



U.S. HISTORY *in* GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE



LONGVIEW FOUNDATION
for Education in World Affairs and International Understanding, Inc.

NATIONAL HISTORY DAY

National History Day (NHD) is an opportunity for teachers and students to engage in real historical research. National History Day is not a predetermined by-the-book program but an innovative curriculum framework in which students learn history by selecting topics of interest and launching into a year-long research project. The purpose of National History Day is to improve the teaching and learning of history in middle and high schools. NHD is a meaningful way for students to study historical issues, ideas, people and events by engaging in historical research. When studying history through historical research, students and teachers practice critical inquiry: asking questions of significance, time and place. Through careful questioning, history students are immersed in a detective story too engaging to stop reading.

Beginning in the fall, students choose a topic related to the annual theme and conduct extensive primary and secondary research. After analyzing and interpreting their sources and drawing conclusions about their topics' significance in history, students then present their work in original papers, exhibits, performances, websites and documentaries. These projects are entered into competitions in the spring at local, state and national levels where they are evaluated by professional historians and educators. The program culminates with the national competition held each June at the University of Maryland at College Park.

Each year National History Day uses a theme to provide a lens through which students can examine history. The theme is intentionally broad enough that students can select topics from any place (local, national or world) and any time period in history. Once students choose their topics, they investigate historical context, historical significance, and the topic's relationship to the theme by conducting

research in libraries, archives and museums; through oral history interviews; and by visiting historic sites.

NHD benefits both teachers and students. For the student, NHD allows control of his or her own learning. Students select topics that meet their interests. Program expectations and guidelines are explicitly provided for students, but the research journey is created by the process and is unique to the historical research. Throughout the year students develop essential life skills by fostering academic achievement and intellectual curiosity. In addition, students develop critical-thinking and problem-solving skills that will help them manage and use information now and in the future.

The student's greatest ally in the research process is the classroom teacher. NHD supports teachers by providing instructional materials and through workshops at the state and national levels. Many teachers find that incorporating the NHD theme into their regular classroom curriculum encourages students to watch for examples of the theme and to identify connections in their study of history across time.

National History Day breathes life into the traditional history curriculum by engaging students and teachers in a hands-on and in-depth approach to studying the past. By focusing on a theme, students are introduced to a new organizational structure of learning history. Teachers are supported in introducing highly complex research strategies to students. When NHD is implemented in the classroom, students are involved in a life-changing learning experience.

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For more information go to www.nhd.org.



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PREFACE

Cathy Gorn, National History Day

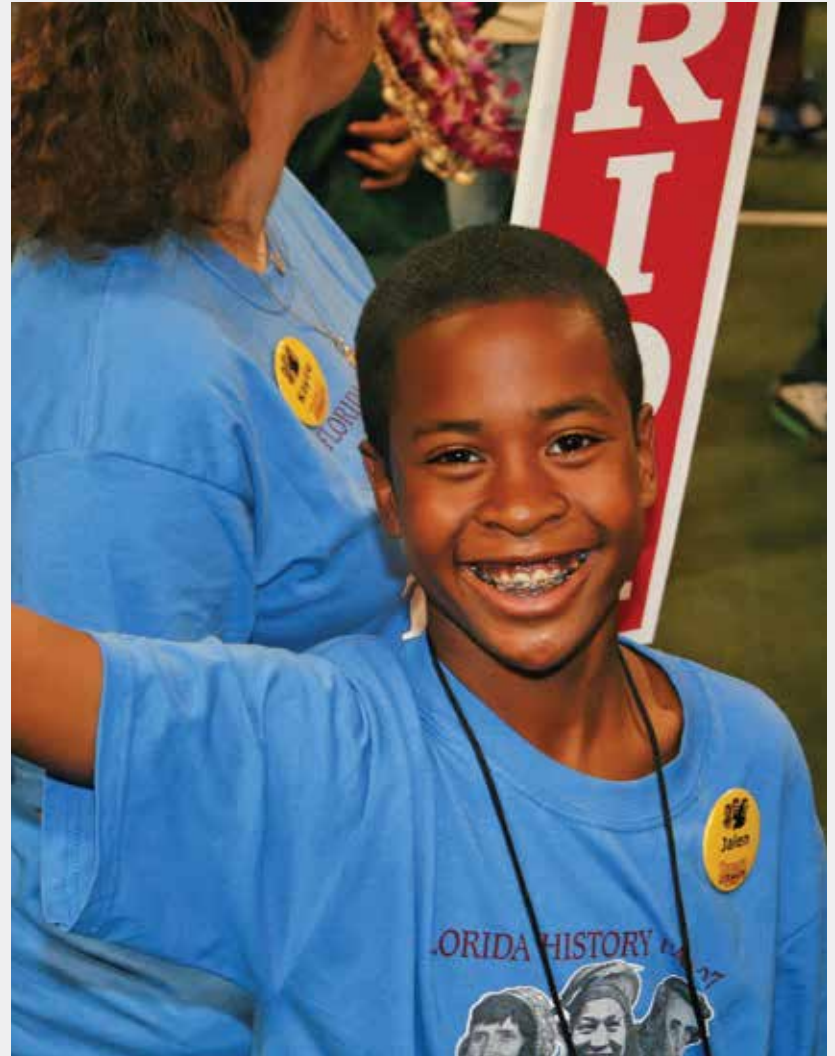
The inspiration for this book came from a recent survey of National History Day's (NHD) network of thousands of teachers in the US as well as those in Department of Defense and International Schools across the globe. We asked educators what materials might help them most in their teaching. Overwhelmingly, the response was a desire for instructional essays and sources related to international, foreign relations and world history. Current events are also of great interest in classrooms of all disciplines; students in environmental science, for instance, must learn its history on a global scale to fully understand the subject.

With that in mind, we partnered with the Longview Foundation to create a guide to help educators examine and teach United States History in global context. The essays within focus on topics, such as the American Revolution or Civil Rights, already in the classroom curriculum. They serve as a framework for thinking about US topics in a new way but without the burden of adding to the curriculum. (The essays include primary sources and suggestions for how to use them with students.)

I want to thank the Longview Foundation for World Affairs and International Understanding for its insight and understanding of history education and, of course, for its support of this project. I also am grateful to HISTORY (The History Channel) for providing additional support to NHD to make this book possible, as well as HISTORY's continued support to NHD every year. I am equally pleased to thank Josten's for printing yet another NHD teacher sourcebook for the classroom.

I also want to thank the contributors, design staff and, especially, Noralee Frankel and Mark Johnson, co-editors. In addition to their guidance, recruitment of authors, writing and editing, Mark and Noralee allowed me in on their thoughtful and provocative discussions that were intellectually stimulating and a lot of fun.

*An online version of this book and additional essays and primary materials are available at www.nhd.org/classroom.



INTRODUCTION

Peter N. Stearns, George Mason University

One of the important challenges — and, some would argue, opportunities — facing the United States today is its involvement in accelerating global connections. Interactions with developments in other parts of the world, and with international businesses and agencies, grow increasingly intricate, not only in economic or military spheres but in cultural and social areas as well. Some Americans are uncomfortable with globalization, fearing challenges to established values and local control, others are more enthusiastic. The common element, right now, is the centrality of the global environment.

It will hardly be a surprise to note that this situation is hardly brand new. The United States, and its colonial antecedents, were always part of a wider world. Americans and American society were partly shaped by influences from other places — including periodic surges of immigrants. They influenced other parts of the world in turn. They shared with other parts of the world, as well, a number of common trends. Contemporary globalization has some important new ingredients, and it's vital to trace these historically. But part of understanding current patterns, including the innovations involved, requires looking at the United States in a global environment over several centuries.

Putting American history in global perspective is a legitimate challenge to those who teach and study the subject. Increasingly, history packages in the United States include a fairly solid dose of world history, which helps provide a sense of global frameworks. But these same packages often include an American history course that is unconnected to this vital aspect of the teaching program.

Indeed — and this is an issue in many national history presentations, not just in the United States — the treatment of American history often emphasizes its substantial separateness from other regions, after due recognition of initial immigration from Europe and Africa. Much of the national story subsequently emerges as a set of internal initiatives — the development of American political institutions, culture, business, technology — with only occasional intrusions from the rest of the world. To the extent that many of the intrusions seem to take the form of outside threats or attacks, highlighted by periodic foreign wars, the sense of a largely independent national narrative is in some ways further confirmed.

In the American case this type of presentation is often formalized, sometimes explicitly, under the banners of the term “American exceptionalism.” The term was actually used in the 2012 presidential campaigns, which suggests that it has some loaded qualities. In history, American exceptionalists basically argue that the national story, though initially shaped by influences from other places, and particularly Europe, quickly became different, even unique, so that it must be captured through an internally focused vision. On top of this, many exceptionalists would go on to argue that the national story is not only distinct, but superior: The United States developed better institutions, values and styles of life than people elsewhere. An important part of the history mission becomes convincing students of the nature and size of the gap between our patterns and those elsewhere.

In this vein, many apparently global projects, particularly where some official sponsorship is involved, turn out to be predicated on the notion that the basic purpose of international study is to realize the special virtues of the American way. Global, in this approach, becomes at most a backdrop to a different form of national celebration.

