threaten the future of the rules-based international world order that has brought freedom and prosperity to so many people."
(Rasmussen 2016)

The Arrogance of Power (excerpt)

By J. William Fulbright, an American politician, academic, and statesman

"After twenty-five years of world power the United States must decide which of the two sides its national character is to predominate—the humanism of Lincoln or the arrogance of those who would make America the world's policeman. One or the other will help shape the spirit of the age...The current tendency is toward a more strident and aggressive American foreign policy, which is to say, toward a policy closer to the spirit of Theodore Roosevelt than of Lincoln. ... as are also involved in a growing war against Asian communism, a war which began and might have ended as a civil war if American intervention had not turned into a contest of ideologies, a war whose fallout is disrupting our internal life and complicating our relations with most of the world. Our national vocabulary has changed with our policies. A few years ago we were talking

about détente and building bridges...[and today] the focus of power and interest has shifted to the politics of war. Diplomacy has become largely image-making, the policy-planners and political scientists are conjuring up 'scenarios' of escalation and nuclear confrontation and 'models' of insurgency and counter-insurgency. ... much of the idealism and inspiration is disappearing from American policy... The foremost need of American foreign policy is a renewal of dedication to an 'idea that mankind can hold to'—not a missionary idea of pretensions about being the world's policeman but a Lincolnian idea expressing that powerful stand of decency and humanity which is the true source of America's greatness." (Fulbright 1966)

<i>Should America be the world's police?</i>	<i>Pros</i>	<i>Cons</i>
<i>World order</i>		
<i>Conflicts and peace</i>		
<i>American domestic politics</i>		
<i>Global economy</i>		
<i>Regional and global security</i>		
<i>Democracy</i>		

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Chapter 7: Contentious topics in American political culture

Having reviewed some of the most important milestones and eras of American history, with a particular attention to how they have lasting legacies and continue to influence American political culture, this section presents case studies for analysis. In these case studies, some of the most contentious issues in American contemporary society are addressed, presenting both sides of the debate and invoking some of the key elements of American political culture that were discussed earlier. One topic analyzed below is gun control, which is more controversial in the US than anywhere else, considering that it is a right protected by the constitution, while gun violence has become a critical issue. Another extremely divisive issue discussed in this chapter is healthcare – considering the tremendous complexity of the health care sector in the United States, the discussion in this textbook will center more on the arguments why universal health care coverage does not exist until today, and why occasional attempts at making access wide meet with resistance. Obama’s 2010 healthcare reform will be in the focus of the case study analysis.

Case study 1: “The right of the people to keep and bear Arms”

The question of weapons in the United States became one of the most heated topics, especially with violence among youth debilitating public morale in the last years. It is important to recognize that the Second Amendment of Constitution of the United States of America reads as follows: “A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed” (Constitution Annotated n.d.). In other words, the Constitution itself grants citizens the right to bear arms. Earlier chapters demonstrated the significance of the constitution, which is evoked and quoted very commonly, not only for political, but also social affairs in the country. For example, President Obama highlighted at the Democratic National Convention, held at the Museum of the American Revolution in Philadelphia in 2020, the utmost importance of the Constitution: “embedded in this document was a North Star that would guide future generations; a system of representative government -- a democracy—through which we could better realize our highest ideals” (Obama 2020).

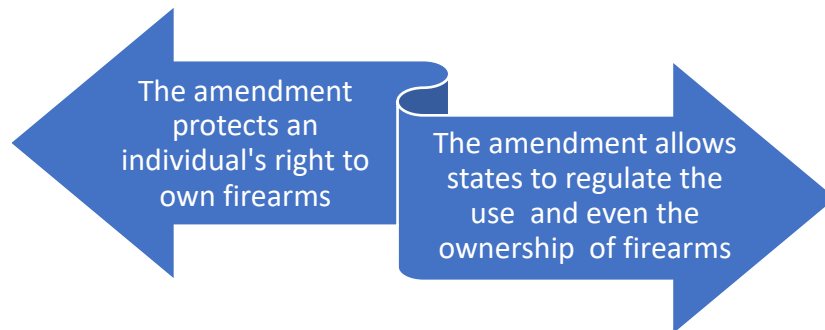


Task: Conduct research independently about some of the more important court cases that involved the interpretation of the Second Amendment and had relevance for gun ownership in the United States. Examples of such cases are: *United States v. Miller (1939)*, *District of Columbia v. Heller (2008)*, *McDonald v. Chicago (2010)*. Pay particular attention to the interpretation of the Amendment and the implications of the court’s decision.

Having been written in 1787, while the Constitution indeed remains a foundational document for the United States, the interpretation of its content is debated. The Second Amendment, for example, generated a vicious debate, especially because of the ongoing gun violence in the country. Among scholars, there two schools of interpretation of the Second Amendment (see image below, based on Stanford University 2001). Among the population, the debate centers on whether there needs to be an emphasis on gun control, and thus strict(er) regulations must be implemented to control gun ownership, or whether emphasis should be on gun rights, suggesting that there is a (constitutional) right of all individuals to own guns, and the

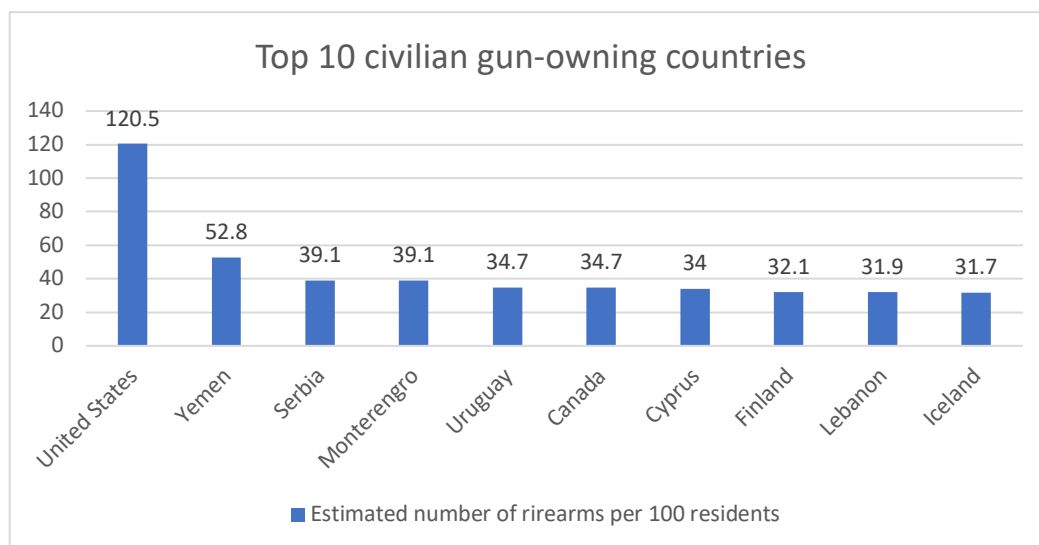
government should not limit this right. There are many points of disagreements besides interpretation of the Second Amendment, in part relating to the consequences of gun ownership (primarily on the level of criminality) and the role of the government to promote public safety.

Figure 9: Interpretations of the Second Amendment



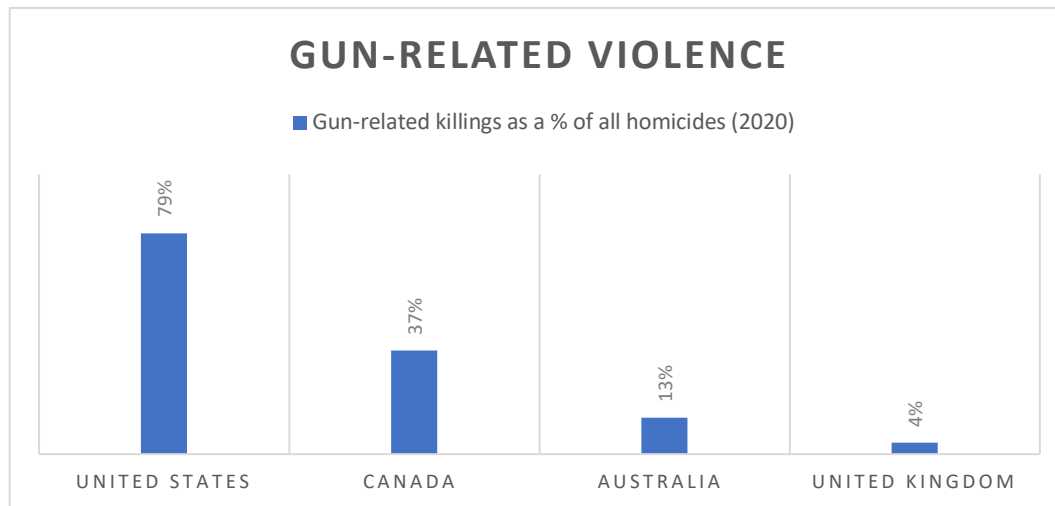
With multiple interpretations, the topic generated a heated debate in society and in politics as well. As one study aptly put it, “Guns are deeply ingrained in American society and the nation’s political debates,” pointing out that according to statistics, “about a third of U.S. adults say they personally own a gun” (Schaeffer 2021). Many reports appeared on America’s “gun culture”; the data charts below may put this phenomenon in international perspective (based on BBC 2022):

Chart 1: Top civilian gun-owning countries



What is clear is that the United States surpasses any other country in civilian gun-ownership, and “the US ratio of 120.5 firearms per 100 residents [is] up from 88 per 100 in 2011” (BBC 2022). One may argue that owning a gun may not necessarily increase violence. But an even more drastic statistics is the share of gun-related killings as a percentage of all homicides (shown in chart below, based on BBC 2022).

