



Using Primary Sources in the AP[®] United States History Classroom

A collection of teaching
resource reviews from
AP Central[®]

connect to college success[™]
www.collegeboard.com

The College Board: Connecting Students to College Success

The College Board is a not-for-profit membership association whose mission is to connect students to college success and opportunity. Founded in 1900, the association is composed of more than 4,700 schools, colleges, universities, and other educational organizations. Each year, the College Board serves over three and a half million students and their parents, 23,000 high schools, and 3,500 colleges through major programs and services in college admissions, guidance, assessment, financial aid, enrollment, and teaching and learning. Among its best-known programs are the SAT®, the PSAT/NMSQT®, and the Advanced Placement Program® (AP®). The College Board is committed to the principles of excellence and equity, and that commitment is embodied in all of its programs, services, activities, and concerns.

Equity Policy Statement

The College Board believes that all students should be prepared for and have an opportunity to participate successfully in college, and that equitable access to higher education must be a guiding principle for teachers, counselors, administrators, and policymakers. As part of this, all students should be given appropriate guidance about college admissions, and provided the full support necessary to ensure college admission and success. All students should be encouraged to accept the challenge of a rigorous academic curriculum through enrollment in college preparatory programs and AP courses. Schools should make every effort to ensure that AP and other college-level classes reflect the diversity of the student population. The College Board encourages the elimination of barriers that limit access to demanding courses for all students, particularly those from traditionally underrepresented ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic groups.

For more information about equity and access in principle and practice, please send an email to apequity@collegeboard.org.

© 2005 The College Board. All rights reserved. College Board, AP Central, APCD, Advanced Placement Program, AP, AP Vertical Teams, Pre-AP, SAT, and the acorn logo are registered trademarks of the College Board. Admitted Class Evaluation Service, CollegeEd, connect to college success, MyRoad, SAT Professional Development, SAT Readiness Program, and Setting the Cornerstones are trademarks owned by the College Board. PSAT/NMSQT is a registered trademark of the College Board and National Merit Scholarship Corporation. All other products and services herein may be trademarks of their respective owners. Permission to use copyrighted College Board materials may be requested online at: www.collegeboard.com/inquiry/cbpermit.html.

Visit the College Board on the Web: www.collegeboard.com.

AP Central is the official online home for the AP Program and Pre-AP: apcentral.collegeboard.com.

Table of Contents

Editor’s Introduction	
Lawrence Charap.....	1
Contributors.....	3
History 413: Making the Work of History Visible and Open to Students	
Tom Holt.....	5
Resource Reviews	
Primary Source Readers and Anthologies	23
<i>Abraham Lincoln: Great Speeches</i>	
<i>America Through the Eyes of Its People</i>	
<i>The American Primer</i>	
<i>The American Reader: Words That Moved a Nation</i> , 2nd ed.	
<i>Classic American Autobiographies</i>	
<i>Constructing the American Past: A Source Book of a People’s History</i> , 4th ed.	
<i>A Documentary History of the United States</i> , 7th ed.	
<i>Eyewitness to America</i>	
50 Political Cartoons for Teaching U.S. History	
<i>Letters of a Nation: A Collection of Extraordinary American Letters</i>	
<i>The Muckrakers</i>	
<i>Red Scared!: The Commie Menace in Propaganda and Popular Culture</i>	
<i>U.S. History and Government: Readings and Documents</i>	
<i>The Vietnam Reader</i>	
<i>Vietnam War: Primary Sources</i>	
<i>Voices of the American Past: Documents in U.S. History</i> , 2nd ed.	
<i>The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America</i>	
Web Sites and Online Source Collections.....	52
Secession Era Editorials Project	
Valley of the Shadow Web Site	
<i>The Ram’s Horn</i>	
1896: The Presidential Election—Cartoons and Commentary	
Imperialism in the Making of America: Captain Alfred T. Mahan	
The H. L. Mencken Page—A Mencken Cornucopia	
The New Deal Network	
FDR Cartoon Collection Database	
The Sixties Project	

Audiovisual Resources..... 70

Swanee: The Music of Stephen Foster
Homespun Songs of the Union Army and Homespun Songs of the Confederate Army
Our Daily Bread and Other Films of the Great Depression
American Industrial Ballads
Music Resources from the Great Depression

Primary Source Readings..... 77

The Captivity Narrative of Mary Rowlandson (1682)
John Winthrop, “A Modell of Christian Charity” (1630)
Jonathan Edwards, “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God” (1741)
Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (1776)
The Federalist Papers (1787–1788)
The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African (1789)
The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin (1791)
George Washington’s Farewell Address (1796)
The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798)
Thomas Jefferson’s First Inaugural Address (1801)
The Webster-Hayne Debates (1830)
James K. Polk’s Inaugural Address (1845)
John L. O’Sullivan on Manifest Destiny (1839/1845)
Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself (1845)
The Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions (1848)
Henry David Thoreau, “On the Duty of Civil Disobedience” (1849)
Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861)
Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890)
Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” (1893)
Booker T. Washington, the Atlanta Compromise Speech (1895)
McKinley’s War Message (1898)
Charles Eliot Norton, “True Patriotism” (1898)
Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (1901)
W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903)
Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine (1904–1905)
William L. Riordan, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* (1905)
Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1910)
Wilson’s Fourteen Points Speech (1918)
Anzia Yeziarska, *Bread Givers* (1925)
Herbert Hoover’s Inaugural Address (1929)
Franklin D. Roosevelt’s First Inaugural Address (1933)

Franklin Roosevelt, the “Quarantine” Speech (1937)
Harry S. Truman, the Truman Doctrine (1947)
Dwight D. Eisenhower’s Farewell Address (1961)
John F. Kennedy’s Inaugural Address (1961)
Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (1962)
The Port Huron Statement (1962)
Martin Luther King, Jr., “Letter from a Birmingham Jail” (1963)
Lyndon Johnson, “The Great Society” (1964)
Stokely Carmichael, “The Basis of Black Power” (1966)
Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (1968)
Philip Caputo, *A Rumor of War* (1976)
James Carroll, *An American Requiem: God, My Father, and the War that Came
Between Us* (1996)

Publishers and Contact Information..... 159

Editor's Introduction

Lawrence Charap
Associate Director
K–12 Professional Development
The College Board

The reviews contained in this publication were written for the Teachers' Resources area of AP Central (apcentral.collegeboard.com), the College Board's Web site for AP professionals. This ambitious project brought together experienced AP teachers and college-level faculty to write hundreds of reviews, more than 500 to date, of resources useful for the AP United States History classroom.

The successful use of a primary source, whether in a Document-Based Question or as a piece of evidence in a broader historical analysis of an event or period, is a critical student skill for the AP U.S. History course. What veteran teachers of AP and college-level survey courses also know is that using primary documents is just as critical in being able to *teach* history. Having the right sources can make all the difference between a vague, general lecture and an exciting and memorable classroom experience for both students and teachers. The essay that opens this collection, by history professor Tom Holt, discusses this very process, showing the critical ways that using primary sources can change the dynamics of teaching history.

Accordingly, the Teachers' Resources reviews undertaken on AP Central have long sought to not only identify useful primary sources but also explore how they can best be used in an AP classroom. Many teachers know of speeches, sermons, films, novels, Web sites, and other texts that could potentially be used to illuminate American history, but wonder how it can be done effectively in a high school setting, with so many other topics to cover in an AP course. AP Central's reviewers were charged with finding a solution to this dilemma for their resources. These reviews do not merely present the contents of a resource; they present practical teaching tips for effectively using the resource in the classroom.

This collection is organized alphabetically for sourcebook readers/anthologies, and chronologically for other types of resources. Publication and reference information, particularly for online locating, is presented for each resource. The reviews are by no means a comprehensive collection of all possible primary sources for the AP U.S. History course, but simply a collection of materials reviewed to date.

AP Central is a work in progress, with new reviews being added all the time and old ones being revised and updated. The information in this publication has been checked to be current as of late 2005, with notes indicating that a new edition has appeared since a review was first written. We hope that readers of this book will send us suggestions for resources to review, by going to AP Central, clicking the “Teachers’ Resources” tab, and then clicking the link for suggesting a resource to review. Teachers can also leave comments on their experience with a particular resource by clicking a button at the bottom of a current AP Central review.

We hope that you will find this collection useful in helping to teach AP U.S. History.

Contributors

Dalit Baranoff (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University) recently defended her dissertation, “Shaped by Risk: Fire Insurance in America, 1790–1920.” She has taught American history and women’s history, and has received a number of awards, including a dissertation fellowship in Business and American Culture from the Newcomen Society of the United States, and a John E. Rovensky Fellowship in American Business and Economic History from the University of Illinois Foundation.

Lawrence Charap (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University) is the group head for History and Social Sciences in K–12 Professional Development at the College Board. He has published several articles on Jewish-Christian dialogue in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. He has taught the American history survey course and a number of specialized courses in both high school and college, most recently at the University of Rhode Island.

Elizabeth Francis (Ph.D., Brown University) has taught U.S. women’s history, the U.S. history survey, American cultural history, and women’s studies at Brown University and the University of Rhode Island. She has also developed American history resources for several academic multimedia firms. Her book, *The Secret Treachery of Words: Feminism and Modernism in America*, was published by the University of Minnesota Press in 2002.

Jason George (Ph.D., Ohio University) is the current content advisor for AP U.S. History for the College Board’s K–12 Professional Development unit. He recently defended his dissertation on U.S.-Russian relations. He teaches upper school courses in American, world, Asian, and Baltimore history at the Bryn Mawr School for Girls in Baltimore, Maryland.

Cora Greer has taught in California, Massachusetts, and Maine—most recently at the University of Maine at Machias. She has served as Reader and Table Leader at the AP U.S. History Reading, been a consultant in AP U.S. History, Building Success, and Vertical Teams, and won the College Board New England Region’s Advanced Placement Recognition Award for Excellence in Teaching.

John Faithful Hamer is a doctoral student at Johns Hopkins University, where he is completing a dissertation on the environmental movement. He has led history courses ranging from American to European history. His research interests and publications span the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, centering on the history of American radical and reform movements.

Tom Holt is the James Westfall Thompson Professor of American and African-American History at the University of Chicago and is the author, most recently, of *The Problem of Race in the Twenty-First Century* (Harvard University Press). Holt's essay in this volume is reprinted from *Thinking Historically: Narrative, Imagination, and Understanding*, published in 1990 by the College Board as part of its Thinking Series.

Jeff House teaches at Presentation High School in San Jose, California. He reads and lectures for the College Board, has won several grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), and has been published in the *English Journal* and elsewhere.

Tim Lehman (Ph.D., University of North Carolina) is a professor of history at Rocky Mountain College in Billings, Montana, and is author of *Public Values, Private Lands*. He also taught U.S. History for six years at the North Carolina School of Science and Mathematics in Durham.

Celia Maddox (Ph.D., Columbia University) teaches Shakespeare and courses in writing and literature in Connecticut. She writes for a variety of publications.

Renee H. Shea is director of Freshman Composition at Bowie State University, Maryland, where she teaches graduate courses in rhetoric and is a member of the Honors Faculty. She has worked with the AP English program for over 25 years as a Reader and question leader, and frequently conducts workshops for teachers.

Ron Sudol is professor of rhetoric at Oakland University in Michigan, where he also directs the Meadow Brook Writing Project. He has been a Reader of AP English Language for 15 years.

Jill Wacker holds a Ph.D. in English and taught American literature at the University of Pennsylvania. She is a freelance writer and educational consultant.

History 413: Making the Work of History Visible and Open to Students

Tom Holt

(This essay is reprinted from *Thinking Historically: Narrative, Imagination, and Understanding* by Tom Holt, copyright © 1990 by the College Board.)

I will try to illustrate something of what the process of teaching students to form and question historical narratives might look like by describing a moment from my own teaching experience. History 413 is a survey of the African American experience from the Civil War to the present. In the fall of 1988, I chose to emphasize the economic aspects of that experience and their consequences for race relations and ideology, culture, and social life, not only for African Americans but for the nation as a whole. This particular class enrolled 48 students, mostly juniors and seniors with a sprinkling of sophomores and graduate students; about 15 came from American minority groups, mostly African American and Asian. Although it is a single example, conducted with a college class, it shows what might be involved in making the thought behind historical narratives visible and open to a wide range of students. I am convinced, based in part on what Debbie and J.J. had to say, that even younger and less prepared students can be engaged in a more active and imaginative examination of what history offers.