The notion of a special national history, largely separate and unusually desirable, is hard to undo. And of course, it might be that studying global frameworks will confirm important ways where the United States has been different and better. The

first point to make is that American exceptionalism, unless it is to be taken simply as a matter of faith, requires careful comparative analysis. Only by showing how the United States did handle international influences and how its development matches up to other key cases in the world can one hope to demonstrate special national qualities. The point is that, even in opening opportunities intelligently to explore the exceptionalist case, actually changing the conventional framework of American history, toward serious inclusion of global perspectives, is going to be a tough assignment.

But tough does not mean impossible, and the importance of a more careful and connected American history lends real urgency to the effort. We can add some ingredients to the national history cake, rearrange some of the older ingredients, and come out with a tastier product. But it will take a lot of dedicated bakers.

And that's where this collection comes in. Encouraging interested and talented students, involved in the now-classic National History Day competition, to include more global possibilities in their choice of topics and style of analysis is a significant new step. The essay by Joan Ruddiman, which reminds us of some of the established research essentials of National History Day, makes the innovation clear: to sound research we now add the equally essential quality of global awareness. And her essay, and the one that follows by Noralee Frankel, additionally suggest that this global awareness can be applied to all sorts of specific History Day themes, whether terms like global or international are explicitly in the title or not. The Frankel essay indeed emphasizes the range of relevant topics, from biographies to diplomacy (obviously) to leisure patterns (how much, and why, have American leisure interests become so influential on a global scale?).

Appropriately, the following essays range over all sorts of specific topics. They don't pretend to cover everything — think of them as appetizers, not the full menu. But their variety already demonstrates how many different kinds

of subjects help explore the global context for American history. Immigration inevitably looms large, but there's also the chance to revisit staples like the Revolution, Civil War or Civil Rights Movement in global terms. But less familiar topics like disease also need a global framework, and even what might seem to be a purely domestic issue, the seizure of native lands, is not in fact a purely American phenomenon.

Collectively also, the essays illustrate essentially three ways that American history can be globally addressed — and of course several essays, incorporating at least two of the opportunities, also suggest how the three ways can be connected.

First, American history is frequently shaped — still today — by various forces that emanate from other parts of the world. These forces can bring disease, as in the essay by George Dehner. They can bring labor and new perspectives, as in the story of the origins and contributions of Chinese immigrants in Montana. They can bring new political ideas and constraints, as in the role of the cold war, foreign reactions, and Gandhi-like nonviolence in the American Civil Rights Movement. They can bring new forms of economic competition, as in the fascinating links between Salem, Massachusetts, and the economy of Colombia.

But second, American developments often have truly important international results, which become part of a broader world history but also need to be incorporated in the American picture itself. The American Revolution is a case in point, as it was viewed elsewhere as an example, or threat, and as it also disrupted established economic patterns. The story of the Civil War is in part a complex exploration of international influences, through the cotton trade among other things, but also global impact, as world cotton production was fundamentally transformed.

Third, of course, the American experience must be explored comparatively. Developments that seem purely domestic — where the main actors indeed are not consciously aware of foreign models — often turn out to be part of a larger global



dynamic. Whitney Howarth's essay shows how land seizures in the 19th century must be seen in terms of a larger pattern of expropriation; comparison may then reveal some significant national peculiarities, but it's the big picture — the more global picture — that first must be understood.

All three of the main approaches to reconsidering American history emphasize the importance of a global context. Shared context emphasizes how the causes of a change in the United States may flow from factors also influencing other societies; it stresses how American patterns may simply be part of a broader process, like an epidemic disease or a new method of protest; and it highlights how the results of American innovations may quickly become global in turn. Figuring out the balance between national initiatives and global context — for example, in explaining the directions and ultimate success of the Civil Rights Movement — raises some really challenging questions. And comparison — an analytical approach that needs more attention in history generally — always provides opportunities for fresh evaluations.

Globalizing American history may sound like a solemn task, and at one level — in terms of improving our understanding of ourselves through a fuller perspective — it is. But connecting Americans and American history to the wider world is also a real opportunity for discovery, whether the focus is on individual Americans who ventured abroad or on companies trying to figure out how to market to other cultures or on the mutual impacts of the American international tourist since World War II. The wider world is an interesting place, and for many history students it's going to be fun to explore the American experience in this context.



Teaching and Learning for the Real World

NHD EMBODIES AND FOSTERS 21ST CENTURY SKILLS AND COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS

Joan Ruddiman, Thomas R. Grover Middle School

As teachers, we stress to our students the importance of understanding *context*. We want young minds to recognize the catalysts that drive change. Yet do we question the rationales behind educational policies and precepts that impact our classrooms?

Several years ago, my school district embraced “The Competencies,” derived from “The Partnership for 21st Century Skills” (P21). This approach argues that to succeed as “effective citizens, workers and leaders,” our students need more than the basic skills long called the “3Rs,” which in today’s classrooms goes beyond “readin,’ writin’ and ‘rithmetic” to include content knowledge in science, history, language and the arts. P21 contends that to ensure success in the 21st century, students also need the “4Cs” — critical thinking and problem solving; communication,



collaboration; creativity and innovation.”¹ I immediately recognized this was not one more educational “flavor of the month,” but an idea that truly yields amazing results. I also knew that as one of thousands of teachers around the United States and now the world who do National History Day with middle- and high-school students, I had experience teaching these skills.

“The Competencies” are graduation outcomes centered on students’ learning and thinking behaviors.

- Information literate researcher
- Flexible and self-directed learner
- Innovative and practical problem solver
- Effective communicator
- Collaborative team member
- Globally aware, active and responsible student and citizen

The Real World Demands Education That Works

The movement away from content “skill and drill” curriculum toward creative, innovative thinking did not come from within education circles but rather from the working world. Businesses that hired graduates from even the best schools found too many of their young employees were not prepared for work in this economy. Though eager to succeed, bright college graduates hesitated to take the initiative and solve problems without direction. And though pleasant and respectful, they lacked the skills to communicate ideas effectively and to work collaboratively with colleagues.²

¹ Partnership for 21st Century Skills, <http://www.P21.org>

² <https://www.P21.org>



Recognizing the need to fully prepare American students for a challenging future in a global society, the National Governors Association (NGA) with the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) and supported by educators, prominent education, business and state leaders embarked on a state-led effort to establish a single set of clear educational standards.³ The Common Core Standards, released to the public in June of 2010, are designed to build upon the most advanced current thinking, including international benchmarking, in regards to preparing all students for success in college and their careers.⁴

We teachers need to recognize that the 21st Century Skills and the Common Core State Standards are not going away — nor should they! These skills and standards are what the real world of commerce and industry need and what education must provide.

Thinking for the 21st Century World

Business and education worldwide face the same challenges created by new global economies. They recognize that the watchwords in education are “creativity” and “innovation.” Governments in Europe, Asia and the U.S. attend to the ideas of education visionaries like Ken Kay and P21,⁵ Tony Wagner of Harvard, who

3 The NAG and CCSSO emphasize that the federal government had no role in development of the CCSS or in the implementation. “The CCSS Initiative is a state-led effort that is not part of No Child Left Behind and adoption of the standards is in no way mandatory.”

<http://www.corestandards.org/resources/frequently-asked-questions.pdf>

For a list of the consultants and supporters of the CCSS, go to <http://www.corestandards.org/assets/CoreFAQ.pdf>

4 <http://www.corestandards.org/assets/CoreFacts.pdf>

5 The Leader’s Guide to 21st Century Education — 7 Steps for Schools and Districts by Ken Kay and Valerie Greenhill (Pearson, 2012). Additional information regarding P21 by email and phone from Helen A. Soule, Ph.D., Interim Executive Director/Director of — State Partnerships for 21st Century Skills.

trumpets “redefining rigor,”⁶ and Sir Ken Robinson’s passionate promotion of developing creativity in education.⁷

China offers a prime example, as its government closely watches these educational developments. Though China has spent a lot on education in the past decade, and even though Chinese students tend to perform very well at international competitions, some experts in China express concern that their apparently efficient exam-oriented education system “curbs creativity.” As a result, one of China’s Five Principles in its National Education Development Plan (2010-2020) demands “carrying out reform and innovation.”⁸ China’s leaders realize that fully engaging in first-world nation building requires commitment to excellence in education. They, like many throughout the world, are looking at best practices that help students achieve success in school, but more important, in life.

National History Day Shows the Way

We NHD veterans are quite comfortable with these 21st century skills and Common Core State Standards, since our students engage in rigorous, robust research that they then share with audiences far beyond our classrooms. For me, building teaching and learning systems on The Competencies and the Common Core State Standards

6 Wagner co-directed Change Leadership Group at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. He is the author of *Creating Innovators: The Making of Young People Who Will Change the World* (Simon and Shuster, 2012) and *The Global Achievement Gap: Why Even Our Best Schools Don’t Teach the New Survival Skills Our Children Need — and What We Can Do About It* (Basic Books, 2008), which is being translated into Chinese. “Expecting Excellence” *Educational Leadership*, ASCD, Oct. 2008, Vol. 66 Number 02, pp 20-25 lists Wagner’s 7 essential skills that mirror the Competencies

7 <http://sirkenrobinson.com/skr/> Robinson’s books reflect the new wave in education: *Out of Our Minds: Learning to be Creative* (Capstone/Wiley, 2012) is celebrating its 10th anniversary with a new edition, and *The Element: How Finding Your Passion Changes Everything* (Penguin/Viking, 2009).