Chart 2: Gun-related killings in Anglo-Saxon countries



Beyond any doubt gun violence is a significant problem. President Biden for example suggested that “Gun violence in this country is an epidemic” (Biden 2021). Nevertheless, a recent Gallup poll revealed that strict gun laws are not popular among the population of the United States: “Americans’ support for stricter gun control has fallen five percentage points to 52%, the lowest reading since 2014... 35% of U.S. adults think laws covering the sale of firearms should be kept as they are now and 11% favor less strict laws” (Brenan 2021). The survey also found marked political division in attitudes towards guns: “The decline in support for stricter gun laws last year was mostly due to a 14-point drop among Republicans, to 22%” and “decrease is driven by a 15-point plunge among independents. For their part, Democrats’ desire for more restrictive gun laws ticked up to 91%” (ibid.). In other words, nearly all Democrats agree with restrictions on gun control, while Republicans and independents vary in their preference, and many lean towards looser control of gun ownership.



Task: The Pew Research Center has summarized numerous key points about the American gun culture, such as reasons for gun ownership, attitudes to gun violence and gun laws, social divisions based on gun ownership attitudes and many more. Read the article available at <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/09/13/key-facts-about-americans-and-guns/> and discuss in class how (or whether) this deep division can be addressed.

This issue has been divisive politically and socially, and nearly each American president had to pay some attention to the issue. There were also times in American history, when violence has reached a point that some changes were necessary. Among the most important federal firearms laws in the 20th century was the National Firearms Act (NFA) of 1934 (Law Library n.d.). The context of this act was the “much-publicized gangster violence [In the 1930s], led by such well-known criminals as John Dillinger, Al Capone, Baby Face Nelson, and Bonnie and Clyde; the “sensationalistic aspect of their crimes convinced the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt that something needed to be done to control the spread of weapons into the general population” (ibid.). The resulting NFA had the following aims:

“to limit the availability of machine guns, short-barreled shotguns, short-barreled rifles, sound suppressors (silencers), and other similar weapons that were often used by criminals during the Prohibition Era. The NFA imposed a tax on the manufacture, import, and distribution of NFA weapons and required a registry of 'all NFA firearms in the United States that were not under the control of the United States [government].” (HSDL 2007)



Task: Many of the gangsters from the 1930s inspired Hollywood movies. Watch any of the following movies, while paying attention to American political culture at the time. Do keep in mind that films often romanticize the protagonists and dramatize real events.

- Bonnie and Clyde, 1967, directed by Arthur Penn
- Al Capone movies:
 - o Al Capone, 1959, directed by Richard Wilson
 - o The St. Valentine’s Day Massacre, 1967, directed by Roger Corman
 - o Capone, 1975, directed by Steve Carver
 - o The Untouchables, 1987, directed by Brian De Palma
 - o Capone, 2020, directed by Josh Trank
- Baby Face Nelson, 1957, directed by Don Siegel

Then, in the 1960s, when multiple political assassinations happened – namely President John Kennedy in 1963, Attorney General Robert Kennedy (1968) and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1968) – there were further attempts at federal gun-control legislation. President Johnson signed the Gun Control Act in 1968, which imposed “stricter licensing and regulation on the firearms industry, establishe[d] new categories of firearms offenses, and prohibit[ed] the sale of firearms and ammunition to felons and certain other prohibited persons” (ATF 2020). During the remarks upon signing the Act, President Johnson pointed out the importance of safe gun ownership, while continued to underline the importance of the right to own arms by citizens:

“...Today we begin to disarm the criminal and the careless and the insane. All of our people who are deeply concerned in this country about law and order should hail this day. In our democracy, crime control is a community problem. And we would not have it any other way. For the other way would be the police state and all of its tragic consequences. The Federal Government can supplement—but can never supplant—local efforts to combat crime in the United States. ... The Government can probe the reasons for crime and the methods of its control. ... The Government can strike against organized crime ... The Government can now help to stimulate new local crime-fighting programs. ... The Government can help protect its citizens against the random and the reckless violence of crime at gun point.... The voices that blocked these safeguards were not the voices of an aroused nation. They were the voices of a powerful lobby, a gun lobby, that has prevailed for the moment in an election year.” (Johnson 1968)



Think critically: Based on the excerpt of Johnson’s speech, analyze and discuss the role of the government in settling societal problems, such as criminality and violence; also discuss who the most important actors are in the discussion about gun control. Formulate your own opinion, based on your knowledge of American political culture, whether guns should be regulated more strictly or not.

In the 1990s, the enactment of the Title XI of the Federal Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, known as the Crime Control Act of 1994, signed into law by President Bill Clinton in 1994, in its official name (Roth and Koper 1999). This Act was a milestone in assault weapons ban. In the 1980s and ‘90s America, youth violence shook the public on multiple occasions, coupled with news about drug wars and gang violence invigorated the discussion about private ownership of weapons. While many states moved ahead with restrictions, on the federal level, it wasn’t until 1994 that assault weapons would be banned. At this time, President Clinton pointed out another obstacle to stricter gun control: the culture of hunting and sport shooting in the United States (Clinton 1999). Clinton also explained the importance of limiting weapon ownership as a moral obligation:

“It is our sworn duty to uphold the law. It is also our moral obligation -- an obligation to the children and families and law-abiding citizens of our country -- an obligation to stop the terrible scourge of gun violence. As parents, we teach our children every day to distinguish right from wrong. As a nation, too, we must remember where to draw the line. Today, we are drawing it clearly and indelibly.” (Clinton 1998)

Since Clinton’s enactment of the assault weapons ban, the next most impactful measure was under President Joe Biden (Al Jazeera 2022). Already early in his presidency, Biden proposed new restrictions on access to firearms, and have made several announcements to that end. He has stressed that these changes were necessary “to confront not just the gun crisis but what is a public health crisis” will in no way infringe on the Second Amendment. In fact, Biden substantiates his executive changes pointing out the relevance of the historical context at the time when the Constitution was written and now: “But no amendment — no amendment to the Constitution is absolute. You can’t yell “fire” in a crowded movie theater and call it freedom of speech. From the very beginning, you couldn’t own any weapon you wanted to own. From the very beginning that the Second Amendment existed, certain people weren’t allowed to have weapons” (Biden 2021).

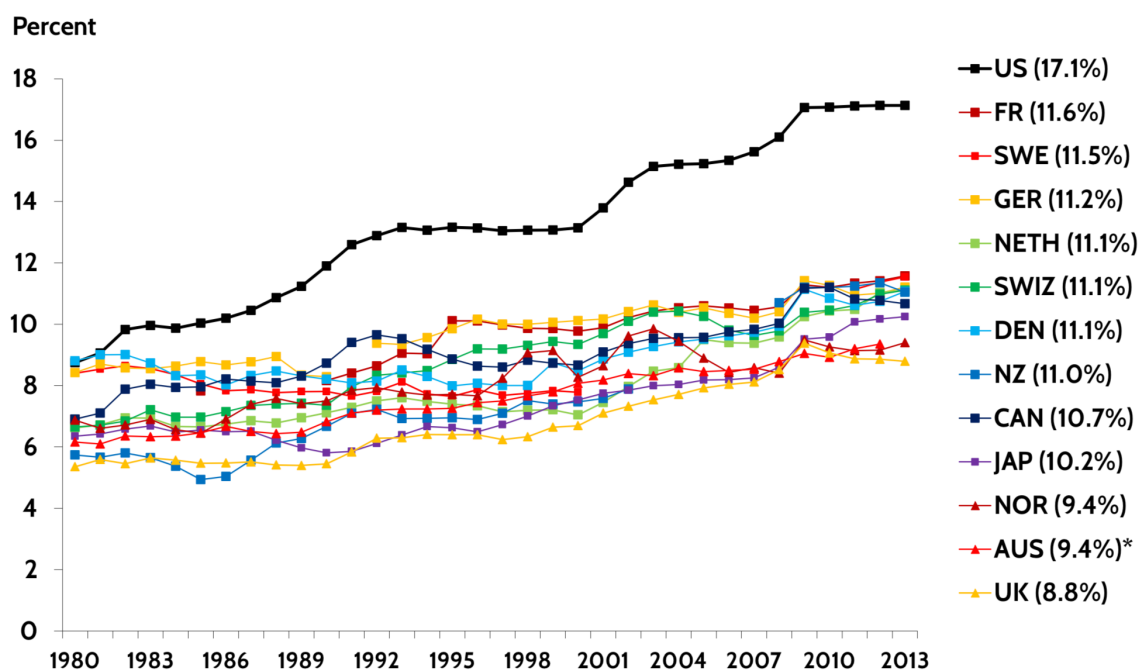
What President Biden pointed out is the importance of historical context to the Amendment. Some historians argued the same, proposing a “translation” of the clause considering the appropriate historical context, because today “it does not make sense to interpret the amendment as a justification for citizens to own powerful weapons,” according to Sanford Levinson, a professor of law and government (Stanford University 2001). Another argument proposed by Jack Rakove, professor of history and political science, “questioned the idea that widespread private gun possession helps to preserve American liberty. After 200 years, the nation's democratic creed is deeply ingrained in the culture, and tyranny would have difficulty finding a foothold even if citizens were forbidden from owning firearms” (ibid.).