The Materials of History

Any effort to teach history is shaped by the raw materials on which it draws. Consequently, it is important to look closely at the materials we typically offer beginning students—since they establish what students have in front of them. So before turning to the documents I used with my college students, let's examine excerpts about the Reconstruction period from two typical secondary school textbooks. These selections, it should be pointed out, were chosen at random and not because they are especially egregious or blameworthy examples. In fact, they might well be taken as exemplary, on the whole: accurate, fair-minded, striving for ethnic balance, and so on. They are nonetheless presentations of history Debbie would recognize: dry assemblages of fact, in which interpretation is relatively opaque.

The **Freedmen's Bureau** is established. To help the newly freed blacks realize some of the benefits of emancipation, Congress created the Freedmen's Bureau in March, 1865. The Freedmen's Bureau undoubtedly relieved the suffering of many Southerners displaced by the war. At times its officials were able to move people from crowded areas to other places where jobs were available. The Bureau also gave some public land to care for the ailing and aged. One of the most important contributions of the

Bureau was to arrange labor contracts between black workers and their new employers (Graff 1985, 446–447).

Sharecropping becomes common. Instead of selling land, many plantation owners rented their land to tenant farmers. Some tenants paid rent in cash or in crops worth the amount of their rent. But many tenants were poor whites or blacks who could furnish nothing but their labor. They became sharecroppers. The landlord provided them with food, seed, tools, and a cabin. In return, the sharecroppers gave the landowner a share of the crops raised on their plots of land. Many sharecroppers barely made a living from their share of the crops. They were often in debt to the landowner, especially when harvests were bad. (Wilder et al. 1990, 449).

In each of these passages the dryness and blandness project a specific narrative of Reconstruction, or at least aspects of a larger implied narrative, at the same time concealing or suppressing alternative narratives. In the excerpt above from *Glorious Republic* the Freedmen’s Bureau emerges as an efficient and benevolent force in the postwar adjustment process. It is not that the passage quoted is inaccurate in its facts, but the selection of facts and how they are framed tell a particular story without a hint that there might be an alternative rendition of events. Freedmen were moved from “crowded areas” to “jobs.” The “giving” of public land and health care are implicitly equated by the syntax of the sentence that describes them. And among the Bureau’s “most important contributions” was to arrange labor contracts between “black workers and their new employers.” The text is silent on the possibility of tension between the policy choices of giving “land,” moving to “jobs,” and arranging “labor contracts.” In fact, this passage leaves no space for questions that might challenge the imagination and test one’s critical skills. How did the black ex-slaves suddenly become workers, and the former slaveowners “new employers,” one might well ask? Was this the necessary or natural outcome that should have followed emancipation? The fact that Bureau agents were required to “arrange” things suggests that it was not. What would it mean to ex-slaves to be working again for their former masters? Would they freely make that choice? What would it mean to the former masters to employ rather than own their workers? How might their attitudes affect the execution of labor contracts?

In the passage above from *America’s Story* we see the ultimate outcome of the Bureau’s efforts to arrange labor contracts, the sharecropping system. But how did this become an ultimate outcome? Again, the text implies a natural process. White and African American sharecroppers were people “who could furnish nothing but their labor.” Consequently, the next sentence informs us, “They became sharecroppers.” Because their shares were too small and there were bad harvests, the sharecroppers fell into poverty and debt. Why this class of people would have “nothing but their labor” is not examined. How did their shares come to be too small? Why did they bear the brunt of bad harvests? This particular

narrative does not suggest that I such questions might even be posed. Landlessness and toollessness are merely the preexisting conditions that the planters solved by their choice to rent rather than sell their land. The croppers' shares were small because they were poor; they were poor because their shares were small. Again the main point here is not that these narratives are necessarily inaccurate factually, but simply that they are closed, stunted versions of the history of this period. Their closure both misrepresents the dynamism of this period in "America's story" and shuts down the learning process at the very place it might begin. Indeed, something of what students are expected to "learn" from these passages is suggested by the review questions that follow at the end of their respective chapters. "What effect did the war have on the plantation system?" Wilder asks. "Why was the Freedmen's Bureau set up?" inquires Graff. Such questions cannot help but impress on students that history calls for cut-and-dried answers; that it cares mainly about austere processes and developments, about what J.J. calls "capital 'P' people" and what Debbie refers to as "someone else's facts." Most of all, students learn, history is something to be memorized rather than thought about or debated. They do not learn about what intervenes between the observed historical "facts" and textbook generalizations such as "they became sharecroppers." What intervene are analysis, interpretation, and narration, all of which are shaped by the values, skills, questions, and understandings of a particular teller.

Questions for History

Contrary to what J.J. suspects, history is about people, including especially the small "p" people, like the poor white and African American sharecroppers referred to in these texts. It should raise and should be the place to examine many of the fundamental, continuing questions of everyday life. The choices and struggles faced by black ex-slaves are not mere fodder for memorization, but fields of inquiry to be examined and pondered for their larger meanings for human experience.

As I prepared to teach my class about the African American experience during Reconstruction, therefore, I pondered what question would make the relevance of that experience as explicit as possible—to *this particular group of students*. Even for a class that was overwhelmingly white and middle class, the struggle for black freedom had more than historical relevance, I believed. In posing to them the question of what freedom meant for former slaves, why not first ask: "What does freedom mean to you?" I instructed them to define it not in abstract terms but in terms of their own lives.

Their answers were wide-ranging. Despite my instructions, a few gave rather pedantic answers, as if taking an exam, invoking everything from the Greeks to Karl Marx's critique of "bourgeois freedom." Others, remembering it was a history course after all, invoked the Constitution and Bill of Rights: free speech, assembly, religion, and so forth. But several answered in terms of the mundane features of everyday life. For example, one

young woman thought of being finally free of parental oversight and able to stay out late. Another, recently from a Catholic high school, savored the right *not* to have to wear uniforms. A feminist activist mentioned freedom of reproductive rights and from violence to her person. Running through all, of course, was the notion of “choice,” of self-determination, and autonomy; but these were words extracted from the discussion that ensued. This group thought in terms of what late nineteenth-century liberals called “negative freedom” rather than “positive freedom,” i.e., freedom from restraint rather than the possession of the resources necessary for self-realization. Only five of the 41 respondents added access to resources—material, educational, health, etc.—as essential components of freedom. For the most part they were closer to John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty* than to Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s “Four Freedoms.” Nonetheless, their answers provided a place from which to open our discussion of Reconstruction.

Following this exercise, we turned to a discussion of a selection of documents, all drawn from a documentary collection of Civil War and post-Civil War letters, reports, and other sources (Berlin et al. 1986). Fresh from having posed the question of the meaning of freedom in their own lives, they were now asked to pose that same question for African Americans just emerging from slavery in 1865. First they were asked to “deconstruct” the Emancipation Proclamation by asking these questions: What were its terms? What were its limitations? What do you imagine its impact was in the context of a revolutionary conflict? Next they examined a long letter from a slaveholder to the Confederate president, surprisingly, supporting a Confederate emancipation measure, but a measure structured so as to maintain control over black laborers by depriving them of any alternative employment to working on the same plantations they had worked on as slaves.

For the next day’s discussion, they were presented a second set of documents clustered around a particular set of closely spaced events in such a way as to help them grasp the narrative aspect of history. The first was a letter written by freedmen stating in their own terms precisely what they expected freedom to mean. The second was written by a Freedmen’s Bureau agent, almost as if in reply to the first (though it was not), and represents the view of many northerners committed to the ideology of free wage labor, or at least one variant of it. The final document was a report on the views of an African American Bureau agent who articulated a more radical view of what freedom requires. Each of these documents, as part of this larger whole, was also chosen to help students understand one moment in history as the interplay of many lines of action, conflicting desires, and dramatically different conceptions of what freedom should bring.

Having worked with these and similar documents, I entered the class with a number of preconceptions about their meaning and the narrative I expected students to extract from or construct about emancipation’s aftermath. But materials like these are “live,” that is, they allow the students direct access to see and hear for themselves and thus to formulate their own questions and answers. Such questions arise in the space between the document

itself and the reader's experience, what he or she brings to the material. Consequently, one should not be surprised when they do find new and unexpected meanings or raise fresh questions that are sometimes not immediately answerable. In fact, the most successful discussions are neither predictable, controllable, nor closable. And that is as it should be.

The Letter from Edisto Island

[Edisto Island. S.C. October 28?, 1865]

General—It Is with painful Hearts that we the Committe address you. we Have thurougholy considered the order which you wished us to Signn. we wish we could do so but cannot feel our rights Safe If we do so.

General we want Homesteads; we were promised Homesteads by the government; If It does not carry out the promises Its agents made to us, If the government Haveing concluded to befriend Its late enemies and to neglect to observe the principles of common faith between Its self and us Its allies In the war you said was over, now takes away from them all right to the soil they stand upon save such as they can get by again working for your late and their alltime enemies—If the government does so

we are left in a more unpleasant condition than our former we are at the mercy of those who are combined to prevent us from getting land enough to lay our Fathers bones upon. We Have property In Horses. cattle, carriages, & articles of furniture, but we are landless and Homeless, from the Homes we have lived In In the past we can only do one of three things

Step Into the public road or the sea or remain on them working as In former time and subject to their will as then. We can not resist It In any way without being driven out Homeless upon the road.

You will see this Is not the condition of really freemen

You ask us to forgive the land owners of our Island. You only lost your right arm. In war and might forgive them.

The man who tied me to a tree & gave me 39 lashes & who stripped and flogged my mother & sister & who will not let me stay In His empty Hut except I will do His planting & be Satisfied with His price & who combines with others to keep away land from me well knowing I would not Have any thing to do with Him If I Had land of my own.—that man. I cannot well forgive. Does It look as if He Has forgiven me, seeing How He tries to keep me In a Condition of Helplessness

General, we cannot remain Here In such condition and If the government permits them to come back we ask It to Help us to reach land where we shall not be slaves nor compelled to work for those who would treat us as such

we Have not been treacherous, we Have not for selfish motives allied to us those who suffered like us from a common enemy & then Haveing gained our purpose left our allies In thier Hands There is no rights secured to us there Is no law likely to be made which our Hands can reach. The state will make laws that we shall not be able to Hold land even If we pay for It Landless. Homeless. Voteless, we can only pray to god & Hope for His Help, your Influence & assistance With consideration of esteem Your Obt Servts

In behalf of the people

Henry Bram

Committee Ishmael WIoultrie

yates Sampson

Note: This document is quoted in “The Terrain of Freedom: The Struggle over the Meaning of Free Labor in the U.S. South,” by Ira Berlin, Steven Hahn, Steven F. Miller, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland (*History Workshop Journal*, Autumn 1986, pp. 127–28). Other primary sources quoted in this article also appear there.

Interpreting the Simple Facts: The Letter from Edisto Island

During his famous “March to the Sea” from Atlanta to the South Carolina coast, General William T. Sherman found his army inundated with tens of thousands of former slave refugees who followed in the army’s track. At the suggestion of a group of African American leaders and in response to the federal government’s anxiety to address the more general problem of what to do with freed slaves, Sherman issued a military order in January 1865 that allocated thousands of acres of abandoned islands along the Atlantic coast from South Carolina to northern Florida in 40-acre plots to African American families. The Lincoln administration made a firm commitment to seek legislation during

the ensuing congressional session making freedmen's titles to the land permanent. But in October 1865 President Andrew Johnson, pursuing a policy of reconciling the white South, pardoned former rebels and restored their property. This meant that the freedmen had to accept eviction or agree to work the land under the former slaveowners for wages. It was the first of a series of steps that squashed any hope of significant land reform in the South, thereby limiting the possible meanings freedom might come to have for black Americans. General O. O. Howard, who was generally sympathetic to the freedmen's aspirations, journeyed to Edisto Island off the coast of South Carolina personally to inform a church filled with ex-slaves that the land was no longer theirs. The government's promise would not be honored. In shock and disbelief the freedpeople drafted a plea to Howard asking that this fateful decision be reconsidered (see the Letter from Edisto Island).