8 The other principles are prioritizing development, nurturing people as the starting point, promoting equity, and improving quality. “A road to education system reform,” Sally Thomas, *China Daily*, 11/5/2012 page

9 [Chinadaily.com.cn](http://chinadaily.com.cn)





makes perfect sense, since I have seen the depth of learning students demonstrate in developing their NHD projects. We also have data that affirms what we teachers have long recognized — students who participate in the program perform better than their peers who do not do NHD work.⁹

Let me take you through some basic lessons I share with both novice NHD students and teachers. With each I draw connections to The Competencies and CCSS, making a case for how NHD can activate teaching and learning skills needed for success in our 21st century world.

Competency: Information Literate Researcher

In a world that offers massive amounts of information, it is critical that we become smart consumers of what we read and hear. The most highly prized element in an NHD project is the research. Students not only have to find a wide array of sources — print, media, internet, interviews and more — but they also have to critically read and assess the value of those resources. Students must show that the entry is historically accurate and place the topic in historical context. And significantly, students must question their own perspective and recognize the inherent bias in all sources so they can present balanced research.

These skills are precisely what the Common Core State Standards expect of exiting high school students: “Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.”¹⁰

All NHD projects begin with a “report” that covers the basic facts of who did what, where and when. But these projects go far beyond a factual report, as students develop and then substantiate their thesis statement. The thesis essentially makes an

⁹ National Evaluation of National History Day. <http://www.nhd.org/NHDworks.htm>

¹⁰ CCSS-ELA-Literacy RH.11-12.9 among other standards for History/Social Studies literacy skills that emphasize critical reading and analysis. <http://www.corestandards.org/ELS.Literacy/RH/11-12>

argument about causality and answers the question, “So what?” What is significant? But developing a thesis — that one statement that “stakes the claim” — is a major challenge. The thesis, therefore, focuses the research as the research supports the thesis. This requires the level of sophisticated critical thinking and analysis suggested by the Common Core’s Literacy standards for reading history.

Competency: Flexible and Self-Directed Learner

Middle-school and high-school students can do remarkably well when they are liberated to pursue their own interests. NHD fosters intrinsic motivation. Students who have a zeal for a topic and the resulting dedication for doing rigorous work will thrive doing an NHD project. In the process they will experience the empowerment of being a self-directed learner.

What the world demands of our graduates is that they be autonomous readers, writers, thinkers — producers! The language of the Common Core State Standards reflects this goal in every element of the standards, repeatedly stating that “by the end of grade 12” students will demonstrate “independence and confidence.”¹¹

One aspect of being a self-directed/independent learner is making choices in not only what to study but how to present. Some students write a history paper, but these read more like a journal article than just a term paper. Writers have only 2500 words to capture the historical context, develop the thesis and make their case — with entertaining prose. The exhibit board is based on museum displays. With limited words, the exhibit board uses images and thoughtful design to integrate theme and thesis. Some students make a documentary film to convey the historical context, the development of the thesis, and the significance of the topic. Or students can convey their research and results dramatically in a live performance. Students design sets and backdrops, make costumes and hone dialects to engage the audience in emotional as well as intellectual themes. Websites, the latest addition to the presentation

11 www.corestandards.org/the-standards

categories, is the most interactive. In a society that relies increasingly on electronic communication, the website category demands students create engaging as well as informative pages to elaborate the thesis and theme. Respecting the protocols of website design, these products incorporate images, videos, interviews and a limited amount of text narrative to communicate the topic’s significance in history.

Just as these categories reflect the mediums used in the real world to share ideas and information, students also have the option to work alone or in a group. Teachers, too, can enjoy working in multiple mediums with their students, knowing that the Core Standards of “integration of knowledge and ideas” expects students to be able to “integrate and evaluate content presented in diverse formats and media, including visually and quantitatively as well as in words in order to address a question or solve a problem.”¹²

Competency: Innovative and Practical Problem Solver

Every aspect of creating an NHD project requires students to be creative thinkers and serious problem solvers, including what medium to work in and with whom. Unlike with many assigned classroom reports, teachers do not prescribe outcomes that must be met. But all NHD categories do have parameters — size, time, number of words — that are clearly spelled out in the rulebook. Staying within the parameters while addressing the overall theme demands innovative and practical problem solving.

NHDeers are thinking deeply every step of the way.

This approach raises the question: If NHD students are so self-directed, work

12 CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RI.11-12.7 One of several integration and evaluative skills addressed in the literacy standards. Moreover, under the Speaking and Listening standards, “Presentation of Knowledge and Ideas,” CCSS.ELA.Literacy.SL.11-12.4 and 5 specifically address presenting in “a style appropriate with purpose, audience, and range of formal and informal tasks,” as well as making “strategic use of digital media (e.g. textual, graphical, audio, visual, and interactive elements) in presentations to enhance understanding of findings, reasoning and evidence, and to add interest.”
<http://www.corestandards.org/ELS-Literacy/SL/11-12>



autonomously and are encouraged to be innovative and solve their own problems, what is the teacher's role? In the NHD process, we are facilitators. As such, we do teach necessary skills — like how to recognize primary and secondary sources. But once students internalize those lessons, we need to get out of their way so they can apply what they know. For example, it is not our job to find the sources for them, but we can discuss the merits of a source, helping students probe for deeper analysis with our questions seeking clarity. We help to keep them on track by asking those key questions — like “so what?”

For students to become innovative and practical problem solvers, they need space to make decisions — even if we don't agree. But this does not mean we are abdicating our responsibilities as teachers. Rather, we are closely adhering to the Common Core mission statement. If students are “fully prepared,” they are able to work independently of teachers or parents. Recall that the Core's standards throughout emphasize independence and confidence. NHD supports that the teacher is, as eminent educator Roger Taylor puts it, “the guide on the side.”



Competency: Effective Communicator

We know that the world needs — demands — strong communicators. As educators we actively engage students in reading, writing, listening and presenting skills as elaborated by the Common Core State Standards. But as a teacher, I find a difference between teaching to the standards that will be tested and facilitating authentic work that applies these vital skills. NHD projects build strong oral and written communication skills.¹³ NHD also provides a means for students to authentically communicate their work. The students present to a broader community in the real world, beginning with the contest judges.

Besides the product, students reveal their thinking through the process paper and annotated bibliography. The annotated bibliography conveys to the judges not only what sources were consulted but also an explanation of how sources were used and, also important, how a given source influenced the student's thinking.

After reviewing the NHD project, the judges interview the student writer or presenters. This opportunity for “defense” encourages students to elaborate on their work — and express their passion for their project. This truly is the ultimate in “authentic assessment,” as students themselves realize how much they know and can share about their topic.

No score on a test or report card grade can be as effective in shaping skills as the experience of having a panel of experts read, review and critique all elements of the project. Certainly, strong written and oral communication skills are needed to capture the breadth and significance of research and the resulting analysis and interpretation. Authentic assessment puts student work into the “real world...fully prepared for the future,” in the words of the Core's Mission Statement.

¹³ National Evaluation of National History Day. <http://www.nhd.org/NHDworks.htm>

Competency: Collaborative Team Member

You may recall the push for “cooperative” grouping that began in the 1980s. The idea is solid, though we continue to look for effective strategies. As teachers, we appreciate that collaboration is a key life skill.

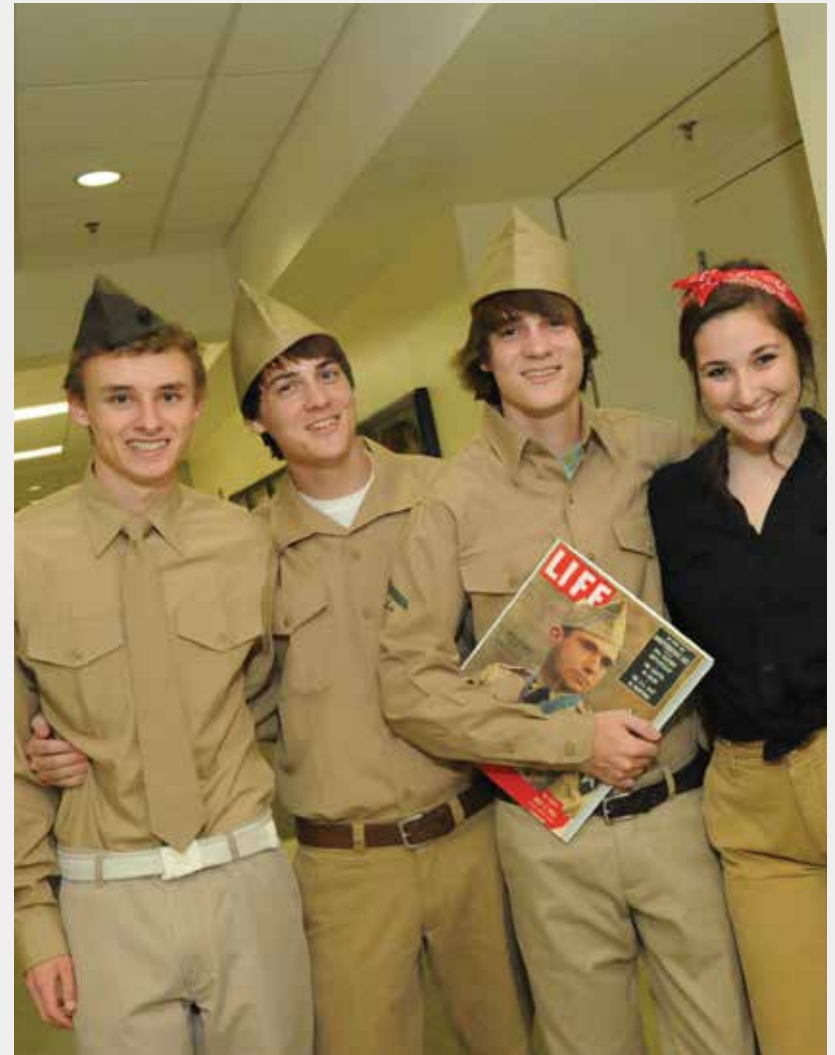
NHD supports collaborative team building through student interaction and work done by students with their teacher. Students who choose to work in a group must exercise strong collaboration skills. Teachers have a bag of tricks to build such skills, beginning with creating a positive classroom climate as well as specific lessons in communicating effectively. We also help students recognize and value their learning styles and specific talents, which then are used effectively for the good of the group.