There is no consensus about gun ownership in the United States, neither among politicians, nor in the society, nor between academics. There are those who continue relying on the Second Amendment to justify personal ownership of guns, also referencing the importance of hunting and sport shooting as a component of American culture. Among scholars who support loose restrictions on gun ownership, some, for example Glenn Harlan Reynolds, a law professor, emphasize “the importance of the right to keep and bear arms to safeguard against tyranny” and “the argument of increasingly powerful weapons should be made in the context of increasingly powerful governments” (Stanford University 2001). According to the National Rifle Association (NRA), the biggest gun lobby in the US, gun control laws only place limits on the freedom guaranteed by the Second Amendment (NRA n.d.). The question of gun ownership and gun control will likely remain a divisive issue in American political culture in the years to come.

Case study 2: Healthcare

Another divisive issue in American society is healthcare – an issue that generated a deep political divide and social tensions, and an issue “on which no one can agree” (Vanderbilt University 2012). What is also interesting is the fact that “the United States remains one of the only advanced industrialized democracies in the world without universal [health care coverage,” while the country outspends other Western countries in expenditure on health care (Callaghan 2016, see chart below, referenced by the same source). This issue is not merely about the state of public health, but it touches on profound questions, such as the role of the government in providing health services, what constitutes a public and private good, and when should the government assume the role of redistribution burdens among its people?

Chart 3: Expenditures on health care



* 2012.

Notes: GDP refers to gross domestic product. Dutch and Swiss data are for current spending only, and exclude spending on capital formation of health care providers.

Source: OECD Health Data 2015.

Source: David Squires and Chloe Anderson, “Issues in International Health Policy” The Commonwealth Fund 2015.

https://www.commonwealthfund.org/sites/default/files/documents/media_files_publications_issue_brief_2015_oct_1819_squires_us_hlt_care_global_perspective_oecd_intl_brief_v3.pdf

One of the more recent major changes to the health care system was in 2010, with the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ACA) that was passed by a Democratic Congress and signed into law by a President Obama in 2010, often referred to as “Obamacare.” It was a hugely ambitious reform, which aimed at improving access to healthcare and with that the health of many Americans by increasing the number covered by health insurance. Obama himself commented the importance of the bill by highlighting the historical continuity of the issue of healthcare in America, and, shaping the question into one of national importance:

“Today, after almost a century of trying, today, after over a year of debate, today, after all the votes have been tallied, health insurance reform becomes law in the United States of America—today. ...I'm signing this bill for all the leaders who took up this cause through the generations, from Teddy Roosevelt to Franklin Roosevelt, from Harry Truman to Lyndon Johnson, from Bill and Hillary Clinton to one of the deans who's been fighting this so long, John Dingell, to Senator Ted Kennedy... We are not a nation that falls prey to doubt or mistrust. We don't fall prey to fear.... We are a nation that faces its challenges and accepts its responsibilities. We are a nation that does what is hard, what is necessary, what is right. Here in this country, we shape our own destiny. That is what we do. That is who we are. That is what makes us the United States of America. And we have now just enshrined, as soon as I sign this bill, the core principle that everybody should have some basic security when it comes to their health care.” (Obama 2010)



Task: Conduct research about how health policy evolved in the United States through the presidencies of those named above in Obama’s speech. Consider dividing eras among students (or groups), with everyone presenting their findings in class. Try to identify the most important obstacles to universal healthcare in the United States.

Polls conducted about public attitudes towards ACA showed that less than half of the American society support this measure (Dalen, Waterbrook, and Alpert 2015). A study pointed out the reasons why so many people in America opposed the Act (Dalen, Waterbrook, and Alpert 2015):

- Many Americans oppose the idea that all Americans must have health insurance
- Many Americans oppose a government role in health care
- The Act, through framing and media coverage, was labeled “socialized medicine”

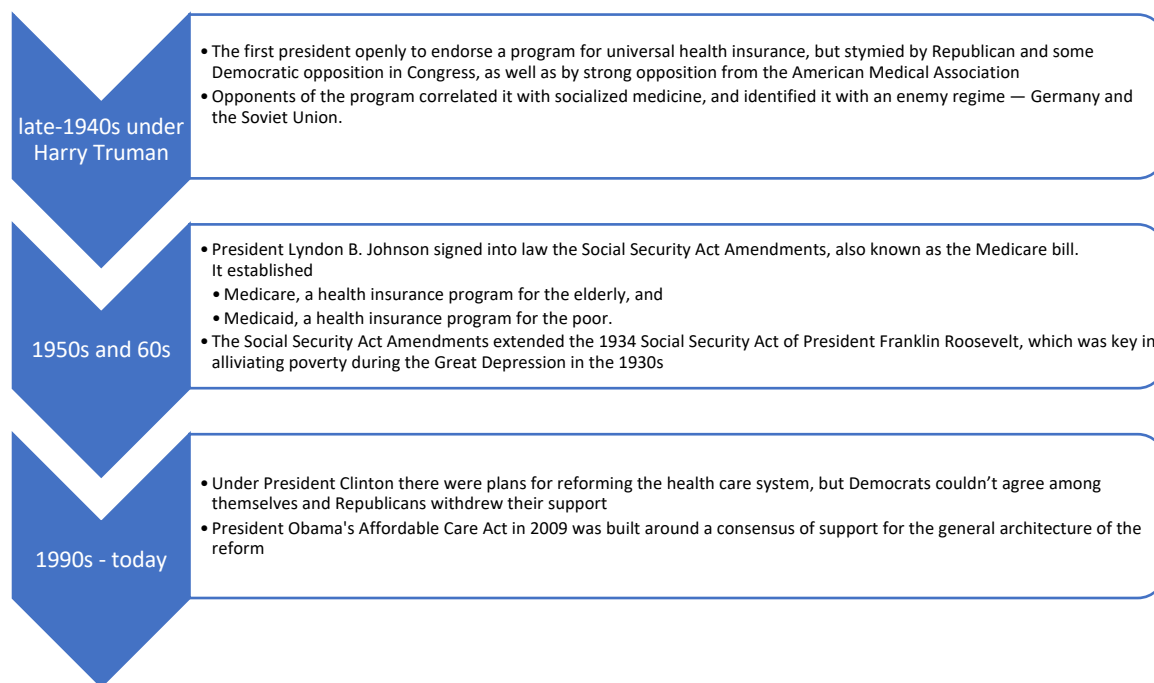
Each of the points merit further discussion and reveal important characteristics of American political culture.

The idea that not all Americans must have health insurance has deep roots in American individualism and American values. As one reason for why the US does not have universal health coverage, one observer argued that among the foremost reasons is individualism: “One key reason [for the United States not having a universal health care system] is the unique political culture in America. As a nation that began on the back of immigrants with an

entrepreneurial spirit and without a feudal system to ingrain a rigid social structure, Americans are more likely to be individualistic,” claims Timothy Callaghan (2016), an Assistant Professor of Health Sciences. In other words, the essence of liberalism is that government remains limited and does not interfere in social affairs, health care being one such area. Hence, if universal healthcare requires big government and clashes with the idea of individualism, then it also clashes with the idea of American culture. Following this logic, caring for the sick and elderly is an individual responsibility and not that of the state.