My intent in using this document was framed by my own initial reaction upon first reading it some years ago. What I was struck by first was the clarity as well as poignancy of the freedmen's idea of what their liberation from slavery should mean in both material and social terms. Indeed, this brief document contains a rich repository of material from which a provisional narrative of both slavery and emancipation could be constructed, *from the freedmen's perspective*. What was their experience under slavery like, or at least what do they recall as most important about that experience? That is, what might their first-person narrative look like? What do they seem to value? In other words, exactly what do land, family, elders, loyalty, and honor mean to them? What is their apparent understanding of their relation to the state—federal and local—and to politics (“Landless, Homeless, Voteless”)?

My students were prepared to empathize fully with the Edisto petitioners. The freedmen's sense of betrayal is palpable and unimpeachable. They also could see the petitioner's crucial point that material resources, in this case land, were essential preconditions for exercising genuine self-determination or self-realization in the postwar South. They shared their anxiety that the “freedom” merely to work for those who had formerly enslaved them was suspect. No one raised the contrary argument—popular among many conservative and liberal northerners at the time and some later historians of the period as well—that no one is entitled to receive land or property they have not earned by savings from their own labor. Had they done so, it might have provided an opportunity to explore more fully the freedmen's idea that they had *already* earned a right to the land, by their work and suffering as slaves (“tied me to a tree & gave me 39 lashes & who stripped and flogged my mother & sister & who will not let me stay In His empty Hut”). Clearly the land has come to mean more than a means of material support; it is a place to bury their “Fathers bones upon.”

It quickly became apparent that pursuing some of these questions called for research into other sources and documents. What was the political situation in South Carolina that the

petitioners make oblique reference to when they say “the state will make laws”? Who is this General Howard, the emissary of bad news, whom they feel free to address in trustful but reproachful tones (“You only lost your right arm”)? Posing questions that cannot be answered solely from the information supplied by the document itself and requiring students to undertake additional research was an important lesson to students about the task the historian faces. In my class student volunteers were asked to look up specific factual matters before the day of the discussion and to contribute their findings at the appropriate juncture. In some cases they identified people involved (like General Howard) or policies (Sherman’s Field Order No.15) or filled in unfamiliar background (like black military service during the war).

But I realized again in listening to my students’ information that the process of interpretation cannot be reduced to simply a matter of accumulating facts. The facts will not simply speak for themselves. The facts chosen for inclusion, the order of their presentation, the point of view adopted (Howard’s? the Edisto freedmen?)—all make for a profoundly different story. Beginning not with the eviction order but with the freedmen’s memory of slavery and their resultant sense of entitlement makes for a radically different narrative. Moreover, in the unfilled “spaces” between the facts there is room for imaginative reconstruction or inference from the known to the possible; or “to make it up,” as J.J. would say. For example, the freedmen declare that they have property: “Horses, cattle, carriages, & articles of furniture”; such a statement might be a stimulus for more research into the conditions of slavery. But it could also provide an occasion for reflection and imaginative reconstruction. People who legally belonged to others—the lowliest status possible in a free society—also owned property, valued and nurtured kinship ties, and aspired to landownership. What might all this imply about the larger political situation in the South? From this letter alone it is apparent that freedmen were capable of organizing collectively to petition the highest authorities in the land to redress their grievances. They were capable as a community of defining and articulating what is politically right and morally just. Contrary to the opinions of many of their white contemporaries and not a few historians since, such a people were “ready” for freedom. What might that “freedom” have looked like had government policies been different? Had the Bureau’s efforts “to arrange labor contracts” not been its “most important contribution”? Had the sharecroppers, white and black, not been landless and toolless?

Soule’s Letter

To the Freed People of Orangeburg District,

You have heard many stories about your condition as freemen. You do not know what to believe: you are talking too much; waiting too much; asking for too much. If you can find out the truth about this matter, you will settle down quietly to your work. Listen, then, and try to understand just how you are situated.

You are now free, but you must know that the only difference you can feel yet, between slavery and freedom, is that neither you nor your children can be bought or sold. You may have a harder time this year than you have ever had before; it will be the price you pay for your freedom. You will have to work hard, and get very little to eat, and very few clothes to wear. If you get through this year alive and well, you should be thankful. Do not expect to save up anything, or to have much corn or provisions ahead at the end of the year. You must not ask for more pay than free people get at the North. There, a field hand is paid in money, but has to spend all his pay every week, in buying food and clothes for his family and in paying rent for his house. You cannot be paid in money,—for there is no good money in the District,—nothing but Confederate paper. Then, what can you be paid with? Why, with food, with clothes, with the free use of your little houses and lots. You do not own a cent's worth except yourselves. The plantation you live on is not yours, not the houses, nor the cattle, mules and horses; the seed you planted with was not yours, and the ploughs and hoes do not belong to you. Now you must get something to eat and something to wear, and houses to live in. How can you get these things? By hard work—nothing else, and it will be a good thing for you if you get them until next year, for yourselves and for your families. You must remember that your children, your old people, and the cripples, belong to you to support now, and all that is given to them is so much pay to you for your work. If you ask for anything more; if you ask for a half of the crop, or even a third, you ask too much; you wish to get more than you could get if you had been free all your lives... Do not think, because you are free you can chose your own kind of work. Every man must work under orders. The soldiers, who are free, work under officers, the officers under the general, and the general under the president. There must be a head man everywhere, and on a plantation the head man, who gives all the orders, is the owner of the place. Whatever he tells you to do you must do at once, and cheerfully. Never give him a cross word or an impudent answer . . .

There are different kinds of work. One man is a doctor, another is a minister, another a soldier. One black man may be a field hand, one a blacksmith, one a carpenter, and still another a house-servant. Every man has his own place, his own trade that he was brought up to, and he must stick to it. The house-servants must not want to go into the field, nor the field hands into the house. If a man works, no matter in what business, he is doing well. The only shame is to be idle and lazy.

You do not understand why some of the white people who used to own you do not have to work in the field. It is because they are rich. If every man were poor, and worked in his own field, there would be no big farms, and very little cotton or corn raised to sell; there would be no money, and nothing to buy. Some people must be rich, to pay the others, and they have the right to do no work except to look out after their property. It is so everywhere, and perhaps by hard work some of you may by-and-by become rich yourselves.

Remember that all your working time belongs to the man who hires you: therefore you must not leave work without his leave not even to nurse a child, or to go and visit a wife or husband. When you wish to go off the place, get a pass as you used to, and then you will run no danger of being taken up by our soldiers. If you leave work for a day, or if you are sick, you cannot expect to be paid for what you do not do, and the man who hires you must pay less at the end of the year.

Do not think of leaving the plantation where you belong. If you try to go to Charleston, or any other city, you will find no work to do, and nothing to eat. You will starve, or fall sick and die. Stay where you are, in your own homes, even if you are suffering. There is no better place for you anywhere else.

You will want to know what to do when a husband and wife live on different places. Of course they ought to be together, but this year, they have their crops planted in their own places, and they must stay to work them. At the end of the year they can live together. Until then, they must see each other only once in a while.

In every set of men there are some bad men and some fools; who have to be looked after and punished when they go wrong. The Government will punish grown people now, and punish them severely, if they steal, lie idle, or hang around a man's place when he does not want them there, or if they are impudent. You ought to be civil to one another, and to the man you work for. Watch folks that have always been free, and you will see that the best people are the most civil.

The children have to be punished more than those who are grown up, for they are full of mischief. Fathers and mothers should punish their own children, but if they happen to be off, or if the child is caught stealing or behaving badly about the big house, the owner of the plantation must switch him, just as he should his own children.

Do not grumble if you cannot get as much pay on your place as some one else, for on one place they have more children than on others, on one place the land is poor, on another it is rich; on one place Sherman took everything, on another, perhaps, almost everything was left safe. One man can afford to pay more than another. Do not grumble, either, because the meat is gone or the salt is hard to get. Make the best of everything, and if there is anything you think is wrong, or hard to bear, try to reason it out: if you cannot, ask leave to send one man to town to see an officer. Never stop work on any account, for the whole crop must be raised and got in, or we shall starve. The old men, and the men who mean to do right, must agree to keep order on every plantation. When they see a hand getting lazy or shiftless, they must talk to him, and if talk will do no good, they must take him to the owner of the plantation.

In short, do just about what the good men among you have always done. Remember that even if you are badly off, no one can buy or sell you: remember that if you help yourselves. *God* will help you, and trust hopefully that next year and the year after will bring some new blessing to you.

The Question of Values: Captain Soule's Letter

Questions such as those above are more likely to develop as the examination moves through several related and contrastive documents rather than in the discussion of a single piece. In the preceding letter, Captain Charles C. Soule, a white Union officer who served with the Freedmen's Bureau in coastal South Carolina, makes the case *against* black landownership and *for* wage labor. Like many other northerners, Soule was more concerned with sustaining the southern economy through the production of cotton and other staples than with the welfare of blacks. Or more accurately, he was convinced that the latter could only be achieved through the former policy in any case. Ex-slaves would be fitted for freedom through the discipline of wage labor. Those who adapted best to that discipline would naturally find opportunities to make their way up the agricultural ladder and become farm owners themselves. Only a few could expect to be that lucky, however; most would have to settle for the lowly but honorable subordination and dependence of working for others all their lives. The letter is a speech to freedmen that Soule had recorded and reported to his superiors.

What is fascinating about students' responses to the Soule document is that although they found him distasteful, they could not completely dissociate themselves from the notion of economic justice and order that he describes. After all, they are themselves creatures of a wage-labor economy. In that light, the freedmen's vision of a society of independent farmers and craftsmen is but a fond, nostalgic memory. With subtle prodding I could return them to our earlier discussions of freedom and ask them to reexamine their earlier definitions of freedom. How is their world different from the freedmen's that they can feel free yet not own farms, shops, or the tools of their trade? Or is it different at all? One student, J.B. (who had earlier defined freedom as simply the right to say "No"), angered everyone by declaring bluntly that Soule was right. "Everyone has to work for someone else or starve. That's just the way it is!" Most saw a blatant contradiction in a society that extolled the inherent value of labor, yet exempted those with property from that requirement. And Soule's insistence that the propertyless should support the system because otherwise there would be no one to pay wages brought guffaws. My class was convinced that the freedmen of Edisto seemed perfectly capable of self-support had they been given the means to make a start.

Nonetheless, we left hanging the deeper question raised by J.B.'s rude challenge: If the freedmen were being deprived of real freedom, what about us? In this particular class I hoped to let that question simmer, returning to it in a slightly different context later in the

course. It is, however, one that might stimulate an extended, more engaged discussion than students might be accustomed to in history classes. It is an open-ended question; that is, there is no right or final answer. Indeed some may attack the validity of the question itself. Is it framed so as to presuppose that something is wrong or inadequate about the American ideal of freedom and economic opportunity? But if nothing is wrong, was the treatment of the freedmen unjust? The teacher, like the students, will bring to this discussion perspectives, political views and values, anxieties and predispositions that overdetermine their answers. But as such, these are the kind of questions that expose the “knowledge” we all bring to any act of historical interpretation. The act of interpretation cannot be value neutral or entirely objective. The “discipline” we aspire to is to bring the values and subjective influences out into the open. In other words, we must ask questions of ourselves as well as of the documents.

A Report on Major Delany

Beaufort, S.C., July 24th 1865.

[to Brev. Maj. S.M. Taylor] Major In obedience to your request, I proceeded to St Helena Island, yesterday morning, for the purpose of listening to the public delivery of a lecture by Major Delany 104th U.S. Col. Troops

I was accompanied by Lieut A Whyte jr 128th U.S.C.T. under orders of Col C.H. Howard 128th U.S.C.T. Comd’g Post.

The meeting was held near “Brick Church,” the congregation numbering from 500 to 600.

As introduction Maj Delaney, made them acquainted with the fact that slavery is absolutely abolished, throwing thunders of damnations and maledictions on all the former Slaveowners and People of the South, and almost condemned their souls to hell.

He says “It was only a War policy of the Government, to declare the slaves of the South free, knowing that the whole power of the South laid in the possession of Slaves.