But there is another interesting collaboration that occurs with NHD projects — that of the teacher and student. When students work with other students on a project, different perspectives — often strong opinions — force students to dig into their research to support their point of view and to articulate their position. This holds true as well for the student/teacher collaboration, as students learn to be open to constructive criticism and learn to stand by their creative decisions, even if the teacher has a different opinion.

The CCSS on Speaking and Listening skills expressly addresses the role of collaborative communication, noting that comprehension and collaboration in speaking and listening requires a “thoughtful, well-reasoned exchange of ideas.” Specifically, students should be able to “initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions...with diverse partners on topics, texts, and issues, building on others’ ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.”¹⁴

The collaborative relationships of students with students and students with the teacher are powerful models for students to experience.

¹⁴ CCSS.ELA-Literacy.SL.11-12 Ibid



Competency: Globally Aware, Active and Responsible Student and Citizen

Our lessons for our students are as concerned with the affective as with the academic domain. Fostering citizenship was an original and underlying objective of the NHD program. Students who pursue a topic from multiple angles — who attend to bias in sources, who consider the significance of the historical context, actively engage with thinking and learning that stimulates global awareness — are using the building blocks of good citizenship. The range of NHD topics encompasses all disciplines and all areas of the world. These projects speak volumes on how this program promotes global awareness. But it also fosters self-awareness that can lead students to understand how each one of us has the potential to positively impact our world.

I have seen the world come to a once rural farming community in the heart of New Jersey. The majority of the students in our school district speak more than one of over 80 languages and dialects. My district sees the final Competency as a positive outcome of all the others — to develop responsible citizens for their community and their world. The Common Core State Standards, which in their conception were internationally benchmarked,¹⁵ reflect the necessity that our students must be globally aware. The Introduction to the Standards states that students will “actively seek the wide, deep and thoughtful engagement with high quality literary and informational texts that build knowledge, enlarge experience, and broaden world views.” Moreover, students will “demonstrate the skills that are essential to both private deliberation and responsible citizenship in a democratic republic.”¹⁶

NHD, the Competencies and Core Standards: Perfect Together

We are fortunate that National History Day provides a framework and an outlet

¹⁵ “The standards will be informed by the content, rigor, and organization of standards of high performing countries so that all students are prepared for succeeding in our global economy and society.” <http://corestandards.org/assets/Criteria.pdf>

¹⁶ <http://www.corestandards.org>

for our students to develop and richly apply these competencies and standards. Students’ engagement with NHD projects and their sophisticated level of work move them to the world beyond their classrooms. NHD allows students to experience the exhilaration that comes from being innovative thinkers and producers. As their teachers, we hope these experiences help them realize they have the potential to change the world for the better — and the skills to do it.

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GLOBALIZING NATIONAL HISTORY DAY'S ANNUAL THEMES

Noralee Frankel, NHD Consultant

Recently, my friend posted on Facebook “Beans from Africa and New Guinea. Made in a French press with Italian roast. Which I drink out of china made in Japan.” His morning coffee routine was a wake-up to the realization that the United States is part of the world. Teachers of history are also waking up to the potency of finding the interconnections in U.S. history to the rest of the world.

This essay offers suggestions for how teachers and students might approach internationalizing National History Day themes. Historians internationalize U.S. history by discussing the impact of United States on other countries, the influence of events outside of the United States on the U.S. or by comparing the United States and other areas. National History Day understands the huge task that history teachers cope with in covering the content already prescribed, and the following suggestions, as much as possible, promote ideas already taught in the curriculum or used at National History Day contests. U.S. topics for the contest can also be compared to other countries’ approaches to the same subject.

Every year NHD creates a broad theme to help students focus their research and use their analytical thinking skills. Students can use the topics that this essay places under one theme for other themes. The examples under each theme often overlap with other themes.



Some NHD themes, such as **Migration and Movement**, lend themselves to internationalizing U.S. history. The topic of encounters of Europeans, Indians and Africans covers European exploration and settlement as well as the importation of Africans. Within an international context, historians discuss American Indians as separate nations, which explains why the U.S. government negotiated treaties with these groups. Immigrant populations brought their own cultures and traditions with them and added an international perspective to U.S. history.

As the essays in this teacher resource show, all NHD themes can potentially be analyzed in a global context. For each theme, NHD offers broad topics that deal with the role of foreign influence on the United States or the involvement of the United States on foreign countries in the past. Within each of these general topics, NHD has provided examples. Some are very specific and detailed; others are broader.

Please note that the NHD themes can overlap. Since the topics and examples can be used for different themes, some of the examples given here may appear repetitive.

The Individual in History

Individuals involved in U.S. foreign policy: Presidents, Secretaries of State, ambassadors, soldiers based in foreign countries.

Individuals who traveled outside the United States and how it changed them: writer Pearl Buck, settlement house founder Jane Addams, suffragist Alice Paul.

Individuals who have had an impact on other countries: Benjamin Franklin, author Henry David Thoreau, CEO of Coca Cola Roberto Goizueta, W.E. Deming, an authority on quality control.

Foreign-born individuals' contributions to the United States: writer Chinua Achebe; industrialist Andrew Carnegie; physicist Albert Einstein, military leader Marquis de Lafayette.



International collaborations: Nobel prize winners working in teams, individuals from the United States involved in non-governmental organizations (NGO), U.S. negotiators in other countries, such as Dennis Ross.

Trade & Industry in History

The search for resources as motivation for exploration in the New World: Columbus, Henry Hudson, the search for the Northwest Passage, the search for gold and other riches in the New World.

Internationalization of trade in which the United States participated: slave trade, foodstuffs, tobacco, medicines, oil.

Trade as motivation for U.S. expansion: Commodore Matthew C. Perry's trip to China, Latin American (such as banana production in Latin America).

Globalization of manufacturing: movement of the textile industry from Britain to the United States and from the United States to other countries, automobile industry, computer industry.

U.S. consumer culture and its interconnectedness with other cultures: food traditions, furniture design, clothing design, Euro Disney, Walkman.

Foreign exchange rates: gold standard, financial investment by the United States in other countries and foreign investment in the U.S. (such as the U.S. railroads in the 19th century), worldwide depressions and recessions, U.S. trade deficits and surpluses.

Impact of international trade on labor in the United States and in other countries: slave labor, child labor, sweatshop production, wages of workers worldwide.

Work & Leisure in History

Influence of immigrants from other countries on development of unions and

industrialization using models from other countries: craft unions, Molly Maguires, International Workers of the World, National Farm Workers Association, Werner von Braun and the aerospace industry, the wine industry.

Influence of other countries on U.S. leisure and vice versa: books and authors on tourism both to and from the U.S., movies and movie stars, Hello Kitty, video gaming, Anime.

Influence of other countries on U.S. sports and vice versa: the Olympics, baseball, soccer, hockey.

U.S. involvement with multi-national companies: Dutch East India Company, United Fruit Company, General Motors.

Labor performed by people from other countries and its influence on U.S. enterprises: slave peoples' impact on rice cultivation, migrant workers, building of the transcontinental railroad, immigrant stonemasons.

Internationalization of innovative technology for work and leisure: book printing, photography, transistors' impact on personal computers and media players, oil exploration, scientific research (space, exploration of Antarctica, ocean exploration, archeology, medical and genetic research).

Turning Points in History

Influence of political thinkers from the United States on other countries and non-U.S. thinkers on the U.S.: John Locke, Mahatma Gandhi, Thomas Jefferson, Martin Luther King.

How policies of other countries have influenced U.S. events: Civil War, Spanish American Wars, WWI, WWII, OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries), tariffs, embargoes, trade wars.

How other countries' culture influenced the U.S. and how the U.S. influences the culture of other countries: psychoanalysis impact on U.S. advertising in the 1920s, blues, jazz,



and rock-and-roll on European music and culture, blue jeans, French fashion industry, fast food industry.

The influence of U.S. reforms on other countries: The Declaration of Independence, The Constitution, Civil Rights Movement.

U.S. influence on technical innovations: standardization, computers, and the Internet.

The United States as a world power: attempt to annex Santo Domingo, Cuba, Philippines, annexation of Hawaii, Guam and Puerto Rico, South Korea, impact on world wars.

Family & Community in History

How immigrants to the United States influenced family life and communities through acculturation: customs and culture, food, small business, religion, fashion, family size, intermarriage.