Paul Starr, a senior adviser to the White House for the formulation of President Bill Clinton’s health care plan in 1993, wrote a comprehensive study of the American health care policy entitled “Remedy and Reaction: The Peculiar American Struggle Over Health Care Reform” (2013). During a discussion about his book, Starr stressed that there is a disagreement in the United States “whether health care is a matter of citizenship, a matter of basic human rights or whether it needs to be earned,” which is a question of morality and values (Hart 2012). A revision of phases of health care policy proposed by Starr is instructive here (based on Hart 2012 and supplemented by the author):

Figure 10: Brief history of health care policy in the United States



Source: Hart (2012)

These phases point out not only the progression of the health care policy, but also its framing and discourse about health care. It is important to underline, as Starr admits as well, that historically, “Opponents of the [health care] program in the World War I era correlated it with socialized medicine, and identified it with an enemy regime — Germany,” and “in the 1930s and ’40s, opponents identified national health insurance proposals with another enemy regime — the Soviet Union” (Hart 2012). This framing is relevant now as well: many opponents of Obamacare framed the proposal as “socialist” or “socialized medicine,” to the point that Obama felt the need to publicly refute this claim in saying that “Great Britain has a system of socialized medicine. I don’t know anybody in Washington who is proposing that. Certainly not me” (Neumann 2009).

During his presidency, to gain more support for ACA, Obama abandoned the idea of a public insurance, which was then picked up by President Joe Biden, expressing his plan of a single payer or “Medicare-like plan” (Sarlin and Kapur 2021). Although it is questionable whether this plan can be realized, nevertheless critics once again evoked socialism in disapproving the plan:

“Obama’s socialized unaffordable no-care act stole Americans’ ability to control their own healthcare ... Democrats are in control of Congress, and President Joe Biden is poised to dictate an even worse idea: single-payer healthcare. Under Biden’s single-payer plan, he would eventually eliminate private insurance. Why eliminate private insurance? Because socialists hate the free market that has made America the greatest country for the past 244 years. Under Biden’s ‘Anti-Free Market Act’ we would no longer have a choice of healthcare. All Americans would be forced into a one-sized-fits-all socialist healthcare program.” (Howard 2021)

It is important to underline how important framing is in this instance, especially in using an ideology so strongly associated with anti-Americanism. What undoubtably proves this point is the series of The Economist/YouGov Polls conducted in the same year (2017) a few months apart (April and June); during one poll, people were asked whether they want to have “Medicare for all” expanded, during the other, they asked about “single-payer” health care (Merelli 2017). To the former question 60% answered positively and to the latter on 44%, although from the perspective of policy changes, the two imply identical changes to the health care system (ibid.). This indicates not only the power of anti-socialist rhetoric in the United States, but also the importance of how an issue is framed and presented to the public and whether values that resonate with the political culture are used or not.

The role of the government then emerges as another major point of disagreement. The opposition to the government playing a leading role in health care is due to the fact that many Americans do not trust their government. In fact, “Republicans are much less trusting of the federal government and much less supportive of a government role in health care than Democrats” (Dalen, Waterbrook, and Alpert 2015). Already from the earliest attempts at broadening access to healthcare under Truman, “opponents saw government-run health insurance as a very insidious idea, undermining the American way,” claimed Starr (Hart 2012).

Some suggest that reasons of political history should not be neglected either as potential explanations contributing to the United States significantly diverging from other industrialized countries, and building the system of health care entirely on private insurance. Although there were some attempts throughout American history in implementing major reforms, yet these attempts met with resistance and no profound change was realized. Indeed, it may be the lack of a labor party through America’s history that resulted in a lower sense of social solidarity as a core value in American political culture, claims Theodore Brown, professor of public health and policy (Merelli 2017). As a result, the United States was left with no public health care system. To this point, Bruce Vladeck, a researcher with Mount Sinai Medical Center, adds another interesting observation:

“Although in fact socioeconomic status in the United States is at least as stratified as it is in other industrialized countries, in much of the rest of the world a large proportion of the population identifies itself as working class, or working people. In the United States, everyone selfidentifies as middle class. This leads to a very simple syllogism about why the United States

has no universal health insurance: there is no self-identified working class—no labor party, no national health insurance. It is hard to disconfirm that syllogism” (Vladeck 2002)



Think critically: What role, in your opinion, do drug firms, medical providers, and health technology companies play in keeping the current system of health care? What might be their incentives and how can they influence both, public opinion and policy-making? Conduct research on the topic and present your findings.

In short, it is not surprising that health care has generated a vigorous debate in the last several decades of American history – it is an issue that touches, and at times challenges, some of the core values of American political culture. With health care reform on the agenda of American political leaders for over a century, the two milestones in this struggle were the establishment of Social Security in 1995 and the Affordable Care Act in 2010 (Burgin 2015). This short discussion has only touched the surface of a very complex and long debate surrounding health care policy in the United States a full understanding of which would require a knowledge of the particularities and technicalities of health insurance policy in the United States – topics that are well beyond the scope of this textbook.

Exercises and tasks for this chapter

Conduct research about the gun lobby in the United States, paying special attention to the National Rifle Association (NRA), which is the most powerful gun lobby. Assess critically the role of the lobby and how it can influence policy making. Discuss the relevance of concepts such as freedom, democracy, individualism, capitalism, liberty and safety.

There may be considerable difference between **states’ approach to gun control in the United States**. For example, “in June 2021, for example, Texas Governor Greg Abbott signed into law a ‘permit-less carry bill’ that allows the state’s residents to carry handguns without a license or training. Similarly, on 12 April Georgia became the 25th in the nation to eliminate the need for a permit to conceal or openly carry a firearm. The law means any citizen of that state has the right to carry a firearm without a license or a permit” (BBC 2022).

- 1) Let’s revisit the map of the United States from the first chapter (below). Look into the gun laws of individual states and mark them on the map using the following color code: YELLOW: strict laws (bans); ORANGE: some regulation (no ban); RED: loose laws.
- 2) Compare your color coding with the following map on firearm mortality by state, compiled by the National Center for Health Statistics:
https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/pressroom/sosmap/firearm_mortality/firearm.htm. Discuss any possible implications.
- 3) Pick one state and prepare a deeper analysis, assessing the history of the given approach to gun laws, building on some of the historical antecedents described in earlier chapters.



Source: <https://www.waterproofpaper.com/printable-maps/united-states.shtml>

Review the **timeline of health care reform in the United States** compiled by the Kaiser Family Foundation and available at <https://www.kff.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/5-02-13-history-of-health-reform.pdf>, starting with the 1900s and until 2010. Supplement the timeline with the most current changes and discuss how American political values are reflected in the history of health care policy.

Besides gun control and health care, what **other divisive issues** do you know of in the United States? Conduct your own research and present your findings in class based on the questions below.

Topic: _____

What are the historical roots of this issue?

What are the pro and contra arguments?

Pro	Contra

Describe the groups who take a position for or against the issue:

In what way does understanding of American political culture help us make sense of this issue?

What is your position on the matter and why?

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Concluding remarks

In conclusion, this textbook reviewed some milestones in American history, tracing the legacies and implications of these events to the 20th and 21st century America. The book revealed that some of the core values have shaped the very foundation of the United States and influenced the course of history for centuries to come. It is also important to recognize that with the changing social structure, global affairs and other factors, the meaning of some values may have changed. The chapters also highlighted that many divisive, contentious issues are debated in American society and politics, generating debates and discussions where values may be re-interpreted.

Although this first chapter attempted to define the nebulous concept of political culture, it is only towards the end of the book that a definition may have consolidated. To quote a historian, Robert Kelley, the concept of political cultural can be thought of through the following analogy:

“A useful analogy [to explain the meaning of ‘political culture’] may be to point to the difference between reporting the play-by-play action in a given athletic contest and describing the encompassing background of the game itself: the rules of play; the coaches’ contrasting ideas about tactics, even perhaps about the game’s significance in the larger scheme of things; the kinds of people the two teams characteristically recruit, with their individual values and styles of behavior, their sense of cohesion, and their effective sense of team spirit. Political culture is a term referring to the larger context within which daily politics proceeds.” (Kelley 2011)

In this textbook, each chapter aimed at highlighting some of the more important phases, milestones, documents and persons in American history, tracing how their legacies define American political culture until today. Overall, rather than a comprehensive historical or political overview, the textbook strove to provide an analytical framework, with which students can feel more competent at understanding and analyzing political events in the United States. To that end, the last chapter presented two cases to illustrate the interplay between American political culture and public policy, through the examples of gun control and health care. Both are divisive issues that have been debated for centuries, with no consensus reached yet. These two examples by no means are exhaustive; the hope is that students will be able to apply an analytical framework when interpreting various political discourses in the United States.

Admittedly, even with some ground covered, the book has not covered significant events in American history, such as the New Deal, the political culture during the Red Scare and the Cold War, the significance of the Great Depression and many more. The book has only briefly mentioned other important historical phases, but to justify this swift and in many ways incomplete review of history, the book strove to remain faithful to its original purpose: to uncover elements of American political culture, present the historical roots of the America’s complex cultural legacy and show how it continues to influence current political discourse and policy.