“But I want you to understand that we would not have become free, had we not armed ourselves and fought out our independence” (this he repeated twice)

He farther says “If I had been a slave, I would have been most troublesome and not to be conquered by any threat or punishment. I would not have worked, and no one would have dared to come near me. I would have struggled for life or death, and would have thrown fire and sword between them. I know you have been good, only too good.

I was told by a friend of mine; that when owned by a man and put to work on the field, he laid quietly down, and just looked out for the overseer to come along, when he pretended to work very hard. But he confessed to me, that he never has done a fair days work for his master. And so he was right, so I would have done the same, and all of you ought to have done the same.

People say that you are too lazy to work, that you have not the intelligence to get on for yourselves without being guided and driven to the work by overseers. I say it is a lie, and a blasphemous lie, and I will prove it to be so.

Your masters who lived in opulence, kept you to hard work, by some most contemptible being—called overseer—who chastised and beat you whenever he pleased—while your master lived in Northern town or in Europe to squander away the wealth only you acquired for him. He never earned a single Dollar in his life. You men and women, every one of you around me, made thousands and thousands of dollars. Only you were the means for your masters to lead the idle and inglorious life, and to give his children the education, which he denied you, for fear you may awake to conscience: If I look around me, I tell you, all the houses on this Island and in Beaufort, they are all familiar to my eye, they are the same structures which I have met with in Africa. They have all been made by the Negroes, you can see it by their rude exterior. I tell you they (White man) cannot teach you anything, and they could not make them because they have not the brain to do it. (After a pause) At least I mean the Southern people; “Oh the Yankees they are smart.” Now tell me from all you have heard from me, are you not worth anything? Are you those men whom they think, God only created as a curse and for a slave? Whom they do not consider their equals? As I said before the Yankees are smart—there are good ones and bad ones. The good ones, if they are good they are very good, if they are bad, they are very bad. But the worst and most contemptible, and even worse than even your masters were, are those Yankees, who hired themselves as overseers—

Believe not in these School teachers, Emissaries Ministers and agents, because they never tell you the truth, and I particularly warn you against those Cotton Agents, who come honey mouthed unto you, their only Intent being to make profit by your inexperience.

If there is a man comes to you, who will meddle with your affairs, send him to one of your more enlightened brothers, who shall ask him, who he is, what business he seeks with you etc.

Believe none but those Agents who are sent out by the Government, to enlighten and guide you.

Now I will come to the main purpose for which I have come to see you. As before the whole South depended upon you, now the whole country will depend upon you. I give you an advice how to get along. Get up a community and get all the lands you can—if you cannot get any singly. Grow as much vegetables etc. as you want for your families; on the other part of land you cultivate Rice and Cotton . . . Now you understand that I want you to be producers of this country .It is the wish of the Government for you to be so. We will send friends to you, who will further instruct you how to come to the end of our wishes. You see that by so adhering to our views, you will become a wealthy and powerful population.

Now I look around me and I notice a man, bare footed covered with rags and dirt. Now I ask, what is that man doing, for whom is he working. I hear that he works for that and that farmer “for 30 cents a day”. “I tell you that must not be.” “That would be cursed slavery over again.” “I will not have it, the Government will not have it, and the Government shall hear about it, I will tell the Government.

I tell you slavery is over, and shall never return again. We have now 200,000 of our men well drilled in arms and used to War fare, and I tell you it is with you and them that slavery shall not come back again, and if you are determined it will not return again.

Now go to work, and in a short time I will see you again, and other friends will come to show you how to begin.

Have your fields in good order and well tilled and well planted, and when I pass the fields and see a land well planted and well cared for, then I may be sure from the look of it that it belongs to a free negroe, and when I see a field thinly planted and little cared for, then I may think it belongs to some man who works it with slaves. The Government decided that you should have one third of the produce of the crops from your employer, so If he makes \$3—; you will have to get \$1— out of it for your labour. The other day some plantation owners in Virginia and Maryland offered \$5.— a month for your labour, but it was indignantly rejected by Genl Howard, the Commissioner for the Government.

These are the expressions, as far as I can remember, without having made notice at the time.

The excitement with the congregation was immense, groups were formed talking over, what they heard, and ever and anon cheers were given to some particular sentences of the speech.

I afterwards mingled with several groups, to hear their opinions. Some used violent language, “saying they would get rid of the Yankee employer.”—“That is the only man who ever told them the truth.” “That now those men have to work themselves or starve or leave the country, we will not work for them anymore.”

Some Whites were present, and listened with horror depicted in their faces, to the whole performance. Some said “What shall become of us now? and if such a speech should again be given to those men, there will be open rebellion . . .

My opinion of the whole affair is, that Major Delany is a thorough hater of the White race, and tries the colored people unnecessarily. He even tries to injure the magnanimous conduct of the Government towards them, either intentionally or through want of knowledge. He tells them to remember. “that they would not have become free, had they not armed themselves and fought for their independence. This is a falsehood and a misrepresentation.—Our President Abraham Lincoln declared the Colored race free, before there was even an idea of arming colored men. This is [sic] decidedly calculated to create bad feelings against the Government.

By giving some historical facts and telling them that neither Indians nor whites could stand the work in the country, he wants to impress the colored man with the idea, that he is in fact superior not only in a physical view but als[o] in intelligence. He says “believe none of the ministers, Schoolteachers, Emissaries, because they never tell you the truth.” It is only to bring distrust against all, and gives them to understand, that they shall believe men of their own race. He openly acts and speaks contrary to the policy of this Government, advising them not to work for any man, but for themselves.

The intention of our Government is, that all the men shall be employed by their former masters as far as possible, and contracts made between them, superintended by some officer empowered by the Government.

He says it would be the old slavery over again. If a man should work for an employer, and that it must not be. Does he not give a hint of what they shall do, by his utterings “that if he had been a slave etc?; or by giving the narrative of the slave who did not work for his master?—further as he says: that a field should show by its appearance by whom and for whom it is worked?

The mention of having two hundred thousand men well drilled in arms:—does he not hint to them what to do?—if they should be compelled to work for employers?

In my opinion by this discourse he was trying to encourage them, to break the peace of society and force their way by insurrection to a position he is ambitious they should attain to. I am, Major,

Very Respectfully Your obedt servant

Edward M. Stoeber

Interrogating the Evidence: A Report on Major Delany

Another kind of discipline we seek to develop as historians is learning how to ask the right questions of our documents. Not only what do they tell us but also can we trust what they tell us? J.J.'s question.

One of Captain Soule's fellow Bureau agents, Edward M. Stoeber, filed the report above on the activities of another officer, Major Martin R. Delany. Of northern free African American parentage, Delany had already had a rich and distinguished career before working as a Bureau agent in South Carolina. He had edited a newspaper with Frederick Douglass, attended Harvard to work on a degree in medicine, written several books and pamphlets advocating black nationalism, worked in the abolitionist movement, and traveled widely in Africa and Europe. More recently he had recruited, organized, and commanded black soldiers for the Union Army, eventually becoming one of only two African Americans to attain the field grade rank of major. Ten years later Delany would be an unsuccessful candidate for lieutenant governor of South Carolina.

My students immediately hit upon the key question one must ask about this document: How much can it be trusted as an accurate record of the events at Brick Church? How much as a characterization of Martin Delany's views or intent? Professional historians bring to their interpretation of documents varying degrees of background knowledge about its larger context and the people who produce it or who are implicated in it. Thus my students' relative ignorance about Reconstruction, federal policy toward freedmen, African American contributions to the Union's victory in the Civil War, or Martin Delany's activities before and after 1865 differs in degree from the professional's—but not in kind. These are all questions that can stimulate additional research. Learning to recognize and pose them is part of the process of learning about history. It is about questions as well as answers.

But a close reading of the text can produce answers and insights quite apart from the questions it raises. Something of the character of Stoeber, of Delany, and of the freed people emerges, despite our wariness of the accuracy of this report. The tension between Delany's policy views and Stoeber's is transparent: They advocate very different futures for the freedmen. Stoeber's pseudo-verbatim recounting (he admits that he did not take notes at the meeting) in the body of the report contrasts sharply with his characterization at the end. Reading the words attributed to Delany, my students did not conclude that he

was fomenting insurrection or counseling the freedmen not to work or even that they not work for whites. Indeed, he urged them to work diligently and aspire to buy farms of their own. It was his insistence that they not work for “slave-like” wages that upset Stoeber and the white employers in attendance. From this single document, then, the larger outline of the contemporaneous conflict, between the aspirations of freedmen, planters, and the federal government, emerges. When considered along with the earlier documents, a broader discussion is possible not only about the constraints on black freedom following slavery but also about competing notions regarding the meaning and substance of freedom still relevant to our own lives. Through interrogating such documents, then, one achieves the difficult balance of making history immediate, of understanding it in the terms of its historical personalities and times, at the same time making it relevant to and alive in our own time.

But the use of documents need not be confined to classroom discussions like those described here. Throughout History 413 I tried to unfold for my students the process of thinking historically with the hope that they would eventually take that process on. For me, midterms and finals were not tests in the traditional sense. Rather, they were occasions for students to perform as historians. I was much less interested in recognition knowledge than in what they could do as historians. On their take-home midterm examination, for example, I gave my students three labor contracts from different periods and asked them to act as curators preparing an annotation of the documents to accompany a display in a museum. Students were evaluated on how much information they could extract from the documents and on their skill in elaborating the historical context concisely and accurately. On their in-class final, I gave students much shorter excerpts from a variety of documents and asked them to draw on their knowledge of the relevant history and a close reading of the text to reconstruct the larger narrative of which the document was part.

The ultimate goal, however, was not to make every member of History 413 a historian, but to inculcate perspectives and develop skills that would make them better consumers of the histories written by others. The histories they read, after all, went through a similar process of analysis and interpretation of documents much like those they had examined. From their own experience working with such documents, it is hoped, they will be prepared to be active rather than passive readers of historical narratives, thinking about what is not in the historians’ texts and how what is there got there. In the end, perhaps they will be not only better students of history, but better, more critical thinkers and citizens.

References

Berlin, Ira, Steven Hahn, Steven F. Miller, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland. “The Terrain of Freedom: The Struggle over the Meaning of Free Labor in the U.S. South.” *History Workshop Journal*, Autumn 1986 22(1):108–130.

Graff, Henry F. 1985. *America: The Glorious Republic*. Revised edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Wilder, Jacob, Robert Ludlum, and Harriet McCune Brown, eds. 1990. *America’s Story*. Fifth edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Primary Source Readers and Anthologies

Abraham Lincoln: Great Speeches

Abraham Lincoln

Dover Publications, 2001

ISBN 0486268721

\$1.50

Reviewed by Jason George

This extremely inexpensive collection of Abraham Lincoln's speeches will give students access to many of his most important speeches and thus help them to examine many of the most crucial issues of the mid-nineteenth century.

The collection contains many of Lincoln's classic speeches, including the 1858 "A House Divided" speech, part of his Senate campaign against Stephen Douglas, his first inaugural address, the Emancipation Proclamation, the Gettysburg Address, and his second inaugural address. Other addresses are included for certain light that they shed on Lincoln's life and career: a January 1838 address before the Springfield, Illinois, Young Men's Lyceum, according to the publisher, was "his first major literary effort and an expression of his basic political philosophy," while an 1848 speech before the House of Representatives represented "a matchless example of his sarcasm and folk humor."

Any one of Lincoln's speeches could easily fill a lesson on a number of different topics. One area that he addresses in both of his inaugural addresses, and is crucial for students to understand in the context of the Civil War and Reconstruction, is his view of the relationship between the Southern states and the federal government. His first inaugural address, delivered in March 1861, provides a clear and common-sense explication of his view of the Constitution, which he views as perpetual. Such a state was "implied, if not expressed," in the fundamental law of all governments, since it would be "safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination." For those who argued the compact theory of the Constitution—that it was simply a contract between sovereign states that could withdraw whenever they wanted—Lincoln replies that while one party might break a contract, all must agree to rescind it.

This view of the perpetual nature of the Constitution is crucial to understanding Lincoln's plan for quick reconciliation between North and South at the end of the Civil War, since the Southern states had never in fact left the Union. While his second inaugural address briefly and eloquently calls for a binding of the nation's wounds and a call to act "with malice toward none; with charity for all," Lincoln offers a more detailed discussion of the relationship between the North and South in his last public address, delivered at the White House two days after the surrender of Lee's army at the Appomattox Court House.