Reactions to immigration and its influence on community: the Know-Nothing party, U.S. anti-Semitism, settlement houses, anti-Irish discrimination, Burlingame Treaty and the Chinese Exclusion, National Origins Act of 1924, 1919-1920, discrimination against Latinos, Hmong settlements, the Knights of Columbus.

The impact of wars on family and the home front: Indian removal, draft, new jobs for women, rationing, Japanese internment, Vietnam War protest, war casualties, GI Bill, medical innovations.

Triumph & Tragedy in History

The impact of the United States on wars: Mexican-American War, Spanish American War, World War I, World War II, Korean War, Vietnam War, etc.

The impact of the United States involvement post world wars: reconstruction of Europe after WWII, including the Marshall and Truman Plans, impact of dropping atomic

bombs, U.S. occupation of the Philippines, Atomic age, Cold War, Test Ban Treaty, impact on Communist countries.

U.S. treaties: Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, The Panama Canal Treaties.

U.S. invasions: Caribbean and Latin America, Canada, Near East.

The impact of private U.S. citizens on other countries: missionaries, Olympic participants, Doctors Without Borders, entertainers.

Pandemics: mad cow disease, swine flu, flu including Spanish influenza.

Conflict & Compromise in History

Other countries' influence on U.S. reforms: abolitionism, suffrage, workers' rights, anti-lynching.

The impact of the United States on other countries' rules of governance: Declaration of Independence, U.S. Constitution, Civil Rights Movement.



U.S. involvement in international conflicts and their conclusions: Yalta, Nuremberg War Crime Trials and Principles, divided Korea, U.S. post-WWII governance of Japan, Berlin Airlift, Berlin Wall.

U.S. involvement with international organizations: United Nations Peace-Keeping Missions, League of Nations, World Bank of International Development, International Monetary Fund, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Frontiers in History

The United States' expanding geographic borders: Mexican border, purchase of Alaska, statehood movement in Puerto Rico.

Multinational scientific activities: International Space Station, undersea research, international food safety standards, organic agricultural certification.

U.S. developments in productivity: industrial standardization (Henry Ford, E. Remington, Frederick Jackson Taylor, Frank and Lilith Gilbreth), Green Revolution, plant hybridization to increase yields.

U.S. spheres of influence: Monroe Doctrine, Manifest Destiny, Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy.

Science & Technology in History

How immigrants have influenced the United States: British influence on textile mills, immigrant scientists' role in atomic energy, the space race, and in medical advances, immigrant inventors.

How U.S. technology and advances in sciences have influenced the rest of the world: agricultural and medical innovation, internet and computer technology, training foreign scientists and doctors.



Communication in History

U.S. communication with other countries: Radio Free Europe, Radio Marti.

U.S. communication during wars: Navajo Code of WWII, American and Nazi Propaganda, care packages to soldiers and refugees, foreign correspondents, President Carter's communications at Camp David, Vietnam POW Communications.

U.S. civilian international communication: telegraph, U.S. sightseeing in other countries and foreign tourism to the U.S., ham radio, computers, social networking, movies, syndicated TV.

Immigrants' communication about their culture: settlement houses, ethnic societies, immigrant authors, Hmong History and Story Cloth.

Communication by other countries that had an impact on the United States: letters involved in the XYZ affair, the Zimmermann Telegram, Arab communication through the Camp David Accords, foreign lobbyists.

Revolution, Reaction, Reform in History

Impact of American Revolution: Boston Tea Party.

Ideas of reform from other countries and their influence on reform in the U.S.: immigrant involvement in labor issues and unions, growth of utopian communities in the 19th century.

U.S. technology's impact on wars: interchangeable parts in manufacturing guns, airplanes, atomic bomb.

Reaction to colonial expansion: King Phillip's War.

Innovation in History

Foreign art and architecture influence on the United States: Classical style, Gothic,

Victorian, Japanese influence at the turn of 19th century and 1920s, Modernists, African art.

Changes in U.S. technology in exporting food: refrigeration and the impact on importation of agricultural products, freeze-dried food, packaged food, canning, containerization.

Debate & Diplomacy in History

Diplomatic missions to foreign countries: Ben Franklin's trip to France, Charles Francis Adams to Britain, Roosevelt to Yalta, Nixon's 1972 visit to China, President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, U.S. ambassadors, U.S. military attachés, U.S. agricultural attachés.

Trade negotiations with other countries: Trade Agreement Act of 1934, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), Trade Expansion Act of 1962, NAFTA.

U.S. involvement in rights for war victims: Geneva Convention Treaties, Nuremberg War Crime Trials and Principles.

U.S. involvement in arms limitation: Treaty of Washington (1871), Hague Conventions, SALT Treaties.

Rights & Responsibilities in History

Colonial expression of political grievances: Declaration of Independence's impact on other countries.

U.S. Treaties: 1788 Fort Schuyler Treaty, Treaty of Paris, Jay Treaty, Native American Indian treaties.

Impact of people from other countries on U.S. struggle for civil rights and liberties: British abolitionists, anti-colonialists.

Religious freedom and immigration: Roger Williams, Quakers, Amish, Jews.



Foreign influence on the expansion of suffrage: British influence on U.S. women's suffrage, impact of U.S. expansion of suffrage to non-property owners.

Exploration, Encounter, Exchange in History

U.S. activities that expand peoples' understanding of both the U.S. and foreign countries: cultural exchange programs, Peace Corps, charities, international education activities.

Encounters with immigrant culture: Hull House, Henry Street Settlement, Italian-American Society, *Polish American Historical Association*, *Arab American Association*.

Encounters between Indians and Europeans: Columbian exchange, exploration of the United States.

U.S. encounters with other world powers: Barbary Coast pirates, U2 incident, attacks in the Gulf of Tonkin and the Resulting Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, Berlin Air Lift, Negotiation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Exchanges of popular culture: African influences on U.S. music, Beatles' influence on U.S. music, Latin American influence on jazz, U.S. blues influence on British popular music.

Taking a Stand in History

Civil Rights Movement's influence on other countries.

Taking a stand as a British colony: Sons of Liberty/Boston Tea Party, Battles of Lexington and Concord.

Taking a stand against foreign powers: Declaration of Independence, Monroe Doctrine, Battle of Normandy, The Cuban Missile Crisis, Berlin Air Lift.



U.S. citizens volunteering to fight in foreign conflicts: Alamo, the Lincoln Brigade, Mickey Marcus in Israel, Flying Tigers.

Conscientious objectors to U.S. involvement in wars: Quakers such as Steve Cary and Asa Watkins, Amish, Mennonites, pacifists such as Bill Sutherland and Bayard Rustin, Vietnam War objectors moving to Canada.

Taking a stand in foreign policy: Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, Eleanor Roosevelt and UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Isolationists during the 1920s and 1930s, Senator Charles Sumner's opposition to the Mexican War, Vietnam War protestors.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this essay, I mentioned my friend who described the international aspect of his morning coffee. He also wrote, "Not awake yet, but the world is taking care of me." National History Day can aid students' understanding of how the rest of world affects the United States. We hope the suggestions on globalizing the themes will be helpful. The annual themes are listed at: <http://www.nhd.org/annualtheme.htm> For more information about NHD, please go the website <http://www.nhd.org>.

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THE GLOBAL AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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To most Americans, the American Revolution's main significance lies in the internal history of the 13 British colonies that became the United States. Yet the revolution was also an international transformation of the first importance, affecting other parts of the British Empire as well as Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas. Although historians have long been aware of these consequences, especially as they touched Britain and Western Europe, the global dimensions of the revolution's history have only recently begun to attract sustained scholarly attention. Today, we know far more than we did even a decade ago about how the revolution affected slavery and the slave trade, about what the revolution looked like in Indian country, and about the implications for independence movements elsewhere. No less important, historians have begun paying closer attention to the United States' origins as a federation of independent states — a constitutionally plural system that functioned more like an international alliance between sovereign nations than a unitary nation state. Because they complicate and unsettle what we think we know, insights like this can be challenging to bring into the classroom. Doing so, however, is well worth the effort.

The revolution's global history can be divided into three related themes. The first is the *democratic example* that Americans set for other nations and people. This is the part of the revolution's wider history with which Americans today are most likely to be familiar — a history that aroused the sympathies of radicals and would-be reformers everywhere and that some hoped to follow. During the 1760s and 1770s, the colonists' objections to being taxed by a legislative body in which they were not represented had

a particular resonance for ordinary men and women in England, Scotland and Wales, many of whom also paid parliamentary taxes without having a vote for its members. For key groups in Britain — the nation's emerging working and middle classes, industrial cities like Birmingham and Manchester that were not represented in the House of Commons, and religious minorities of all faiths — the American Revolution, with its ringing endorsement of popular sovereignty, seemed to offer a viable counterpoint to a Parliament controlled by landed gentlemen and aristocrats. Sympathy for the revolution was widespread in Ireland as well, which had its own legislature but was also subject to George III's authority. During the Revolutionary War, Irish patriots coupled demands for broader representation at Dublin with a push for greater autonomy — if not complete independence — from Britain. In 1780, as France and Spain threatened to invade, the effects brought the governments of both kingdoms to verge of collapse. In what 20th-century historian Sir Herbert Butterfield called “the revolution that we escaped,” popular associations gathered across England to demand parliamentary reform, armed militias known as Volunteers threatened a coup d'état in Ireland, and anti-government (and anti-Catholic) crowds briefly gained the upper hand in London and stormed the Bank of England.¹

Because it mirrored the resistance of patriots in the colonies, the radicalism of America's “friends” in Britain and Ireland can be a good way to introduce students to the revolution's wider history. The same is true of the response of American sympathizers elsewhere. In Paris, enthusiasm was so widespread that Benjamin Franklin, who served as Congress's ambassador to France, became a kind of proto-rock star, memorialized in popular songs and poetry, feted with banquets, parties and balls, and depicted on consumer goods of all shapes and sizes, including plates, teacups, walking sticks and snuffboxes. Admirers in Europe and the Americas also paid the United States the ultimate compliment of imitation. During and immediately after the revolution, the Declaration of Independence and the new state constitutions were widely reprinted, both in English and in translation. When former slaves in the French West Indian colony of Saint-Domingue declared independence in 1804 and took the name Haiti, they

¹ Sir Herbert Butterfield, *George III, Lord North, and the People, 1779-80* (orig. publ., 1949; New York, 1968), vi.