A historical overview was necessary because political culture is changing over time. Although this change tends to be slow, at times accelerated by major political events, economic crises or social upheavals, nevertheless it is imperative to see political culture not as a static, but as a changing phenomenon. Political culture is also diverse and even within the same country, some elements of political culture may differ, while other values may be broadly shared by nearly everyone living in the given country. Having completed this book, students should feel

equipped to better analyze current affairs in American domestic politics and foreign policy, as well as be able to embed political narratives into a cultural context.

Indeed, the book has been written with the firm belief that understanding of political culture – in the United States and elsewhere – is necessary for students of political science and international relations in order to analyze various political phenomena. Scholars have studied and proved the importance of political culture in fields as diverse as individual-level factors on policy support especially in environmental policy (Harring, Sverker & Matti 2019) and attitudes to human rights (Davis 1998). In other words, scholars have long recognized the value of understanding the characteristics of political culture in order to study political attitudes, beliefs and even the durability of political systems.

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Appendix

Japanese-Americans in the 20th century United States

One of the first instances of severe discrimination occurred in Hawaii just four years after the first 'official' Japanese immigration. In 1889, Katsu Goto (a prominent merchant and interpreter) was killed by those who didn't like the advocacy work he performed on behalf of Japanese plantation workers.

The period from 1898 to 1907 saw great numbers of Japanese immigrants come to America. By 1910, the Japanese were the largest minority group in the state of Washington. Although the 1907 Gentleman's Agreement had limited Japanese immigration to America, anti-Asian feelings ran high. Anti-Japanese prejudice was common in the early 1900s on the west coast, especially in California. Some whites feared that the immigrants would take away their jobs, while others, notably farmers, were resentful of the bountiful crops raised by the Japanese farmers.

The Asiatic Exclusion League was founded in San Francisco in 1905, marking the official beginning of the anti-Japanese movement. In 1906, Japanese schoolchildren were segregated from white students by the San Francisco school board. In response to the growing anti-Japanese prejudice, President Theodore Roosevelt negotiated the "Gentlemen's Agreement" with Japan in 1907. The government of Japan agreed to stop issuing passports to laborers, thus slowing Japanese immigration to the United States.

On February 18, 1907, Congress approved amending existing immigration legislation which allowed President Roosevelt to issue an executive order stopping the migration of Japanese laborers from Hawaii and Mexico on March 14, 1907. In concert with the Gentlemen's Agreement, this action ended labor immigration to the U.S. and put labor contractors out of business. In 1924, President Calvin Coolidge signed the 1924 immigration bill into law, effectively ending Japanese immigration to the U.S.

California Governor Hiram Johnson signed the 1913 Alien Land Law, which was followed in November 1920 by a new Alien Land Law, intended to close loopholes in the 1913 law. The Alien Land Laws prevented non-citizens from owning property in California.

On November 13, 1922, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled to definitively prohibit Japanese from becoming naturalized citizens on the basis of race. This ban lasted until 1952.

Meanwhile, overt discrimination continued to be practiced against those of Japanese ancestry. On November 12, 1941 (shortly before the attack on Pearl Harbor), 15 Japanese American businessmen and community leaders in Los Angeles' Little Tokyo were picked up in an F.B.I. raid. Records and membership lists for such organizations as the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and the Central Japanese Association were seized. The 15 cooperated with authorities, while a spokesman for the Central Japanese Association stated: "We teach the fundamental principles of America and the high ideals of American democracy. We want to live here in peace and harmony. Our people are 100 percent loyal to America."

This outrage was but a prelude. Having faced more than a half-century of discrimination, Japanese Americans were but a few months from entering some very dark years involving deprivation of life, liberty, and property.

*Source: National Japanese American Memorial Foundation,
<https://www.njamemorial.org/discrimination>*

John O'Sullivan Declares America's Manifest Destiny, 1845

John Louis O'Sullivan, a popular editor and columnist, articulated the long-standing American belief in the God-given mission of the United States to lead the world in the transition to democracy. He called this America's "manifest destiny." This idea motivated wars of American expansion. He explained this idea in the following essay where he advocated adding Texas to the United States.

Texas is now ours... Her star and her stripe may already be said to have taken their place in the glorious blazon of our common nationality; and the sweep of our eagle's wing already includes within its circuit the wide extent of her fair and fertile land. She is no longer to us a mere geographical space—a certain combination of coast, plain, mountain, valley, forest and stream. She is no longer to us a mere country on the map. She comes within the dear and sacred designation of Our Country... other nations have undertaken to intrude themselves ... in a spirit of hostile interference against us, for the avowed object of thwarting our policy and hampering our power, limiting our greatness and checking the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions. This we have seen done by England, our old rival and enemy; and by France, strangely coupled with her against us....

The independence of Texas was complete and absolute. It was an independence, not only in fact, but of right. No obligation of duty towards Mexico tended in the least degree to restrain our right to effect the desired recovery of the fair province once our own—whatever motives of policy might have prompted a more deferential consideration of her feelings and her pride, as involved in the question. If Texas became peopled with an American population; it was by no contrivance of our government, but on the express invitation of that of Mexico herself... California will, probably, next fall away from the loose adhesion which, in such a country as Mexico, holds a remote province in a slight equivocal kind of dependence on the metropolis. Imbecile and distracted, Mexico never can exert any real governmental authority over such a country. The impotence of the one and the distance of the other, must make the relation one of virtual independence; unless, by stunting the province of all natural growth, and forbidding that immigration which can alone develop its capabilities and fulfill the purposes of its creation, tyranny may retain a military dominion, which is no government in the, legitimate sense of the term. In the case of California this is now impossible. The Anglo-Saxon foot is already on its borders. Already the advance guard of the irresistible army of Anglo-Saxon emigration has begun to pour down upon it, armed with the plough and the rifle, and marking its trail with schools and colleges, courts and representative halls, mills and meeting-houses. A population will soon be in actual occupation of California, over which it will be idle for Mexico to dream of dominion. They will necessarily become independent. All this without agency of our government, without responsibility of our people—in the natural flow of events, the spontaneous working of principles, and the adaptation of the tendencies and wants of the human race to the elemental circumstances in the midst of which they find themselves placed. And they will have a right to independence—to self-government—to the possession of the homes conquered from the wilderness by their own labors and dangers, sufferings and sacrifices—a better and a truer right than the artificial tide of sovereignty in Mexico, a thousand miles distant, inheriting from Spain a title good only against those who have none better. Their right to independence will be the natural right of self-government belonging to any community strong enough to maintain it—distinct in position, origin and character, and free from any mutual obligations of membership of

a common political body, binding it to others by the duty of loyalty and compact of public faith. This will be their title to independence; and by this title, there can be no doubt that the population now fast streaming down upon California will both assert and maintain that independence. Whether they will then attach themselves to our Union or not, is not to be predicted with any certainty. Unless the projected railroad across the continent to the Pacific be carried into effect, perhaps they may not; though even in that case, the day is not distant when the Empires of the Atlantic and Pacific would again flow together into one, as soon as their inland border should approach each other. But that great work, colossal as appears the plan on its first suggestion, cannot remain long unbuilt. Its necessity for this very purpose of binding and holding together in its iron clasp our fast-settling Pacific region with that of the Mississippi valley—the natural facility of the route—the ease with which any amount of labor for the construction can be drawn in from the overcrowded populations of Europe, to be paid in the lands made valuable by the progress of the work itself—and its immense utility to the commerce of the world with the whole eastern Asia, alone almost sufficient for the support of such a road—these considerations give assurance that the day cannot be distant which shall witness the conveyance of the representatives from Oregon and California to Washington within less time than a few years ago was devoted to a similar journey by those from Ohio; while the magnetic telegraph will enable the editors of the “San Francisco Union,” the “Astoria Evening Post,” or the “Nootka Morning News,” to set up in type the first half of the President’s Inaugural before the echoes of the latter half shall have died away beneath the lofty porch of the Capitol, as spoken from his lips.

Away, then, with all idle French talk of *balances of power* on the American Continent. There is no growth in Spanish America! Whatever progress of population there may be in the British Canadas, is only for their own early severance of their present colonial relation to the little island three thousand miles across the Atlantic; soon to be followed by Annexation, and destined to swell the still accumulating momentum of our progress. And whosoever may hold the balance, though they should cast into the opposite scale all the bayonets and cannon, not only of France and England, but of Europe entire, how would it kick the beam against the simple, solid weight of the two hundred and fifty, or three hundred millions—and American millions—destined to gather beneath the flutter of the stripes and stars, in the fast hastening year of the Lord 1845!