While concluding that the Southern states “are out of their proper relationship with the Union,” Lincoln argues that it would not be worthwhile to debate whether they had in fact ever left: “Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad.” Such an approach was characteristic of Lincoln’s pragmatism and ability to focus on the most important elements of a problem without getting bogged down in details.

Each speech contains a brief section of commentary by historian John Grafton that allows students to understand the context of each of Lincoln’s key addresses.

America Through the Eyes of Its People

James Kirby Martin, ed.

Allyn and Bacon/Longman, 1997

ISBN 0-673-97738-2

\$34.40

Reviewed by Jason George

The second edition of this primary source reader from Longman publishers, issued in 1997, provides a serviceable collection of American history documents for use in high school and college classrooms.

While the reader follows many of the standard subject headings, there are several welcome additions that one does not necessarily find in the majority of primary source readers on American history. The fourth section, entitled “Uniquely American,” combines two excerpts from addresses by Jonathan Edwards with sections of Benjamin Franklin’s autobiography and Michel Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur’s influential *Letters from an American Farmer* in an attempt to determine the unique elements of the American character. The diversity of the documents included in this section is indicative of its efforts to eschew a strictly chronological approach in favor of a more thematic framework—an approach that becomes increasingly necessary as United States history teachers are forced to find ways to cover greater amounts of material.

The shortcoming of this attempt at breadth is that the reader sometimes sacrifices the ability to play historical figures or issues off of one another by including competing viewpoints side-by-side. Chapter 22, for example, deals with America during World War I. This chapter contains several excellent documents, including a selection from a pamphlet by the Boy Scouts of America that encourages members of the organization to support the war effort. The patriotic call to American youth will likely resonate with teenagers who read the document. A letter by Secretary of War Newton Baker, about the near-lynching of a non-English-speaking Pole who tore up a Liberty Bond circular because he was infuriated by the picture of Kaiser Wilhelm that appeared on the document, offers a chilling reminder of the dangers of wartime patriotism.

Despite these strengths, the section on World War I fails to include any documents that deal with the reasons for American entry into the war. President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points address is included, but no response, such as Senator Henry Cabot Lodge’s reservations, is provided to balance out Wilson’s perspective. While it is impossible for a reader to cover all aspects of American history in equal detail, the use of historical counterpoints to allow students to debate issues and understand the complexities of historical events is an invaluable tool that could be used to greater effect in this collection.

The collection would perhaps be improved with a revamped layout. The typeface is small and closely spaced together, and there are no illustrations, maps, charts, or graphs to break up the text. Visual sources, such as political cartoons, lithographs, or paintings, are an invaluable way to gain a greater understanding of the past, and this collection would profit greatly by including some of these types of sources.

The reader is also badly in need of a new edition. The final section concludes with a 1991 address by then-president George Bush on the crisis in the Persian Gulf. The Clinton administration, the 2000 election, the terrorist attacks of September 11 and their aftermath, and the continuing crisis with Iraq are just a few of the topics that will need to be covered in a future edition.

The American Primer

Daniel Boorstin, ed.

Plume [orig. Meridian], 1995

ISBN 0-452-00922-7

\$19.95

Reviewed by Tim Lehman

First published in 1965, *The American Primer* remains a useful reference source for many of the primary documents on American politics and culture. What sets this document collection apart from others is the extensive commentary by distinguished historians that is included with each selection.

While most of the documents can be found in a number of other sources, the commentaries represent the leading historians of an earlier generation coming to terms with what they considered to be the fundamental texts of American history and identity. Teachers can find background information to stimulate classroom discussion, and students should find the book helpful in learning to answer document-based questions.

Many of the 83 documents in this collection are fairly standard, but a few represent the idiosyncratic interests of the editor, Daniel Boorstin. From the 1620 “Mayflower Compact” to Lyndon Johnson’s 1965 “Address on Voting Rights,” the book includes the usual political documents: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, Washington’s farewell address, and presidential speeches from Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson, Roosevelt, and Kennedy. Reform movements, at least in the nineteenth century, are also well represented, with William Lloyd Garrison, the Seneca Falls “Declaration of Sentiments,” the Knights of Labor, and the Populist Party all included.

Much of the charm of the book comes from Boorstin’s inclusion of selections from American intellectual and cultural history—selections that are not as frequently included in document collections: Julia Ward Howe’s “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” Emma Lazarus on the Statue of Liberty, Thomas Edison on the research laboratory, Louis Sullivan’s aesthetic considerations of the skyscraper, and Sinclair Lewis’s “The American Fear of Literature.”

The most important value of this compilation for the history teacher might well be in its commentaries from distinguished historians. Each commentary explains the circumstances of the origins of the document, including a word about the author and a description of how the document was received by its original audience.

What I most like about the commentaries is what Boorstin calls the “afterlife” essay, which explains the changing interpretations of the document over time and suggests

possibilities for contemporary meaning. This removes a document from its static (and often irrelevant) position for students and allows them to decide for themselves what a given document might mean. For instance, the “Mayflower Compact” is often presented as a proto-constitutional document, but commentary makes clear that the Mayflower agreement was out of print and not well known by the writers of the Constitution. Even the word “compact” was not applied to it until the nineteenth century, after Locke and Rousseau had made this concept common. Similarly, John Winthrop’s famous (or notorious) “City on a Hill” sermon, which I have a hard time getting students to read, let alone appreciate, takes a different shade of meaning in a commentary that argues that the Christian community that Winthrop called for is the basis for contemporary reform movements.

Now almost 40 years old, *The American Primer* is clearly limited in some important ways. There is no recent material, and more importantly, the selection does not include racial and ethnic diversity. This is a glaring omission in a selection that claims to represent American identity.

The American Reader: Words That Moved a Nation, 2nd ed.

Diane Ravitch, ed.

HarperCollins Perennial, 2000

ISBN 0062737333

\$20.00

Reviewed by Tim Lehman

This popular anthology of famous documents from American history makes a useful supplementary reader for students as well as a valuable resource for teachers. Editor Diane Ravitch has compiled as close to a traditional canon of primary documents as one can find in this age of diverse perspectives and competing interpretations. Many of the important documents for political history are here, but also included are a variety of songs and poems that convey a sense of the cultural life of different eras. Broadly inclusive of ethnic diversity and political opinion, Ravitch's selection is a celebration of mainstream American pluralism.

Documents are divided into chronological sections from the colonial period through the 1960s. The first edition included selections from the recent past, but for the second edition Ravitch eliminated this material on the grounds that, in her judgment, nothing in recent years had yet proven that it has the enduring significance of the earlier documents. Each selection is introduced with a brief explanation of the author and the historical setting. Most of the documents are short, ranging from a paragraph to several pages. This, along with the fact that many of the selections were originally meant to be read to an audience, makes this a great collection for reading aloud in the classroom.

The selections in the reader are drawn from many of the members of the literary and political elite who would usually be covered in an AP U.S. History course. Speeches from presidents Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, both Roosevelts, Eisenhower, and Kennedy are mixed with social reformers and political dissenters such as Thomas Paine, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, John Brown, Eugene Debs, Woody Guthrie, and Betty Friedan. Ravitch has also selected some well-chosen popular literature, including both poetry and prose, for inclusion. While the voices are diverse, they are generally from the elite and will be familiar to history teachers. One will not find here the words of the anonymous masses or the documentary basis for social history. This is, however, an excellent source for political and cultural history that will engage students and provide important practice for interpreting primary documents.

Classic American Autobiographies

William Andrews, ed.

Signet, 2003

ISBN 0451529154

\$7.95

Reviewed by Renee H. Shea and Tim Lehman

A little gem of a text, *Classic American Autobiographies* offers five narratives that fit the title's description in a compact, inexpensive edition. Any or all of these narratives can make excellent supplemental readings that will engage students, provide practice in interpreting primary documents, and add personality and depth to the standard historical material. Although there are no discussion questions or pedagogical apparatus, the introduction provides context and focus for the narratives:

- *A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (1682)
- *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (1771–89)
- *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1875)
- Mark Twain's *Old Times on the Mississippi* (1876)
- Four Autobiographical Narratives of Zitkala-Sa (1900–1902)

Each of these five narratives can be used separately, and the first three are used frequently enough to merit a separate entry in the Teachers' Resource Catalog. Rowlandson's account of her capture by the Narragansett Indians during King Phillip's War (1676) provides compelling insight into colonial Puritan thinking about race, religion, and gender. Students are sometimes put off by her proud and intolerant manner, but they can be challenged to read critically in order to find the nuances of meaning as this minister's wife transforms her private torment into a public statement.

Franklin, editor William Andrews suggests in his introduction, is "the archetypal American apostle of success" whose autobiography demonstrates that "the greatest of Americans is the self-inventor—and the self reinventor." His longer autobiography can easily be excerpted, and students are alternately amused, appalled, and inspired by his self-education and attempts at moral perfection. If Franklin is the quintessential figure for the eighteenth-century Enlightenment in America, Douglass is the perfect entry into the worlds of nineteenth-century slavery and abolitionist reform. Most students respond positively to Douglass, but this presents another opportunity for critical interpretation of a document in order to see how he carefully constructs his narrative so as to refute the arguments of slavery advocates.

Twain's account of his loner life as a riverboat pilot may be the least useful to the history teacher of all of these narratives, although it does present the practical education of the most rugged of individualists during the Gilded Age and is an instructive portrait of the artist in the making. Andrews links the most famous of these texts, Douglass's narrative, with the least known, that of Zitkala-Sa, a Native American writer, through "a sense of spiritual obligation to chart the self's quest for fulfillment in accordance with its God-given mission—to resist white America's denial of colored America's identity." Her turn-of-the-century autobiographical stories, first published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, help to explain the appeal of both traditional and white societies for Plains Indians as well as the barriers to integration into the dominant society. These stories are deceptively easy to read and make a useful supplement for any discussion of Indian boarding schools and assimilation practices, race relations at the turn of the century, and the pluralist and/or multicultural meanings of American history.

Constructing the American Past: A Source Book of a People's History, Vol. 1 and 2, 4th ed.

Terry D. Billhartz, Elliot J. Gorn, Randy Roberts, eds.

Allyn and Bacon/Longman, 2001

Volume 1: ISBN 0-321-09342-9

Volume 2: ISBN 0-321-09340-2

\$45.00

Reviewed by Tim Lehman

[Note: This edition has been replaced by a new edition, ISBNs 0-321-21642-3 for volume 1 (price \$49.60) and 0-321-21641-5 for volume 2 (price also \$49.60).]

This original anthology of primary documents is intended to convey to students the excitement of doing hands-on history. Designed to encourage critical thinking and student discovery, each chapter brings together a cluster of documents related to a particular historical issue. The topics range widely over social and political history, with the fourth edition aiming to be more representative of diverse class, gender, and ethnic voices in American history.

The topics are thoughtfully chosen so that the text will make an ideal supplement for any AP U.S. History course. From Columbus, Las Casas, and the Spanish conquest to the election of 2000, the topics will engage student interest and spark discussion. Some of the topics are familiar, such as Jamestown, the Puritans, the Scopes trial, or the civil rights movement. Many are more original and will make a fresh addition to the standard coverage of most texts. These include chapters on Denmark Vesey's conspiracy, the 1862 New York draft riots, the origins of the Ku Klux Klan, the 1890 Wounded Knee incident, and the spread of HIV-AIDS. In some cases, familiar topics take on an uncomfortable feel as traditional documents are juxtaposed with revealing but little-read documents. An example of this is the chapter that includes Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, followed by his argument for the natural inferiority of African Americans from his *Notes on the State of Virginia*.

Most of the documents are written, but the text includes some important visual images as well. These include World War I recruiting posters, Farm Security Administration photographs from the Depression, and the most original of all, the Marvel Comics *Iron Man* in Vietnam. Not only does this offer insight into popular culture's views of Vietnam, it offers an opportunity to stimulate critical thinking about how pictures and images can reflect and shape our understanding of our world.

Each chapter contains roughly five pages of historical context that sets the background and explains what is at issue with the accompanying documents. Often this includes

contemporary references, such as explaining the varieties of celebration and protest that accompanied the 500th anniversary of Columbus’s voyages. A paragraph introduces the documents, usually about 5–10 per chapter. Each chapter ends with a brief postscript, questions to probe and interpret the sources, and suggestions for further reading. The introductory context for each chapter is a model of lucid and informative prose that invites further reading, and the documents are, for the most part, intriguing and even provocative.