French walking stick with Benjamin Franklin's fur cap on grip.

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proclaimed their new status with a document modeled closely on Thomas Jefferson's original, and other nations — and would-be nations — did the same. By the time of Jefferson's death on July 4, 1826, the list of countries with declarations based on the one that Congress had adopted 50 years before included Belgium, Venezuela, Bolivia, Argentina and Mexico. According to Thomas Pownall, the former British governor of Massachusetts, Americans did indeed seem to be the New World's "chosen people."²

Of course, not everyone thought that the revolution's democratic example was a good thing, let alone something that others should imitate. Following Louis XVI's alliance

² Thomas Pownall, *A Memorial Addressed to the Sovereigns of America* (London, 1783), 69.

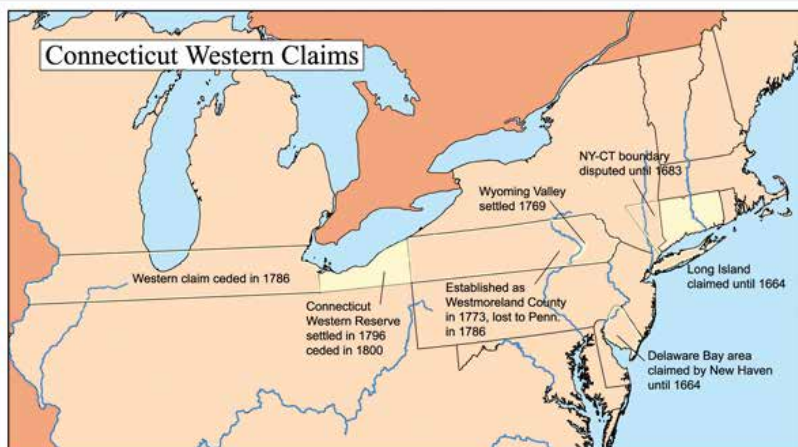
with Congress in 1778, conservatives in Europe and America warned — accurately, as it turned out — that the popular turmoil in Britain's colonies might eventually spread to France. In the words of Edward Gibbon, better known today for his history of the Roman Empire but who supported the North ministry during the Revolutionary War, the American Revolution was a "criminal enterprize" that threatened to topple legitimate governments everywhere.³ Although Spain entered the Revolutionary War as a de facto ally of the United States in 1779, Spaniards took a similar view, refusing to conclude a formal treaty of alliance because of the example that it might set for their own colonies. Spain also saw the United States as a potential rival, with territorial ambitions that included Florida, Texas and California. Americans, warned Juan Gassiot, a Spanish official in Sonora, Mexico, in 1783, were an "active, industrious, and aggressive" people.⁴ Thomas Jefferson, for one, predicted that the Union might someday include the entire Western Hemisphere. Even if the prediction turned out to be wrong, who could say where such unconstrained imaginings might lead?

The United States' character as a *nation among nations* is another theme that historians of the revolution emphasize with growing frequency. As Americans in 1776 knew, declaring independence from Britain was only a beginning. To claim what Jefferson's text called a place "among the powers of the earth," Americans would need the consent of other nations.⁵ George Washington, for one, was well aware of this fact, insisting that soldiers under his command treat British prisoners of war with the humanity that the European rules of war required and using that policy to underscore the United States' determination to be a good international citizen. Similar calculations helped strengthen the American movement to abolish slavery. This included the antislavery movement in slaveholding states like Virginia, which took the lead in outlawing the slave trade in 1776 and where many voiced

³ [Edward Gibbon], "The Justifying Memorial of the King of Great Britain," *The Annual Register*, 22 (London, 1780), 404.

⁴ Kieran McCarty (ed. and trans.), "The Sonoran Prophecy of 1783," *Journal of the Southwest*, 32, no. 3 (1990): 318.

⁵ The Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776), in Jack P. Greene, ed., *Colonies to Nation, 1763-1789: A Documentary History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1975), 298.



Connecticut's Western Claims, 1683-1800

Connecticut Western Claims by Karl Musser. Published by Wikipedia. Available under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.5 License © at <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ctwestclaims.png>

support for ending chattel servitude entirely. Noting the growing support for abolition in Britain and Europe, Luther Martin of Maryland claimed in 1788 that allowing slavery to continue in any form in the United States was bound to “appear to the world absurd and disgraceful.”⁶ When Pennsylvania ratified the Constitution, James Wilson said the same thing. Speaking of the clause that authorized Congress to abolish the slave trade (after a waiting period of two decades), Wilson claimed that there was no more “lovely part” of the new document, nor one more likely to appeal to “a benevolent and philanthropic European.”⁷ Words like these underscored slavery’s potential to tarnish the republic in the

⁶ Quoted in Gary B. Nash, *Race and Revolution* (Madison, Wisc., 1990), 142.

⁷ Kermit Hall and Mark David Hall, eds., *Collected Works of James Wilson*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis, 2007), 2: 241.

eyes of foreign observers, but they also remind us of the importance — up to a point — that Americans attached to what foreigners thought.

In seeking foreign recognition and approval, Americans also had to contend with the fact that the United States was not a “nation” in the conventional sense of the word. Although the Declaration of Independence referred to Americans as “one people,” the Articles of Confederation, which served as the union’s charter until the Constitution replaced it in 1789, made the United States look more like an international alliance or system of states, each with its own “people.”⁸ During the 1780s, it was by no means apparent that a union organized in this manner would survive, as the states jockeyed over competing claims to western land, as they enacted laws that discriminated against each other’s trade, and as they contemplated secession. Maps from the period — Hartford mapmaker Abel Buell’s *New and Correct Map of the United States* (1784), which assigns Connecticut a well-known “western reserve” extending from the Susquehanna River in central Pennsylvania to the Mississippi, is a good example — show how people at the time perceived these rivalries. In Vermont, which New York and New Hampshire both claimed, the inhabitants (See the figure on the left for a modern map of Connecticut’s “Western Reserve.”) responded by issuing their own declaration of independence and flirting with rejoining the British Empire. Settlers in western Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Tennessee, mindful that the cheapest way to get their produce to market was through New Orleans, pursued a similar course and kept channels open to the Spanish officials who controlled the Gulf Coast port. One was a Nashville planter and future president of the United States named Andrew Jackson, who traveled down the Mississippi River in 1789 and took an oath of allegiance to Spain’s Charles IV.

Although we do not usually think of the U.S. Constitution in this way, the delegates to the convention that gathered in Philadelphia in 1787 were keenly aware of both aspects of this international history. In particular, they believed that if the Union was

⁸ Declaration of Independence and The Articles of Confederation (March 1, 1781), Article IV, in Greene, ed., *Colonies to Nation*, 298, 429.



to gain the recognition of nations beyond its borders, the Constitution would have to place limits on its internal structure as a system of sovereign states, each with the capacity to act independently of what Congress and the other states were doing. With that goal in mind, the Constitution's framers gave the federal government most of the powers that Congress had lacked under the Articles of Confederation. These included the power to tax, the power to negotiate and enforce treaties, and — eventually — the power to abolish slavery. According to John Adams, the Articles forced Congress to act the part of a “diplomatic assembly,” not a legislature. Under the new Constitution, it was at last possible for “the United States....to unite their wills and forces as a single nation.”⁹ As even Britain would come to recognize, the change allowed Americans to take an important step toward becoming the responsible international actor that Congress had promised the world in 1776 they would be.

The third theme that historians increasingly stress is the “global disruption” that the revolution precipitated, with aftershocks that were felt from Nootka Sound in the Pacific Northwest to Honduras Bay, and from Africa to Australia. In an exodus that consisted of at least 60,000 British American men, women, and children (and possibly more), the Loyalists who left the territory of the United States during and immediately after the Revolutionary War were by far the most visible manifestation of this upheaval. Although we tend to think of the Loyalists as a wealthy, privileged group, most were neither. Quite a few were humble men and women like John and Mary Port Macklin, English-born tavern keepers whose dockside eatery in Charleston was seized by South Carolina magistrates after John refused to swear allegiance to the new state, and many thousands more were Indians and escaped slaves, both of whom served the crown in large numbers. In the war's aftermath, the largest group of exiles ended up in four of Britain's remaining colonies: Nova Scotia, the Bahamas, New Brunswick and Upper Canada (Ontario), the last two of which were founded as Loyalist sanctuaries after the war. Loyalists also moved to points as distant as India, Australia and West Africa, where African Americans who had served in the

9 John Adams, *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America*, 3 vols. (London, 1787-1788), 1: 362-364, 3: 505-506.