Source: John O’Sullivan, “Annexation,” *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, Volume 17 (New York: 1845), 5-6, 9-10. Available at: Stanford University Press. n.d. *The American Yawp Reader*, John O’Sullivan Declares America’s Manifest Destiny, 1845.
<https://www.americanyawp.com/reader/manifest-destiny/john-osullivan-declares-americas-manifest-destiny-1845/>

Cherokee Petition Protesting Removal, 1836

Native Americans responded differently to the constant encroachments and attacks of American settlers. Some resisted violently. Others worked to adapt to American culture and defend themselves using particularly American weapons like lawsuits and petitions. The Cherokee did more to adapt than perhaps any other Native American group, creating a written constitution modeled off the American constitution and adopting American culture in dress, speech, religion and economic activity. In this document, Cherokee leaders protested the loss of their territory using a very American tactic: petitioning.

The undersigned representatives of the Cherokee nation, east of the river Mississippi, impelled by duty, would respectfully submit, for the consideration of your honorable body, the following statement of facts: It will be seen from the numerous subsisting treaties between the Cherokee nation and the United States, that from the earliest existence of this government, the United States, in Congress assembled, received the Cherokees and their nation in to favor and protection; and that the chiefs and warriors, for themselves and all parts of the Cherokee nation to be under the protection of the United States of America, and of no other sovereign whatsoever: they also stipulated, that the said Cherokee nation will not hold any treaty with any foreign power, individual State, or with individuals of any State; that for, and in consideration of, valuable concessions made by the Cherokee nation, the United States solemnly guaranteed to said nations all their lands not ceded, and pledged the faith of the government, that “all white people who have intruded, or may hereafter intrude, on the lands reserved for the Cherokees, shall be removed by the United States, and proceeded against, according to the provisions of the act, passed 30th March, 1802,” entitled “An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers.” The Cherokees were happy and prosperous under a scrupulous observance of treaty stipulations by the government of the United States, and from the fostering hand extended over them, they made rapid advances in civilization, morals, and in the arts and sciences. Little did they anticipate, that when taught to think and feel as the American citizen, and to have with him a common interest, they were to be despoiled by their guardian, to become strangers and wanderers in the land of their fathers, forced to return to the savage life, and to seek a new home in the wilds of the far west, and that without their consent. An instrument purporting to be a treaty with the Cherokee people, has recently been made public by the President of the United States, that will have such an operation if carried into effect. This instrument, the delegation aver before the civilized world, and in the presence of Almighty God, is fraudulent, false upon its face, made by unauthorized individuals, without the sanction, and against the wishes of the great body of the Cherokee people. Upwards of fifteen thousand of those people have protested against it, solemnly declaring they will never acquiesce. The delegation would respectfully call the attention of your honorable body to their memorial and protest, with the accompanying documents, submitted to the Senate of the United States, on the subject of the alleged treaty, which are herewith transmitted....

Source: House Documents, Otherwise Publ. as Executive Documents: 13th Congress, 2d Session-49th Congress, 1st Session. United States congressional serial set. Doc. No. 286, pp. 1-5.
Available at: Stanford University Press. n.d. *The American Yawp Reader*, Cherokee Petition Protesting Removal, 1836. <https://www.americanyawp.com/reader/manifest-destiny/cherokee-petition-protesting-removal-1836/>

Early agreements: Mayflower Compact

Agreement Between the Settlers at New Plymouth: 1620

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. We, whose names are underwritten, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having undertaken for the Glory of God, and Advancement of

the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the northern Parts of Virginia; Do by these Presents, solemnly and mutually, in the Presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Furtherance of the Ends aforesaid: And by Virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions, and Officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient f the general Good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due Submission and Obedience.

IN WITNESS whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape-Cod the eleventh of November, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini; 1620.or

John Carver	Samuel Fuller	Edward Tilly
William Bradford	Christopher Martin	John Tilly
Edward Winslow	William Mullins	Francis Cooke
William Brewster	William White	Thomas Rogers
Isaac Allerton	Richard Warren	Thomas Tinker
Myles Standish	John Howland	John Ridgdale
John Alden	Steven Hopkins	Edward Fuller
John Turner	Digery Priest	Richard Clark
Francis Eaton	Thomas Williams	Richard Gardiner
James Chilton	Gilbert Winslow	Mr. John Allerton
John Craxton	Edmund Margesson	Thomas English
John Billington	Peter Brown	Edward Doten
Moses Fletcher	Richard Britteridge	Edward Liester
John Goodman	George Soule	

Source:

The Mayflower Society. n.d. The Mayflower Compact. Accessed July 3, 2022.
<https://themayflowersociety.org/history/the-mayflower-compact/>.

Declaration of Independence (excerpt)

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America

When in the Course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in

such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

...

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States, that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. — And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

Source: George Washington's Mount Vernon, "The Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776. Accessed July 4, 2022. <https://www.mountvernon.org/education/primary-sources-2/article/the-declaration-of-independence-july-4-1776/>

Constitution of the United States of America (excerpts)

Preamble

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and

secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Articles

Article I

Section 1

All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives

...

Article II

Section 1

The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term

...

Article III

Section 1

The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

...

Article IV

Section 1

Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

...

Article V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

...

Article VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

Amendments

Amendment I (1791)

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Amendment II (1791)

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Amendment III (1791)

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Amendment IV (1791)

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Amendment V (1791)

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Amendment VI (1791)

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him ...

Amendment VII (1791)

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Amendment VIII (1791)

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Amendment IX (1791)

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment X (1791)

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Amendment XI (1795/1798)

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

Amendment XII (1804)

The Electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; ...

Amendment XIII (1865)

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. ...

Amendment XIV (1868)

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

Amendment XV (1870)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude....

Amendment XVI (1913)

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Amendment XVII (1913)

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures....

...

Amendment XIX (1920)

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex....

...

Amendment XXI (1933)

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

...

Amendment XXII (1951)

Section 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. ...

Source: United States Senate, "Constitution of the United States". Accessed July 4, 2022.

https://www.senate.gov/civics/constitution_item/constitution.htm

Changing Meaning of Confederate Flag

Gaines M. Foster: "Today's Battle Over the Confederate Flag Has Nothing To Do With The Civil War" (excerpt)

...The discussion about flying the flag in public places—as well as ongoing fights about the removal of Confederate monuments—has been framed as the persistence of historic passions. This interpretation is deeply and dangerously misleading: In fact, the flag's meaning has changed significantly over time, and the contemporary conflict about the flag should be seen more as a dispute about the future than the past.

... And the state of race relations today is equally important when the flag, which was a symbol of racism in the past, is associated with justifying racism in the present. In polls, many African Americans support ending the official use of the Confederate flag, no doubt in part to make a statement about the continuing need to address institutional racism and white supremacy in American society.

For its white supporters, the meaning of the Confederate flag has shifted with time so that it is now much more closely tied to the country's divisions today than to those of its past. While the meaning and salience of the flag is rooted in the Civil War and the Confederacy, the battles of the 1950s and 1960s—as well as those of the 1990s—prove more important in understanding the current debate than the battles of the 1860s. Flag supporters today are expressing resentment against African Americans and "concessions" granted to them as well as opposition to what they see as destabilizing social, cultural, and economic trends that have cost them status in the social hierarchy and put them at a relative disadvantage for the future. Thus, for supporters and detractors of the battle flag alike, it is a potent symbol of the America we want in the future.

Seeing the flag only through its historical association with the Confederacy and the South obscures the reality of its appeal today: Support for the flag today is nearly as strong in the Midwest as in some parts of the South. Its white supporters, who tend to be less educated and have lower incomes, do not act on past loyalties so much as out of a sense of grievance about opportunities for themselves and their children in the future. Likewise, some opponents of the flag have a grievance in the flag's historic connection to structural racism, which has resulted in widespread denial of civil rights as well as lost income, education, and sense of belonging for blacks. They call for its removal as a symbolic gesture of moving onward toward a future that

does not repeat our past. These twin grievances speak to deep and growing divides in American society....

While today's Confederate battle flag appears much the same as it did in the 1860s—as it has been copied on everything from state flags to coffee cups—its associations have shifted significantly over time. To understand why we're still fighting about its symbolic meaning, you have to understand how it has been used since the Civil War, particularly in the last 80 years, as new meanings for the flag have been forged.

In the decades immediately after the Civil War, white Southerners revered the Confederate battle flag, but well into the 20th century, they flew it mostly on Confederate memorial days, during veterans' reunions, and at monument unveilings. The flag's use at this time was regional and tied to the memory of the war.