The weakest part of the text is the question section at the end of each chapter, which invites student into the historical debate (“Would you have supported the patriots or the Loyalists?” “Was rebellion against slavery justified?”), but often at the expense of historical complexity. The questions may spark discussion, but they are not likely to lead students to critical analysis that would increase their understanding of the complexity of the past.

A Documentary History of the United States, 7th ed.

Richard D. Heffner, ed.

Signet, 2002

ISBN 0-451-20748-3

\$7.99

Reviewed by Tim Lehman

This updated edition of a popular collection of primary documents is a welcome addition to any AP U.S. History classroom. Whether used as a reference work or supplemental reading, this is a useful compilation of 75 important letters, speeches, court cases, and laws from American political history.

The documents in this collection emphasize political history, beginning with Tom Paine's *Common Sense* and concluding with Rudolph Giuliani's and George W. Bush's responses to September 11, 2001. The most important documents in this tradition are included: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Emancipation Proclamation, the Gettysburg Address, William Jennings Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech, Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points, Franklin Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech. The collection shows a clear preference for official documents, including many court cases (*Dred Scott*, *Brown v. Board of Education*, and *Roe v. Wade*), presidential addresses, and public speeches. A refreshing private moment is a sampling of the correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, in which they discuss the concept of the "natural aristocracy."

While this is a useful source for political history, it is limited in some ways. Heffner includes almost no social or cultural history, which makes the book incomplete for most general history classes. The authors in this collection are from the political elite, most of them male and white. The collection omits many aspects of American culture and everyday life, as well as the nation's social diversity. Those looking for a more inclusive history or a better understanding of popular culture will have to look elsewhere. Also, there is no material from the colonial era, leaving a gap for understanding the origins of American politics.

Heffner divides the documents into 31 chapters and includes a helpful introduction for each chapter. The introductions provide a historical context for each document, but, for better or worse, do not offer much guidance for interpreting the document itself. For instance, Heffner describes the political events leading to the colonies' decision for independence, but he does not discuss how the Continental Congress changed Jefferson's original wording of the Declaration of Independence. Nor does Heffner guide the reader with details of the circumstances under which a document was prepared, the different possible interpretations of a text, or connections among the various documents. This is in keeping with Heffner's belief, stated in the introduction, that the documents are the "raw materials" of history and all else is "opinion."

Eyewitness to America

David Colbert, ed.

Vintage (Random House), 1998

ISBN 0-679-76724-X

\$16.95

Reviewed by Jason George

This entertaining collection of primary source documents provides a sometimes offbeat view of American history as told by both distinguished figures and “ordinary” Americans. While it does not provide a particularly strong analytical or thematic focus, the collection does contain documents that will engage and entertain students.

The collection includes a number of reliable standards, such as Las Casas and Christopher Columbus on the European discovery of the Western Hemisphere, John Smith’s account of his “rescue” by Pocahontas, Frederick Douglass on slavery, and Mary Boykin Chesnut’s diary on the attack on Fort Sumter. On the whole, however, editor Colbert has sought to include fresh documents that are not widely used in other collections.

For example, a number of lesser-known accounts enliven the section on colonial history. Thomas Morton, an English attorney who came to Massachusetts in the 1620s and later became the subject of stories by Nathaniel Hawthorne and others, discusses the construction of a maypole and subsequent festivities at the site of present-day Quincy, Massachusetts. Needless to say, the Pilgrim leaders of the Plymouth Colony looked with disfavor on such an enterprise.

Students will likely find surprising and illuminating a 1680 account of Harvard College by two Dutch visitors. An editorial note explains that Harvard was in a “slump” at the time due to the disruptions caused by King Philip’s War. Expecting to find “something curious” at the only existing college in the American colonies, the two men instead found a dissolute group of 8 to 10 young men crowded in a room filled with tobacco smoke and living in quarters that resembled a tavern.

In fewer than 600 pages, the collection manages to reach from the first European contacts with the New World through the early 1990s. Some of the more compelling recent documents include Ryan White’s account of his life with AIDS, the *Challenger* explosion, and the riots that swept Los Angeles in the wake of the trial of the police officers accused of beating motorist Rodney King.

The episodic nature of this collection makes it an unlikely candidate for adoption as a classroom resource. However, teachers may appreciate the documents for their own class preparations and could certainly share some of the excerpts profitably with their students.

Some readers may justifiably complain about the fact that the collection tends to predominately contain accounts from white males. While sources from women, African Americans, and other minority groups are included, it would seem that such voices could be heard to a greater degree. To provide an example of this trend, there are only two documents presenting Native American perspectives, while a number of other accounts present either Native Americans or westward expansion through the eyes of white Europeans.

In fairness, Colbert is seeking to present a large number of perspectives to a popular audience and to cover a great deal of ground in a relatively small amount of space. Nonetheless, the collection would be enriched if it drew on a wider variety of voices from different backgrounds.

50 Political Cartoons for Teaching U.S. History

William Ray Heitzman

The Villanova Institute, 1975

(Order through Social Studies School Service:

<http://catalog.socialstudies.com/c/@EJ8UA.F.k4DGM/Pages/product.html?record@TF26894>)

\$50.00

Reviewed by Jason George

This collection of political cartoons provides a visually appealing resource, although teachers using it will have to dig further to obtain important information about many of the images. In addition, while many of the cartoons are useful and all will be helpful in promoting class discussion, there are some curious omissions.

First created in 1975, “50 Political Cartoons for Teaching U.S. History” is in its 11th printing. Each cartoon is printed on a sturdy sheet of 8.5 by 11 stock paper, large enough to either place on a transparency or photocopy for individual student examination. The reverse side of each cartoon sheet contains background about the cartoon, suggestions for classroom use, and questions for discussion. The background sections help to provide a sense of historical context for each cartoon, although more attention could be given to explaining many of the images used in each cartoon. In addition, no date or publication information is given for many of the cartoons.

An example of the above shortcomings appears in the cartoon “Practical Illustration of the Fugitive Slave Law.” Here, Daniel Webster is being ridden by a Southern slaveholder while holding a copy of the Constitution. This is a reference to Webster’s arguments for attempting to preserve the Union during the Senate debates that produced the Compromise of 1850, something that more advanced students should understand. The author simply notes that Webster “felt the wrath of the cartoonist,” with no explanation why. William Lloyd Garrison is portrayed pointing a gun at the Southerner and protecting an escaped slave, although there is no discussion of who Garrison is. The fact that there are no dates makes it difficult to analyze the cartoons as effectively as possible. It makes a great deal of difference, for example, whether the cartoon was drawn immediately after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, or in 1852, following the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, when the gulf between the two sides became even wider.

In fairness to the author, it would be extremely difficult to find a selection of 50 cartoons that would cover all aspects of U.S. history. However, the selections here seem to include some areas that are not crucial for students to understand and omit other extremely important areas. While there were relatively few political cartoons in the late eighteenth

century, the collection skips from Benjamin Franklin's 1754 "Unite or Die" cartoon to Elkanah Tisdale's 1812 "Gerrymander." The latter is rather questionably described as "one of the earliest of political cartoons." Left out are cartoons from the colonial resistance to British taxation prior to the Revolution, many of which are rich with important political symbols; the debate over the Constitution (the 1788 cartoon showing the states that had ratified the Constitution as pillars upholding the "federal edifice," for example, would be an excellent resource); and the Federalist-Republican debates of the 1790s (a 1793 cartoon entitled "A Peep into the AntiFederal Club" can easily sustain a full class discussion). At the same time, there are five cartoons, or 10 percent of the collection, dealing with the Jacksonian period and its aftermath.

Letters of a Nation: A Collection of Extraordinary American Letters

Andrew Carroll, ed.

Broadway Books, 1999

ISBN 0767903315

\$16.95

Reviewed by Renee H. Shea and Tim Lehman

An excellent classroom resource, *Letters of a Nation* reflects over 350 years of American history through letters written by and to the famous (e.g., Abraham Lincoln, Albert Einstein, W. E. B. DuBois) as well as the more obscure. Many of these letters have not been published or are not otherwise readily available, so this collection offers a unique window into the personal views of many historical figures.

These letters are arranged topically (e.g., “Slavery and the Civil War,” “Love and Friendship,” “Humor and Personal Contempt”) and chronologically within each topic. The table of contents lists each letter by author and topic, making it easy to find a letter on nearly any theme or era in U.S. history. Although there are no discussion questions or teaching apparatus, each letter includes a brief introduction that sets a context. Some of the most useful letters for the history teacher are those between public figures concerning their views on controversial topics. These include Robert E. Lee’s letter to his wife explaining his opposition to both slavery and abolitionism, Benjamin Banneker’s exchange with Thomas Jefferson on the equality of blacks, Malcolm X’s letter from Mecca explaining his newfound hope for the harmony of white and black Muslims, and Ronald Reagan’s personal letter to Leonid Brezhnev expressing his hope for peace.

Many of the letters provide a more intimate glimpse of public figures, such as Frederick Douglass writing to Harriet Tubman: “I have had the applause of the crown and satisfaction that comes of being approved by the multitude, while the most that you have done has been witnessed by a few trembling, scarred, and foot-sore bondmen and women” (102). Another such glimpse comes with Rachel Carson, knowing she was about to succumb to cancer, writing a farewell to a friend.

Editor Andrew Carroll explains that these letters “explore not only the vast terrain of America’s history but the equally boundless, albeit internal expanse of the human soul.” Thus, John Winthrop writes in 1630 to his wife, still in England, about his hopes in the New World. Writer and environmentalist Wallace Stegner writes in 1960 to an official in the Wildland Research Center to argue for “the wilderness idea . . . an intangible and spiritual resource” (39). In one of the most famous and eloquent letters, Martin Luther King, Jr., writes to his “fellow clergymen” from his Birmingham jail cell to articulate his philosophy of creative nonviolence.

Perhaps most useful in the classroom are the exchanges: letters both written and answered (e.g., Abigail and John Adams, Benjamin Banneker and Thomas Jefferson). These letters (brief, as are most of the documents in this collection) provide a microcosm for analysis of an author’s biases, motives, and assumptions that can be applied to longer, more complex documents. The concept of multiple audiences is particularly fascinating, especially when famous people write personal letters with the knowledge that they will likely become public documents.

Marian Wright Edelman, founder of the Children’s Defense Fund, writes the foreword, in which she refers to the letter about the “lessons of life” that she wrote to her own children (published as *The Measure of Our Success*), and extols the virtues of letters—from the points of view of the writer, recipient, and those for whom letters become a legacy of family or national history. This foreword is itself a thought-provoking essay, one that irresistibly opens discussion of the losses and gains of email as the “letters” of the twenty-first century.

The Muckrakers

Arthur and Lila Shaffer Weinberg, eds.

University of Illinois Press, 2001

ISBN 0252069862

\$19.95

Reviewed by Jeff House

This collection of “muckraking” pieces from the turn of the twentieth century illustrates the forces that turned the American public from the excesses of the Gilded Age to the social consciousness that characterized the Progressive Era.

The Muckrakers collects the finest writings and most compelling pieces that influenced government policy from the 1890s until the First World War. It’s been a century since the golden age of muckraking, but as the pieces in *The Muckrakers* show, the writing remains vibrant and disarmingly relevant today. Editors Arthur and Lila Weinberg note that muckraking journalism responded to the problems of industrialism and urbanization of the late nineteenth century. The creation of pockets of wealth, together with widespread deprivation, led Mark Twain to label the period the “Gilded Age.” By the 1890s, a new journalism addressing the social problems of the era had emerged, aimed at the rising middle class. Magazines—notably *McClure’s*, *Everybody’s*, and *Collier’s*—began publishing pieces aimed at revealing social ills, political corruption, and illegal business practices.