Revolutionary War founded Sierra Leone in 1787. Among their number was a Virginian named Harry Washington, who left New York in 1783 and built a plantation near Freetown that he called Mount Vernon in honor of his former master.

Because it partitioned what in 1776 had been the world's largest free trade area, the American Revolution also scrambled longstanding economic relationships. For American merchants who carried goods to and from the British West Indies and for British West Indians who depended on them, the end of the Revolutionary War was an especially heavy blow. In 1783, Britain refused to allow ships from the now-independent United States to resume trading with its island colonies, forcing people on both sides of the new international border to adapt. In the Pacific and Indian oceans, New Englanders did so with considerable success, freighting porcelain, tea and opium between destinations throughout Asia, and many also invested in whaling. At the same time, merchants based in the United States discovered new ways to access the Caribbean. Sometimes they formed partnerships with British and Loyalist firms, which allowed them to carry goods to and from British ports in British-flagged vessels. On other occasions, they “covered” (i.e., disguised) their cargo's true destination by stopping at the islands of other European powers, including France, Denmark and the Netherlands. Partly as a result of such schemes, Saint-Domingue became the United States' largest trading partner after the revolution, a status that the Adams administration recognized in 1798 by signing a commercial treaty with Toussaint Louverture, the former slave who was the French colony's de facto leader. By the early 19th century, the United States had the second largest merchant marine (after Britain) in the world.

The biggest disruption of all, though, was the creation of a new imperial power — an “empire of liberty,” as Jefferson called it¹⁰ — in a part of the world where Europeans had only lived as colonists. For most blacks and Indians, the revolution was an unmitigated disaster. In the treaties that ended the war, the United States acquired millions of acres of Indian land from Britain (as did Spain), doing so

10 Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815* (Oxford, 2009), 357.

without any mention of the native proprietors. Meanwhile, the Constitution left most decisions about slavery's fate in the hands of the states. Until the Civil War, the right to own slaves would be far more secure in Jefferson's Virginia than it was in the British West Indies, where Parliament abolished chattel servitude in 1834. Yet if the liberty that the United States had to offer was less than perfect, it was a liberty that people elsewhere admired and wanted for themselves, and that fact was also disruptive. In the decades following the revolution, tens of thousands of men, women and children from Britain, Ireland and northern Europe flocked to North America, helping turn the fledgling union of 1776 into a nation that could claim to be "among the first nations of the world," as Henry Clay boasted in 1819.¹¹ The United States' "very existence is an attack upon the monarchies of Europe," wrote the *North American Review* in 1823: "its policy condemns their ambition, their unnecessary wars, and their whole political system."¹² If the immigrants coming to the nation's shores were any indication, quite a few people agreed.

Whether the subject is the American republic's *democratic example*, its character as a *nation among nations*, or the *global disruption* that its founding caused, to teach the global history of the American Revolution is to teach a subject that defies easy answers and familiar categories of analysis. The nation whose founding document proclaimed to the world the "self-evident" truth that "all men are created equal" was also a nation that forced thousands of Loyal Americans into exile, that continued to dispossess Indians, and was one of the world's leading slaveholding powers. People elsewhere celebrated the revolution, but they feared it as well. If we want our students to understand what the American Revolution meant to people at the time, we need to convey this meaning in all its complexity. The result should be a fuller, more dynamic understanding both of the revolution itself and of how the America of 1776 became the America of today.

11 *Annals of Congress*, 15th Cong., 2d Sess. (1819), 640.

12 Quoted in Eliga H. Gould, *Among the Powers of the Earth: The American Revolution and the Making of a New World Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 2012), 213.

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Primary Source I: Price Reading

Richard Price, *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution, and the Means of Making it a Benefit to the World* (London, 1785; orig. publ., 1784), excerpts.

[T]here never existed a people on whose wisdom and virtue more depended; or to whom a station of more importance in the plan of Providence has been assigned. [Americans] have begun nobly. They have fought with success for themselves and for the world; and, in the midst of invasion and carnage, established forms of government favorable in the highest degree to the rights of mankind. — But they have much more to do....

Of the Means of promoting human Improvement and Happiness in the United States. — And first, of PUBLIC DEBTS.

[W]hat first requires the attention of the United States is the redemption of their debts, and making compensation to that army which has carried them



through the war. They have an infant credit to cherish and rear, which, if this is not done, must perish, and with it their character and honour for ever. Nor is it conceivable they should meet with any great difficulties in doing this. They have a vast resource peculiar to themselves, in a continent of un[al]located lands possessing every advantage of soil and climate. The settlement of these lands will be rapid, [and] the consequence....must be a rapid increase of their value. By disposing of them to the army and to emigrants, the greatest part of the debts of the United States may probably be sunk *immediately*. But had they no such resource, they are very capable of bearing taxes sufficient for the purpose of a gradual redemption....

....

Of PEACE, And the Means of perpetuating it.

Having....no external enemy to fear, [the United States] are in danger of fighting with one another. — This is their *greatest* danger; and providing securities against it is their *hardest* work. Should they fail in this, America may....be turned into a scene of blood; and instead of being the hope and refuge of the world, may become a terror to it.

[P]eace may be maintained between any number of confederated States; and.... by such means *universal* peace may be produced, and all war excluded from the world. — Why may we not hope to see this begun in America? — The articles of confederation make considerable advances towards it. When a dispute arises between any of the States, they order an appeal to Congress, — an enquiry by Congress, — a hearing, — and a decision. — But here they stop. — What is most...necessary is omitted. No provision is made for enforcing the decisions of Congress; and this renders them inefficient and futile...Without all doubt the powers of Congress must be enlarged....¹

....

Of LIBERTY.

THE next point I would insist on, as an object of supreme importance, is the establishment of such a system of perfect liberty, *religious* as well as *civil*, in America, as shall render it a country where truth and reason shall have fair play, and the human powers find full scope for exerting themselves, and for shewing how far they can carry human improvement.

The faculties of man have hitherto, in all countries, been more or less cramped... by tyrannical laws against heresy and schism, and by slavish hierarchies and religious establishments. It is above all things desirable that no such fetters on reason should be admitted into America. I observe, with inexpressible satisfaction, that at present [the American states] have no [established churches]. In this respect the governments of the United States are liberal to a degree that is unparalleled. They have the distinguished honour of being the first states under heaven in which forms of government have been established favourable to *universal* liberty....²

The liberty I mean includes in it liberty of conduct in all *civil* matters—liberty of discussion in all *speculative* matters—and liberty of conscience in all *religious* matters....

....

Of the NEGRO TRADE and SLAVERY.

THE NEGRO TRADE cannot be censured in language too severe. It is a traffic which...is shocking to humanity, cruel, wicked, and diabolical. I am happy to find that the united [*sic*] States are entering into measures for discountenancing it, and for abolishing the odious slavery which it has introduced. 'Till they have done this, it will not appear they deserve the liberty for which they have been contending.³ For it is self-evident, that if there are any men whom they have a

right to hold in slavery, there may be *others* who have had a right to hold *them* in slavery....I rejoice that on this occasion I can recommend to them the example of my own country. — In *Britain*, a *Negro* becomes a *freeman* the moment he sets his foot on *British* ground.

CONCLUSION.

SUCH is the advice which I would *humbly* (but *earnestly*) offer to the united States of *America*. — Such are the means by which they may become the seats of liberty, science, peace, and virtue; happy within themselves, and a refuge to the world.

. . . .

FOOTNOTES

- 1 According to the Price, the two powers that Congress needed were the power to levy taxes, which only state legislatures could do under the Articles of Confederation, and the power to call out the state militias. Price warned against creating a professional standing army, which he feared would deprive Americans of their liberty.
- 2 Price had his facts slightly wrong. In 1784, most states still had established churches; however, he was right that those establishments were weaker than in Europe. Following Virginia's lead, most states eventually enacted legislation that separated church and state.
- 3 Starting in 1776, Congress and the states took steps to end the African slave trade, and many states abolished slavery altogether. As Price notes, however, slavery remained legal in the states with the largest populations of enslaved African Americans.

Primary Source 2: Gassiot Reading

Juan Gassiot, "The Sonoran Prophecy of 1783," ed. and trans. Kieran McCarty, *Journal of the Southwest*, 32, No. 3 (1990): 316-320.

Commandancy General of Northern New Spain

Office of the Secretariat

Arizpe, Sonora

October 9, 1783

To the Commandant General, Don Felipe de Neve.

Dear Sir:

It would be well for us to consider that a new and independent power has now arisen on our continent. Its people are active, industrious, and aggressive. Once they are free of the war they have waged for so many years against their mother country — from which they have now succeeded in separating themselves, as well as from the ennobling influence of the same — these people, looking to the future, can lay aside the weapons they have carried for so long and return to their industrious genius for agriculture, the arts, and a commerce for the sake of which they shall extend their contacts as far as they can. Since the more progress they make along these lines, the less secure our own presence here becomes, it would be culpable negligence on our part not to take thoughtful, effective, and immediate steps to extend our territories and block their avenues of wealth in a way that will thwart their schemes for conquest.