But in the late 1930s, display of the battle flag expanded when Congress nearly passed an anti-lynching bill, leading to increased white Southern fears of federal intervention in Southern race relations. In 1948, the battle flag's use by the Dixiecrats—the segregationist, independent Southern Democratic Party that ran South Carolina governor J. Strom Thurmond for president—spurred the flag's popularization. In the 1950s, it became an ornament of popular culture, with Confederate flags flown in a multitude of contexts and featured on coffee mugs, T-shirts, beach towels, bikinis, and many other items. All served as symbols of a white Southern identity, an affirmation of pride in the region and its customs.

At the same time that it became a ubiquitous consumer culture item, the Confederate battle flag was used as the banner of the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Councils, segregationist mobs, and others opposed to the civil rights movement and racial change, cementing its association with white supremacy. In 1956, Georgia adopted a new state flag that prominently featured the battle flag, and in the early 1960s both Alabama and South Carolina began to fly it over their capitols.

During the 1960s, African Americans, empowered by their victories in the civil rights movement, unsuccessfully challenged its use. In the 1970s and 1980s, black legislators proposed removing the Confederate flag from the Alabama capitol and adopting a new Georgia state flag, but their efforts failed.

...By the 1990s, African Americans and some whites opposed the public use of the battle flag because of its historical association with slavery, the Confederacy, and racism. ...Across the South, a new economically focused elite joined with activists to call for an end to the official use of the flag. ... that most of the states achieved some form of compromise reflected increased African American political power and a change in attitudes among some white Southerners.

...But even though opposition to the flag's display grew, support for the flag was still consistently strong, as more than 40 percent of Americans still favored its public display. ...These divides reflect a fundamental division over values, a determination to preserve a certain vision of what America has been and a sense of grievance about what some people believe it is becoming. To understand how this connects to the Confederate battle flag, we need to reexamine the ideology of the Lost Cause, which persists today less in any specific memory of the Confederacy and more through the social values it promoted.

The Lost Cause emerged in the decades after the Confederacy's defeat in part out of a sense of regional grievance and a sense that the North did not respect the honor of the Confederates. At its height in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Lost Cause not only celebrated the service and sacrifice of Confederate soldiers, but also offered a model of the good society as one built both on white supremacy and also on deference to aristocratic leaders and

loyalty to the social order. That social vision of the Lost Cause—along with the emphasis on conformity and order necessary to maintain a rigid, repressive racial system—helped make white Southerners particularly given to tribalism, accepting of hierarchy, and invested in symbols that supported both. The battle flag now represents that vision of a traditional, conservative social order where strict social hierarchies still apply.

This meaning of the flag, tied to the ideology of the Lost Cause, has stayed fairly consistent over the last 70 years. In 1951, contemporary news accounts quoted a store owner in Knoxville, Tennessee saying, “The Southerner loves his country, his women, his church, and his whiskey. The flag is a symbol of all these things so dear to his life.” ...Rallying around the Confederate flag may be, in the minds of many of its proponents, much more about preserving a traditional, hierarchical America than about perpetuating the memory of the Confederacy, much less reviving it.

Fighting to keep the flag flying offers a way for some to express their sense of grievance with an America where non-whites have more power than they did previously. ...White nationalists, many from outside the South, embrace the flag simply as a symbol of white supremacy. ...Other supporters of the flag may not rally with white supremacists, but race plays a central role in their defense of the battle flag. At a 1994 protest over the flag at the South Carolina capitol, a white woman shouted at a black counter-protester: “We’ve given you everything you’ve asked for! We’re tired of it.” ...Flag advocates have often argued that if the state took the flag down or removed it from a state flag, blacks would only ask for more.

...Three decades later, we can see that supporters have embraced the battle flag as a symbol of multiple grievances, including resentment over the increased—if not fully equal—status of African Americans, the power and influence of economic and cultural elites, and a perceived loss of traditional values. Country music and Southern rock, which have used the flag as a symbol of alienation and defiance, have also done their part to build this meaning for the flag—and to spread its use outside the South and even in Germany, Ireland, and Italy among other countries. To modify and extend Reed’s formulation: A shared sense of white grievance explains the modern embrace of Confederate symbols rather than the other way around.

...Focusing on the Civil War origins of the flag ignores the divide within American society today, one that transcends geography and in which so many—blacks and whites—have a sense of grievance. More than region, race and racism shape attitudes toward the flag. The sense of grievance among flag supporters, rooted in part in the fear that whites are losing their influence and their opportunities in a changing America, has made it a potent symbol waved in defiance of a perceived economic and cultural elite that supports its removal.

In this sense, fights over the official display of the battle flag are not so much about the flag itself—which has a symbolic meaning that has shifted over the years—but about the America we want to have in the future. Confining our analysis to the flag’s historical association with the South obstructs our understanding of how race and inequality are dividing us now, and it has kept us from engaging in a fundamental rethinking of America’s racial past and present. What we need to see more clearly is that the ongoing struggle over the meaning of the Confederate flag could be an opportunity for reconciliation of these pressing cultural divisions in American society: White nationalism must be condemned, the injustices of the American racial order must be corrected, and all Americans’ fears for the future need to be addressed.

Source: Gaines M. Foster. (2018). “Today’s Battle Over the Confederate Flag Has Nothing To Do With The Civil War” *Zocalo Public Square*. Accessed July 7, 2022, <https://www.zocalopublicsquare.org/2018/10/23/todays-battle-confederate-flag-nothing-civil->

The Political Legacy of American Slavery

Excerpt from Acharya et al. 2016.

... We orient our analysis toward the Southern “Black Belt” (or the “Cotton Belt”), the hook-shaped swath of land that was the primary locus of antebellum slavery.... Scholars have noted that Black Belt whites were particularly prominent in Southern politics and have been more conservative than whites elsewhere in the South. As V. O. Key wrote, it is “the whites of the black belts who have the deepest and most immediate concern about the maintenance of white supremacy,” and “if the politics of the South revolves around any single theme, it is that of the role of the black belts” (Key 1949, 5–6). Furthermore, the Black Belt has had an enormous influence on national politics. Members of Congress from these areas held influential positions, effectively exercising veto power during the development of the welfare state in the 1920s and 1930s (Katznelson, Geiger, and Kryder 1993). Given these facts, our motivating question is this: Why are whites who currently live in the Black Belt more conservative than whites living elsewhere in the South, particularly on race-related issues? ...

Our first hypothesis is that today’s Black Belt is more politically conservative than other parts of the South in part because of its history of chattel slavery. ... Nunn and Wantchekon (2011) show that Africans whose ancestors were targeted by the slave trade have higher levels of mistrust today than other Africans. Within the United States, O’Connell (2012) demonstrates that areas of the American South that had high numbers of slaves have greater economic inequality between blacks and whites today. Similarly, Lagerlöf (2005) and Nunn (2008) find a negative relationship between the prevalence of slavery and income in the American South, and Mitchener and McLean (2003) find a negative relationship between slavery and modern-day labor productivity. These papers are part of a growing literature that shows that historical institutions such as slavery can affect both institutional and behavioral outcomes long after the institutions themselves disappear (Nunn 2009). ...

Building from this literature, we hypothesize that Southern slavery may have had a similarly lasting effect on political and racial attitudes. The rise and swift fall of chattel slavery together were cataclysmic events. Specifically, the eventual fall of slavery undermined the political and economic power of the Southern whites, particularly in the Black Belt (Du Bois 1935; Foner 2011), making them more hostile toward African Americans and conservative in their political, racial, and economic views (noted contemporaneously by Key 1949). Qualitative accounts (as we document below) suggest that the nature of Southern whites’ responses to the collapse of slavery varied according to how locally prevalent—and thus politically and economically important—slavery had been. Areas with more enslaved people reacted more sharply to emancipation by curtailing blacks’ rights and oppressing newly freedmen and their mobility.

In addition, a large literature has shown that attitudes can persist historically through both cultural and institutional channels (Nunn and Wantchekon 2011; Voigtländer and Voth 2012). On the one hand, Southern institutions such as Jim Crow helped enforce racial segregation, while racially targeted violence reinforced practices of black subjugation (Woodward [1955] 2002). On the other hand, the culture of the Southern Black Belt was one where black subjugation was passed on within white families and across generations—a process that no doubt included intergenerational socialization (Bisin and Verdier 2000; Boyd and Richerson 1988; Campbell et

al. 1980; Jennings and Niemi 1968). Based on these arguments, we expect that (i) areas that were more reliant on slavery should be more conservative today on race-related issues and in terms of party affiliation, (ii) race-related attitudes should be correlated across generations within the South, and (iii) the effects of slavery should be weaker (i.e., should have decayed more) in areas where the incentives for anti-black attitudes faded earlier. ...

Source: Acharya, Avidit, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. 2016. "The Political Legacy of American Slavery." Journal of Politics 78 (3): 621-641.