The over two dozen selections in this volume include excerpts from Ida Tarbell’s expose of Standard Oil, Ray Stannard Baker writing on unions, Upton Sinclair addressing Chicago meatpackers, and Lincoln Steffens revealing political corruption. Other ills, from patent medicine fraud to racial tensions, prison system abuse, railroad corporation shenanigans, and stock market manipulations are all mentioned. My favorite piece is Charles Russell’s revelation that New York City’s Trinity Church, awash in money, owned many of the tenement properties where the worst housing abuses went unaddressed. Made up as it is of a range of pieces, *The Muckrakers* contains a number of articles suitable for discussions of Gilded Age excess and Progressive Era reforms.

Red Scared!: The Commie Menace in Propaganda and Popular Culture

Michael Barson and Steven Heller, eds.

Chronicle Books, 2000

ISBN 0811828875

\$22.95

Reviewed by Jeff House

While the U.S. government was engaged in a technological war with the Soviet Union in the years after World War II, the American media provided the fodder for a psychological war. That is the premise of *Red Scared!*, a colorful collection of film posters and stills, pamphlets, posters, magazine and newspaper references, and novel summaries.

Michael Barson and Steven Heller have compiled a chronological assortment of popular media that can stimulate class discussions on how the Cold War operated. Students will be surprised at how Hollywood cooperated in the propaganda war, creating dozens of films that were high on drama and low on realism, with such titles as *The Red Menace*, *I Married a Communist*, *Invasion U.S.A.*, *Red Planet Mars*, *The Iron Petticoat*, and *The Girl in the Kremlin*.

Red Scared! also tracks the coverage of communism in American magazines, from World War II pieces that saw Joseph Stalin as a friend (“The Story of Unbeatable Stalingrad,” “A Guy Named Joe,” and “Meet Mr. and Mrs. Russia at Home”) to the vilification of Stalin’s minions (“I Don’t Want My Children to Grow Up in Soviet Russia,” “How to Spot a Communist,” “We Can Lose the Next War in Seven Days,” and “Negative Neanderthaler”).

The book is amusing as well as informative, but its value lies in its illustration of how media can serve government. Its colorful examples can be easily reproduced on overhead transparencies, and its many summaries can aid student projects that are in need of supplementary materials. The book’s bibliography is also helpful to students who are seeking additional resources, and its unusual collection of materials (comic books, for instance, played a vital role during the 1950s and 1960s) can spur online searches for further examples.

U.S. History and Government: Readings and Documents

Ewlaine McCarthy Farran and Lillian Forman, eds.

AMSCO School Publications, 2005

ISBN 1-56765-655-1

\$11.25

Reviewed by Jason George

This collection of primary and secondary sources offers a solid, well-organized grouping of materials that can help students prepare for the AP U.S. History Exam. Some of the materials, particularly the document-based questions, are a bit on the basic side, but teachers can supplement them with more analytical assignments.

The book consists of a total of 122 documents, which are divided into nine units. Each document includes a series of review questions. A document-based question is included at the end of each unit, with both questions and more detailed directions to help students formulate their essays.

Especially given the volume's conciseness, overall this collection includes a fairly good cross section of documents from the realms of social, political, and diplomatic history. One of the stronger features of the book is its inclusion of a number of visual documents (including cartoons and paintings), a feature that many documentary collections omit.

The breadth of the collection—which manages to cover all of U.S. history in a mere 325 pages of text (when many such readers publish two longer volumes)—obviously necessitates some selectivity in document choice. The sixth unit, for example, covers developments from 1919 to 1939 in just nine document sections. A 1920 speech by Warren G. Harding, two poems from the Harlem Renaissance, several posters and pieces from the Prohibition era, a statement by Bartolomeo Vanzetti, and Herbert Hoover's 1928 speech on "rugged individualism" cover the 1920s. All are important, but key issues such as the Scopes trial and the emergence of technological changes—for example, the radio and the proliferation of the automobile—are left out.

The document-based question after this section demonstrates the relatively basic analytical focus of the book's exercises. Students are asked to address the following: "The period of time between the First and Second World Wars (1919–1939) was one of conflict and national crises." Students are then prompted to describe one conflict and one crisis during the period and explain the extent to which each was resolved. AP students should be able to offer a much deeper level of analysis. Teachers could ask students to trace or explain the root causes of the conflicts and crises of the period, or to assess how effectively the government responded to such crises, rather than simply describing them.

Particularly topical is the concluding section on American foreign policy, which manages to include both historical and more contemporary documents. For example, a 1972 statement by Richard Nixon on the ABM treaty is juxtaposed with a 2002 statement by George W. Bush to demonstrate changes in U.S.-Russian relations over the past 30 years. President Bush's September 2001 speech on terrorism is also included (although the reader looks forward to an updated edition of this volume that covers the second Persian Gulf War as a complement to statements made by the former President Bush about the 1991 conflict in Iraq). In addition, the section on foreign policy should be commended for including environmental concerns as an element of foreign policy.

The Vietnam Reader

Stewart O’Nan, ed.

Anchor Books (Random House), 1998

ISBN 0385491182

\$16.95

Reviewed by Celia Maddox

This anthology is subtitled “the definitive collection of American fiction and nonfiction on the war,” and it is. Besides offering some very fine literature and journalism of the period, it is a pleasure to use. The editor, who also teaches the American literature of the period, has organized a huge amount of material in ways that will make setting assignments a breeze. His thoughtful selections and provocative organization create wonderful opportunities for students to sharpen their analytical skills by comparing very different views of the war.

For example, 20 pages from Ron Kovic’s *Born on the Fourth of July* is back-to-back with a 20-page excerpt from *Fields of Fire* by James Webb: two entirely opposite views of U.S. involvement. The opening section, “Green,” is designed to introduce readers to portrayals of the American soldier over time. For this section, the editor has selected Robin Moore’s *The Green Berets* (in which the soldiers are exemplary and the government line is reflected) alongside sections from Tim O’Brien’s *If I Die in a Combat Zone* and *Going After Cacciato*. The editor’s preface to this section—all his introductory material provides excellent guidance—points out that Moore and O’Brien “appear to be covering completely different wars” (13).

Thirteen sections of fiction, journalism, memoir, oral history, film analysis, and song lyrics represent the “best and best-known works about the war.” The book is organized in two ways. The first “traces the tour of duty from induction all the way through returning stateside.” A second principle of organization gathers material similar in theme or genre, “thereby illustrating how trends in representing Vietnam echoed the changes in American popular culture and political culture” (2).

A map, a chronology of the war, a glossary, filmography, and bibliography, plus a fine set of reading questions on each of the sections, complete this indispensable reference work and anthology.

Vietnam War: Primary Sources

Kevin Hillstrom and Laurie Hillstrom, eds.

UXL (Thomson/Gale), 2000

ISBN 0-7876-4887-6

\$60.00

Reviewed by Jason George

Although it is targeted to students at a somewhat basic level, this reference source on the Vietnam War provides a number of useful resources for use in the classroom. The book's simple layout and clear organization make it easy to use and should facilitate student comfort with the collection, while offering relatively in-depth treatment of a key aspect of recent American history.

The work is organized into a series of 13 primary sources. Unlike many collections that seek to present as many sources as possible, this work sacrifices some degree of breadth for depth. Many of the document excerpts are four to five pages long, along with several pages of background information.

The collection does a good job balancing out various aspects of the war. The accounts of the situation in Vietnam are standards, including excerpts from Walter Cronkite's influential editorial following the Tet Offensive in January 1968, Philip Caputo's *A Rumor of War*, and James Stockdale's account of his captivity in North Vietnam. While there is little that is particularly new here, it is helpful to have these sources included together in an easily accessible format.

The section on the war at home includes excerpts from Martin Luther King, Robert F. Kennedy, Tim O'Brien, Richard Nixon, and Bill Rubinstein. The issues of King's opposition to the war and the disproportionate casualty rates among African Americans are treated in more detail than in many standard accounts of the war. For example, there is discussion of the government's Project 100,000, a 1966 proposal aimed at getting underprivileged African Americans to enlist in the armed forces.

The collection seeks to maintain a balanced tone. For example, the introduction to Stockdale's account notes the horrific conditions in the Hoa Lo Prison (popularly known as the "Hanoi Hilton") and other detention centers, in which captured Americans were routinely tortured. A sidebar notes South Vietnam's use of "tiger cages," small cement enclosures where prisoners were kept in chains, at Con Son Prison. When this was exposed by a group of congressmen who visited the prison, many Americans questioned the morality of U.S. involvement in the conflict.

The suggested activities presented at the outset of the book vary in quality, although several of them provide thought-provoking potential projects. For example, students are given the option of writing a one-page essay responding to the statement that the Vietnam Memorial is the most appropriate way to commemorate the conflict. Why, students are asked, is a black granite wall better than a more traditional statue or patriotic portrayal?

To provide a sense of the Vietnamese perspective on the war, Ho Chi Minh's program for a communist Vietnam is contrasted with refugee Phuong Hoang's account of Vietnam after the North's takeover in 1975. Students can respond to questions about the degree to which the Communists carried out their promises once they took power and consider whether or not they would have become refugees in Phuong's position.

The collection includes a detailed timeline at the outset, along with a glossary and questions to prompt student responses to each of the primary sources.

Voices of the American Past: Documents in U.S. History, 2nd ed.

J. Chris Arndt and Raymond Hyser, eds.

Wadsworth (Thomson Learning, Inc.), 2002

ISBN 0-15-507508-X (Vol. 1)

ISBN 0-15-507509-8 (Vol. 2)

\$39.56

Reviewed by Jason George

[Note: The edition reviewed below is out of print. The publication information for the 3rd edition is: ISBN 0534643000 for volume 1, retailing for \$52.95, and ISBN 0534643019 for volume 2, also \$52.95, both published in 2004.]

Teachers seeking a diverse grouping of documents across American history will be well served by the second edition of this reader, which effectively combines traditional sources with less-established perspectives.

The collection contains over 230 documents, making it one of the more comprehensive primary source readers available. Both volumes include a useful brief discussion on how to analyze a primary source, mentioning issues that students should consider when reading a primary source, including historical context, the author's thesis, perspective, audience, and significance. Several questions that follow up on these themes are included at the beginning of each document.

The authors seem to have taken pains to include fresh perspectives and lesser-known documents, while not neglecting classic sources. Chapters 14 through 17, which deal with slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction, provide examples of the diversity of documents that are included in the collection. Chapter 14, "Slavery and the Old South," for example, includes Olaudah Equiano's account of the Middle Passage, information from the trial of Denmark Vesey, an account of the Alabama Frontier, Martin Delany's discussion of African American nationalism (a neglected topic), as well as William and Ellen Craft's "Escape to Freedom," an account of their 1848 escape from slavery in Georgia. While many students are likely to be exposed to valuable sources such as Frederick Douglass's autobiography, this reader will allow them access to a richer variety of perspectives. The following chapter on the coming of the Civil War includes Charles Sumner's 1856 speech on Kansas and the Freeport Doctrine, as well as a Southern review of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and an African American minister's response to the Fugitive Slave Act.

Even the chapters covering the late twentieth century manage to synthesize many themes from the nation's recent past. Chapter 31, which deals with the "Conservative Era" of the 1980s, provides an example of this. Excerpts from Ronald Reagan's first inaugural address

help to establish the decade's themes of limited government at home and activism abroad, while other documents in the chapter deal with immigration, the role of Donald Trump as an example of the culture of big business, homelessness, AIDS, Iran-Contra, and the fall of the Berlin Wall. The collection covers material through the end of the century, including Clinton's impeachment, the murder of Mathew Shepard, and the "underside of e-commerce."

One minor complaint is that the reader could have been put together in a more visually pleasing format. Students often find primary sources tedious, and will quickly tire of reading a series of documents without a break in the text. The inclusion of political cartoons, maps, or charts and graphs, perhaps one or two per chapter, would help to relieve the rather monotonous format of this collection (Thomas Bailey and David Kennedy's *American Spirit* reader uses more visual sources to good effect). Visual sources are legitimate primary sources and often engage students who do not respond easily or quickly to the printed word. Their inclusion would only improve this already strong collection.

The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America

Colin Calloway, ed.

St. Martin's Press, 1994

ISBN 0312083505

\$13.95

Reviewed by Tim Lehman

Teachers looking for ways to incorporate Native American perspectives and introduce primary texts into AP U.S. History will find this anthology a valuable resource. In fewer than 200 pages, this book includes 47 hard-to-find documents (about 2–3 pages long) from Indian peoples throughout colonial North America and a skillful introduction to each document. This slim text can be used by students as a supplemental reading or as an auxiliary resource for teachers.

The book is arranged chronologically, beginning with several creation stories and including a wide variety of Indian responses to European newcomers. This variety is most useful in countering stereotypes, both positive and negative, of Native Americans. Individual Indians appear in these pages as real people, not mere foils in someone else's morality play. Sometimes they resist white encroachment; often they accommodate white society and even pursue its material and spiritual rewards. The documents include, for example, a Micmac rejection of French "civilization" for its poverty and unceasing labors in comparison with the easy abundance of the traditional hunting and fishing cultures, as well as Samson Occam's story of his conversion away from his "heathenish" childhood into the life of a Christian missionary. One of the most memorable stories is Mary Jemison's captivity narrative, notable for the way she came to prefer Indian society over white society, especially for its better treatment of women.

Chapters on land, treaties, and responses to the American Revolution show Native Americans as active and subtle diplomats, negotiating to make the best in a situation of political and cultural decline. Some documents show Indians clearly being cheated; others show tribes initiating alliances with the English settlers against traditional allies, while still others show Indians seeking protection from European powers against the rapidly expanding American settlements. Students and some teachers may be surprised to find that Indians attempted to remain neutral during the Revolution and then lost land rapidly in the years immediately afterward. It is no wonder that the Mohawk Joseph Brant in 1789 could accuse the "Christians" of the new nation of being hypocritical and "tenfold more the children of cruelty" than the so-called "savages."

This book also offers an opportunity for teaching both the promise and the pitfalls of interpreting primary documents. Most of the documents are second- or thirdhand, and sometimes both translated and interpreted before being written. What were the authors'

original motives? Has the argument been slanted to suit a particular audience, in this case even an audience of conquerors? Is any one source confirmed or contradicted by other sources? Were Indians saying what they thought whites wanted to hear? Were whites only recording what they wanted to use for their own purposes? The popular conception, reinforced by Hollywood and many U.S. history texts, is of Native Americans as obstacles to European settlement—sometimes noble, other times merely savage, and almost always the victim. This book will go a long way toward making Indians come alive as full historical actors, contributing in complex and often surprising ways to the American story.

Web Sites and Online Source Collections

Secession Era Editorials Project

<http://history.furman.edu/~benson/docs>

T. Lloyd Benson

Reviewed by Jason George

Although this site does not provide a great deal of background or analysis, it does provide students and teachers alike a wealth of examples of contemporary commentary on several key events that brought the nation to the brink of civil war.

The site, which was developed by T. Lloyd Benson of Furman University, focuses on providing collections of editorials dealing with four events: the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, the caning of Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner by Representative Preston Brooks of South Carolina in 1856, the Supreme Court's decision in the *Dred Scott* case of 1857, and John Brown's Harper's Ferry raid of 1857. The project's editors note that while Kansas-Nebraska, Dred Scott, and Harper's Ferry were chosen on the basis of their "universal prominence" in historical writing, the Sumner caning was included because historians have become increasingly aware of how the incident "shocked politics away from Know-Nothingism, the so-called immigrant question, and liquor prohibition to slavery and sectionalism."

The Kansas-Nebraska section is by far the longest, with over 100 editorials dedicated to discussion of that bill. Students will appreciate the passionate, if somewhat florid, language of the time period. The Albany, New York, *Evening Journal*, for example, asserted that "the crime is committed," with the work of the Founding Fathers "flung down by the hands of an American Congress," with the result that "Slavery crawls, like a slimy reptile over the ruins, to defile a second eden." Not to be outdone, a Jackson Mississippi newspaper noted the "calm and equanimity" that prevailed in the South during the debates over the bill, as opposed to the North, where one heard "the sickly cant of Sumner,—the detestable demagogism of Seward,—the horrid screeching of Lucy Stone, and her unsexed compatriots,—the sacrilegious imprecations of ministers who degrade the holy calling," among other horrors.

Students will likely be surprised by the media opinion regarding the Sumner caning. While Southern newspapers defended Brooks' action, Northern newspapers—while deploring the viciousness of the attack—also condemned the harshness of Sumner's words. A Concord, New Hampshire, paper, for example, concluded that Sumner's speech "was of such a character as to provoke the result which has followed, and it seems to have been designed for that purpose," given his "wanton and malignant vituperation" of a number of honored members of the Senate.

Users of the site should be aware that at least some degree of prior knowledge about the events in question is required, as there is no substantive introduction to provide students with a sense of historical context. Nonetheless, this site can be used in the classroom in several different ways. First, students could use the contrasting editorials to help them to prepare for either a simulation or a more straightforward classroom debate on any of the four issues presented. In addition, students could be asked to prepare their own mock editorials using the editorials presented here as a model. Finally, they could be asked to examine editorials from each of the four events to determine whether or not the arguments made in the North and South changed over time.

Valley of the Shadow Web Site

<http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vshadow2/>

Edward Ayers, et al.

Reviewed by John Faithful Hamer

This historical Web site, a comparison of Civil War documents from counties in the North and the South, is among the most teacher-friendly sites on the Internet. By allowing high school students to encounter primary sources that in the past could only be accessed by sneezing one's way through a dusty archive, the Valley of the Shadow collection provides a wonderfully complete (if somewhat unrepresentative) world for students to explore.

Historian Edward Ayers and his team of University of Virginia collaborators have brought together all the existing Civil War-era documents for two counties, one from the North (Franklin, Pennsylvania), and one from the South (Augusta, Virginia). There are newspapers, letters, diaries, wills, photographs, maps, church records, population censuses, agricultural censuses, and military records that cover the years before, during, and after the Civil War. Letters have been scanned into the site, so that you can actually see handwriting, places where the ink ran, crossed-out words, and yellowing corners.

The site is exceptionally easy to use. There are subject headings and links, organized chronologically and thematically, that can lead you to, for example, all of the documents that deal with slavery, or the role of women. Moreover, the site's creators have come up with so many essay questions and term paper topics that you could probably assign a different one to each of your students.

Nevertheless, this site represents Edward Ayers's perspective, a fact that we forget at our peril. Franklin and Augusta are just two counties, after all. Moreover, they are anything but typical: Augusta is not the South in microcosm, nor is Franklin particularly representative of the North. Both counties straddle an oddly gray borderland between the two sides. It is obvious why a historian of Ayers's convictions would choose to focus on them: Augusta had few fire-eating secessionists, and Franklin had few diehard abolitionists. Most of the people in these two counties favored moderation and compromise. If, like Ayers, you want to minimize the importance of slavery for the coming of the Civil War, these are precisely the kind of counties that you would want to focus attention upon. A very different picture of Civil War-era America would surely have emerged, however, had Ayers chosen to focus on two different counties.

Intelligent students know that they are on the receiving end of an argument when they read a historical monograph or a scholarly article; they know that citations are selective, and that authors choose sources that support their arguments. Even your smartest

students, however, may not realize that there is a point of view hiding behind the avalanche of information presented on this site. Indeed, the sheer brilliance of the argument is that it does not appear to be an argument. Socrates demonstrated long ago that the most effective way to advance your opinions is to hide them behind supposedly self-evident facts. Ayers is anything but disinterested here, nor should he be. What could be more boring than a historian without an opinion? That said, the nature of the Internet as a medium is such that the illusion of the real is often mesmerizing. A classroom discussion that revealed Ayers's fingerprints on the material would provide a nice introduction to the roles of evidence and argument in the practice of history.

The Ram's Horn

http://history.osu.edu/Projects/Rams_Horn/default.htm

Reviewed by Jason George

This well-organized Web site, which is run by Ohio State University and is part of a larger collection of cartoons, allows students to use a little-known journal in order to gain significant insights into the key issues of the Gilded Age, a period that does not often come alive to students in an easy fashion.

The Ram's Horn was a magazine devoted to spreading the ideas of the Social Gospel, particularly in the 1890s. Most of the illustrations on the site were drawn by Frank Beard (1842–1905), the journal's main artist. One of the main pluses of the site is that the cartoons are grouped according to eight different topics: immigrants, the wealthy, smoking, the liquor trade and efforts toward prohibition, trusts, political bosses, views of America in the world, and religious issues. Each section contains two to four cartoons.

The cartoons help students to understand the mindset of much of the reform sentiment of the time period. One of the cartoons on immigration, titled "Stranger at Our Gate," portrays Uncle Sam standing at an entrance with the Capitol behind him. A swarthy-looking immigrant approaches him, carrying bags that are marked "Poverty," "Disease," "Sabbath Desecration," and "Anarchy." Below the cartoon is a short editorial, which notes that throughout most of American history, the immigrant population was limited enough to "preserve the high character of American citizenship." Now however, given the increasing numbers of immigrant, "it is well to put up the bars and save America, at least until she can purify the atmosphere of contagion which foreign invasion has already brought."

While the magazine sought to promote moral reform, it also expressed a distrust of the wealthy that was typical of the Social Gospel movement. An 1896 cover cartoon shows a businessman putting down a chair marked "Endowed Professorship" (the title of the cartoon), beneath which a pig, representing labor and workers, is being crushed. Another cover from the same year, tellingly titled "A Businessman in League with the Devil," shows a man sitting at his desk with Satan whispering conspiratorially in his ear. A figure representing Jesus, bedecked with thorns, knocks at the door, despite a sign that states "I Am Busy." The caption, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock," represents the journal's view of the businessman's potential fate.

The cartoons on political bosses, similar to those of Thomas Nast and other contemporaries, demonstrate disdain for the corruption of urban government. "Why Our Cities Are Badly Governed" shows an ape-like political boss dragging several figures held by a chain marked "Party Allegiance" into a voting station.

This site is ideal for classroom use, especially since it helps to explore an era that students seldom regard with much enthusiasm. Since the cartoons are grouped according to subject, students can be organized into groups to examine each topic and make presentations to their classmates. Also, the images are relatively simple and straightforward, so that students are able to interpret them relatively easily. Perhaps the one major drawback is that there is little background explanation of the Gilded Age to help provide a greater sense of context for students.

1896: The Presidential Campaign—Cartoons and Commentary

<http://projects.vassar.edu/1896/1896home.html>

Sarah DeFeo and Rebecca Edwards

Reviewed by Lawrence Charap

This site, presented by a Vassar College history professor, furnishes a treasure trove of political cartoons and other primary sources on the election of 1896. By bringing the sometimes arcane debates over Populism to life for students, it can greatly assist in teaching this crucial topic to the AP U.S. History class. In fact, in its thorough coverage of many related topics, such as the tariff or antilynching campaigns, it provides a useful resource for broader discussions of the entire late nineteenth century.

The core of the site is its presentation of scores of period cartoons from a large variety of contemporary newspapers and magazines. Arranged in chronological order, the cartoons (with the exception of some with broken links) can be expanded to be more easily read by a user. Occasionally even the higher magnification fails to keep key words or details from being out of focus, ruining the cartoon's meaning, but this problem is rarely encountered overall.

Rather than provide an explanation of the often obscure meaning of the cartoons, the site accompanies them with topical terms ("the currency issue" or "Shakespearean references") that link to larger discussions of those topics. As the cartoons invoke a bewildering array of references, from contemporary relations with China and the Ottoman Empire to Aesop's Fables and the Bible, this device allows users to figure out the intended meanings of the cartoons for themselves. These background essays provide excellent surveys in their own right, furnishing details on major figures such as Mark Hanna and Peter Altgeld, contemporary cultural and social developments, and the various party conventions and platforms.

What comes through in most of the cartoons is the viciousness with which pro- and anti-Populist forces portrayed one another. Populist cartoons, particularly from the Far West, often depicted their battle with wealth in crude terms, indulging in appalling anti-Semitic stereotypes as well as attacks on Chinese immigrants and African Americans. An image of the United States "in the hands of the Jews," being crucified on a cross of gold, its draining blood being collected by the Rothschilds, vividly illuminates the darker undertones heard by some contemporaries in William Jennings Bryan's famous "Cross of Gold" speech, even though the cartoon appeared months before it was delivered.

Anti-Populist cartoonists could be equally nasty, harping on Bryan's youth, equating Populists with anarchists, and invoking the specter of the Civil War to condemn Democratic "rebels." In addition to being better produced, their cartoons tended to be