The life and activism of Rosa Parks

Excerpt from History (n.d.) "Rosa Parks" and Encyclopedia Britannica (n.d.) "Rosa Parks"

Rosa Louise McCauley was born in Tuskegee, Alabama, on February 4, 1913. She moved with her parents, James and Leona McCauley, to Pine Level, Alabama, at age 2 to reside with Leona's parents. Her brother, Sylvester, was born in 1915, and shortly after that her parents separated.

Rosa's mother was a teacher, and the family valued education. Rosa moved to Montgomery, Alabama, at age 11 and eventually attended high school there, a laboratory school at the Alabama State Teachers' College for Negroes. She left at 16, early in 11th grade, because she needed to care for her dying grandmother and, shortly thereafter, her chronically ill mother. In 1932, at 19, she married Raymond Parks, a self-educated man 10 years her senior who worked as a barber and was a long-time member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He supported Rosa in her efforts to earn her high-school diploma, which she ultimately did the following year.

Raymond and Rosa, who worked as a seamstress, became respected members of Montgomery's large African American community. Co-existing with white people in a city governed by "Jim Crow" (segregation) laws, however, was fraught with daily frustrations: Black people could attend only certain (inferior) schools, could drink only from specified water fountains and could borrow books only from the "Black" library, among other restrictions.

Although Raymond had previously discouraged her out of fear for her safety, in December 1943, Rosa also joined the Montgomery chapter of the NAACP and became chapter secretary. She worked closely with chapter president Edgar Daniel (E.D.) Nixon. Nixon was a railroad porter known in the city as an advocate for Black people who wanted to register to vote, and also as president of the local branch of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters union.

On Thursday, December 1, 1955, the 42-year-old Rosa Parks was commuting home from a long day of work at the Montgomery Fair department store by bus. Black residents of Montgomery often avoided municipal buses if possible because they found the Negroes-in-back policy so demeaning. Nonetheless, 70 percent or more riders on a typical day were Black, and on this day Rosa Parks was one of them.

Segregation was written into law; the front of a Montgomery bus was reserved for white citizens, and the seats behind them for Black citizens. However, it was only by custom that bus drivers had the authority to ask a Black person to give up a seat for a white rider. There were contradictory Montgomery laws on the books: One said segregation must be enforced, but another, largely ignored, said no person (white or Black) could be asked to give up a seat even if there were no other seat on the bus available.

Nonetheless, at one point on the route, a white man had no seat because all the seats in the designated “white” section were taken. So the driver told the riders in the four seats of the first row of the “colored” section to stand, in effect adding another row to the “white” section. The three others obeyed. Parks did not.

...

She was subsequently arrested and fined \$10 for the offense and \$4 for court costs, neither of which she paid. Instead, she accepted Montgomery NAACP chapter president E.D. Nixon’s offer to help her appeal the conviction and thus challenge legal segregation in Alabama. Both Parks and Nixon knew that they were opening themselves to harassment and death threats, but they also knew that the case had the potential to spark national outrage.

...

Facing continued harassment and threats in the wake of the boycott, Parks, along with her husband and mother, eventually decided to move to Detroit, where Parks’ brother resided. Parks became an administrative aide in the Detroit office of Congressman John Conyers Jr. in 1965, a post she held until her 1988 retirement. Her husband, brother and mother all died of cancer between 1977 and 1979. In 1987, she co-founded the Rosa and Raymond Parks Institute for Self-Development, to serve Detroit’s youth.

In the years following her retirement, she traveled to lend her support to civil-rights events and causes and wrote an autobiography, “Rosa Parks: My Story.” In 1999, Parks was awarded the Congressional Gold Medal, the highest honor the United States bestows on a civilian.

Source: History (n.d.) “Rosa Parks” <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/rosa-parks> and Encyclopedia Britannica (n.d.) “Rosa Parks” <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Rosa-Parks>

M.L.King: “I have a Dream” Speech

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But 100 years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself in exile in his own land. And so we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition. In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check.

When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men — yes, Black men as well as white men — would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked insufficient funds.

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt.

We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism.

Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quick sands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. 1963 is not an end, but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual.

There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred.

We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny.

And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back.

There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, when will you be satisfied? We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities.

We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: for whites only.

We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote.

No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the

faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our Northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair, I say to you today, my friends.

So even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day down in Alabama with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, one day right down in Alabama little Black boys and Black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today.

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 new meaning: My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrims' pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true. And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania. Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado. Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California. But not only that, let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia. Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee. Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And when this happens, and when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, Black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: Free at last. Free at last. Thank God almighty, we are free at last.

Source: NPR, "Read Martin Luther King Jr.'s 'I Have a Dream' speech in its entirety"

<https://www.npr.org/2010/01/18/122701268/i-have-a-dream-speech-in-its-entirety?t=1657789948045>

Seventh Annual Message (Monroe Doctrine, December 2, 1823); excerpt
Transcript (excerpt)

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Many important subjects will claim your attention during the present session, of which I shall endeavor to give, in aid of your deliberations, a just idea in this communication. I undertake this duty with diffidence, from the vast extent of the interests on which I have to treat and of their great importance to every portion of our Union. I enter on it with zeal from a thorough conviction that there never was a period since the establishment of our Revolution when, regarding the condition of the civilized world and its bearing on us, there was greater necessity for devotion in the public servants to their respective duties, or for virtue, patriotism, and union in our constituents.

Meeting in you a new Congress, I deem it proper to present this view of public affairs in greater detail than might otherwise be necessary. ...

A precise knowledge of our relations with foreign powers as respects our negotiations and transactions with each is thought to be particularly necessary. Equally necessary is it that we should for a just estimate of our resources, revenue, and progress in every kind of improvement connected with the national prosperity and public defense. It is by rendering justice to other nations that we may expect it from them. It is by our ability to resent injuries and redress wrongs that we may avoid them.

... as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. ...

Under the appropriation of \$5,000 for exploring the Western waters for the location of a site for a Western armory, a commission was constituted, consisting of Colonel McRee, Colonel Lee, and Captain Talcott, who have been engaged in exploring the country. They have not yet reported the result of their labors, but it is believed that they will be prepared to do it at an early part of the session of Congress. ... The usual force has been maintained in the Mediterranean Sea, the Pacific Ocean, and along the Atlantic coast, and has afforded the necessary protection to our commerce in those seas. In the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico our naval force has been augmented by the addition of several small vessels provided for by the "act authorizing an additional naval force for the suppression of piracy", passed by Congress at their last session. That armament has been eminently successful in the accomplishment of its object. The piracies by which our commerce in the neighborhood of the island of Cuba had been afflicted have been repressed and the confidence of our merchants in a great measure restored. ...

It is a source of great satisfaction that we are always enabled to recur to the conduct of our Navy with pride and commendation. As a means of national defense it enjoys the public confidence, and is steadily assuming additional importance. It is submitted whether a more efficient and equally economical organization of it might not in several respects be effected. It is supposed that higher grades than now exist by law would be useful. They would afford well-merited rewards to those who have long and faithfully served their country, present the best incentives to good conduct, and the best means of insuring a proper discipline; destroy the inequality in that respect between military and naval services, and relieve our officers from many

inconveniences and mortifications which occur when our vessels meet those of other nations, ours being the only service in which such grades do not exist.

... Troops might be moved with great facility in war, with cannon and every kind of munition, and in either direction. Connecting the Atlantic with the Western country in a line passing through the seat of the National Government, it would contribute essentially to strengthen the bond of union itself.

... The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers.

The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted.

We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere, but with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

... Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none.

But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

If we compare the present condition of our Union with its actual state at the close of our Revolution, the history of the world furnishes no example of a progress in improvement in all the important circumstances which constitute the happiness of a nation which bears any resemblance to it. At the first epoch our population did not exceed 3,000,000. by the last census it amounted

to about 10,000,000, and, what is more extraordinary, it is almost altogether native, for the immigration from other countries has been inconsiderable.

At the first epoch half the territory within our acknowledged limits was uninhabited and a wilderness. Since then new territory has been acquired of vast extent, comprising within it many rivers, particularly the Mississippi, the navigation of which to the ocean was of the highest importance to the original States. Over this territory our population has expanded in every direction, and new States have been established almost equal in number to those which formed the first bond of our Union. This expansion of our population and accession of new States to our Union have had the happiest effect on all its highest interests.

That it has eminently augmented our resources and added to our strength and respectability as a power is admitted by all, but it is not in these important circumstances only that this happy effect is felt. It is manifest that by enlarging the basis of our system and increasing the number of States the system itself has been greatly strengthened in both its branches. Consolidation and disunion have thereby been rendered equally impracticable. ... To what, then, do we owe these blessings? It is known to all that we derive them from the excellence of our institutions. Ought we not, then, to adopt every measure which may be necessary to perpetuate them?

Source: UVA Miller Center. N.d. "Presidential speeches: James Monroe Presidency"

<https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/december-2-1823-seventh-annual-message-monroe-doctrine>