If we fail to do this, Your Lordship will see that the inhabitants of those United States of America, attracted by the advantages for commerce offered by the Indian territory between their settlements (on the Eastern seaboard) and ours in Texas and New Mexico, will make frequent journeys into the intervening land, lure the natives to their side by trade, establish forts among them, perhaps even



subject them to their domination, and work their way all the way to the borders of our own lands, where we will finally have to block their passage — but only after they have gained the frightening advantage of more acquired territory and many allies.

If apprehension of the potential of the United States stirs us — as it should — to action and vigilance, we can anticipate their moves, expand our own borders, gain the good will of the Indians, and be the first to exploit the commercial and industrial potential of their lands. The land of the Taovayas has mines of silver and gold, that of the Comanches must have too, and all of their lands have furs and other resources which we can discover through competitive exploration.

We must awaken our interests in these matters now and not let our polity be lulled to sleep in the bosom of peace, which is precisely the most propitious time for precautionary measures against future events. One inch of advance toward our settlements by this new power should cause us the greatest concern.

Neither we nor they have taken possession of the vast expanse separating us. Thus a colonizing advance on their part of fifty or even a hundred leagues does not occur to us as a loss. As things are done today, nevertheless, in effect it is. By arguing some right by virtue of conquest or first occupancy, they will not only close the door to our advances into regions new to us, but with their gathering strength threaten also our supremacy over what we already have. Such a case may seem remote, but in light of the history of our mother continent similarly strange reversals would call for every possible precaution.

Their strength and ours should not be judged on the basis of the limited space their colonists occupy, as contrasted with the immensity of our present holdings. Their greater strength comes from their unity. This, in turn, results from their republican style of government, which has a great influence on each individual while the voice of the interests of the republic unifies and motivates them.

Their capacity to withstand internal revolts will surpass that of other peoples and, in truth, the same shall have to be said for their ability to initiate and carry out great undertakings. A Senate quick to congregate, anxious to deliberate for the best interests of its states, and which has at hand the means to realize its projects, should rightly place on alert our monarchical form of government, as here (on the northern frontier of New Spain) we must wait, not only for decisions but also for the means to carry them out, to come from more than 2,000 leagues [5,000 + miles] away.

Our spirit of aggrandizement, insatiable in the age of our conquistadors, is now a thing of the past — likewise our hunger for more land, *our territory already extends too far*. Our present goals must rather be to control what we already have, to acquire only those new lands that will serve as buffers and barriers against enemy encroachment, and to exercise a careful vigilance to keep pace with our neighbors lest their superiority encourage them to launch an invasion. These are the measures, then, that from this moment on we must take in counterpoint to the maneuvers of the United States of America.

Kissing your hand, I remain your most attentive and grateful servant,

Juan Gassiot

Teaching Guide to Primary Sources

Richard Price (1723-1791) was a Welsh-born Presbyterian minister who openly sympathized with the American and French revolutions. When he wrote his *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution* (1784), excerpted here, he already had an international reputation as one of Britain's leading radical thinkers. His pamphlet was widely reprinted in the United States. By contrast, almost nothing is known about **Juan Gassiot**, author of the second document. A senior official in the colonial Spanish administration of Northern New Spain (Mexico), Gassiot seems to have been especially active in diplomacy

with the Plains Indians during the 1770s and 1780s. In 1783, when he composed his thoughts about the “new and independent power that has arisen on our continent,” he had clearly been paying close attention to the momentous events on North America’s eastern seaboard.

Because the two texts take very different approaches to the revolution, they can help students grasp the multifaceted nature of historical analysis and interpretation. For most students, Price’s largely celebratory approach will probably feel more familiar, but it is not hard to see why a Spaniard in northern Mexico might take a very different view. The two texts are also, albeit in different ways, prophetic. Price’s warnings about the danger of war between the states seems to anticipate the sectional crisis that led to the American Civil War, while Gassiot already sensed that Texas, in particular, might someday become U.S. territory. Using these two predictions as examples, teachers might invite students to speculate about how far the study of history can be a guide to the future. It could also be worthwhile discussing things that the two writers failed to anticipate. Yet another theme that recurs in both documents is liberty. Although Price and Gassiot clearly admired the Americans for their commitment to liberty, they also had concerns. Students might be encouraged to think about ways in which one person’s liberty can be another person’s slavery — and, to pick up on another recurring theme, about how one person’s quest for peace can be the cause of someone else’s war. History is rarely a straightforward story, with all the good things clustered together on one side and all the bad on the other. The global history of the American Revolution is no exception.

Questions:

1. Although Price and Gassiot disagree over whether the American Revolution is an event to be welcomed or feared, both recognize achieving liberty as one of the revolution’s central objectives. How would you compare their views of the

American quest for liberty? Are there ways in which their observations are the same? Are there ways in which they differ?

2. Price hopes that the American Revolution will open the way for a new era of “universal peace,” and he thinks he sees a chance for war to be “excluded from the world.” Why does he think that? How do you think Gassiot would respond? Does Gassiot believe that Americans are a peaceful people?
3. According to Gassiot, republicanism has turned the United States into a formidable imperial power, one that is likely to be much stronger and more militarily effective than monarchies like Spain or, presumably, Britain. Do you think Price would agree with that assessment? When Price refers to the United States as an “empire,” does he mean the same thing as Gassiot?
4. Price mentions the continuance of African slavery as one of the United States’ gravest shortcomings, while Gassiot discusses the revolution’s implications for Native Americans. How would you expect blacks and Indians to respond to the issues that the two writers raise? Would they share Price’s optimism? Or would they be more likely to agree with Gassiot?
5. Price and Gassiot believe that the American Revolution has not only changed the British colonies that became the United States but has also transformed the world in which those colonies are situated. What changes does each writer attribute to the revolution? How would you compare the changes that they perceive?



Land, Labor and Loss

THE ROLE OF INDIGENOUS LAND RIGHTS IN 19TH-CENTURY NATION-STATE FORMATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AUSTRALIA AND INDIA

Whitney Howarth, Plymouth State University

In the field of world history, academics approach global narratives using methodologies that often embrace comparative analysis, identifying parallel patterns and similar processes across temporal and cultural boundaries. As educators, world historians frequently embrace thematic approaches to pedagogy that reflect methodologies emphasizing “the interactions among societies, search for patterns in historical developments across societies, and argue that attention to international context is essential in understanding any society.”¹ Students must value both approaches to be well-rounded historical thinkers. As educators we must encourage our students to define the categories, build the comparative charts and find ways to

¹ Robert Schaeffer, *The Internationalization of U.S. History: A Progress Report for World Historians*, *Journal of World History*, University of Hawaii Press (December 2009), 582.

inquire into the themes most essential to human history. Teaching students to ask *Global Essential Questions*, encourages higher level thinking that is open-ended, universal, timeless and driven by a spirit of inquiry. By teaching students to think thematically, across borders, we are empowering them to hone skills of cross-cultural inquiry and critical comparative analysis.

In this chapter, I’d like to suggest a particular theme for teaching a comparative approach: Indigenous Land Rights vs. the Power of the State. This theme opens up a topic of inquiry global in scale. It is also a theme that is essential to any American history classroom examining Western Expansion and “Manifest Destiny.” Put into global context, this theme is about the process of nation-state formation and does not promote an agenda of American exclusivism. While unique factors shaped the rhetoric, experience and consequences of Native American removal and resettlement in the United States’ national story, there are many factors that connect this story to the human experience. By starting with the more familiar story, the Indian Removal Act of 1830 signed by President Andrew Jackson, we can branch out from here to investigate two other parallel histories: British expansion into the Australian provinces of Victoria and New South Wales (1826 & 1834) and the British East India Company’s expansion into the Himalayan Hills of Darjeeling (1835).

In what ways were the 19th-century experiences of indigenous people in the American West, South East Australia and North East India common and in what ways were they, fundamentally, quite different? Who are the actors and agents in this story, and how do their perspectives from various standpoints shape our historical understanding of the nation-state in this period? As nation-states grew in size and world power, they sought greater resources, expanded into new territories, and developed technologies to “pacify” the indigenous resistance they encountered in the process. What instruments of power, such as treaties and codes of law, did elites fashion to do the work of such state building? Let’s begin with a Presidential Proclamation and see its impact.

The Trail of Tears: On May 28, 1830, U.S. President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act into law. This Act allowed him extraordinary powers over the lives of tens of thousands of Native American peoples, who would eventually be resettled from their homelands in the southern United States to federal territory west of the Mississippi River. The removal of vast populations of Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Muscogee-Creek and Seminole peoples from their lands resulted in massive suffering, exposure, disease, malnutrition, murder, starvation, violence and extortion. The U.S. government also engaged in direct warfare against select indigenous communities in response to organized resistance movements, and the U.S. military assisted in transferring the populations, which opened up over 25 million square acres of land for white settlement.



1903 photo of Betsy Brown Stephens, a Cherokee Indian who walked the Trail of Tears

Elizabeth "Betsy" Brown by Wikimedia user Lmaotru. Published by Wikimedia Commons, available under Public Domain at <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Stephens.jpg>

The forced removal of native people in the latter half of the 1830s was particularly brutal. The removal of thousands has become known as the "Trail of Tears" — and along with the stories of humiliation and loss, a legacy of hardship has continued for many of the descendants of those who survived the migration. Some native people relocated by choice, hoping to live a new life with dignity and freedom unfettered by southern laws that were often racist or restrictive to non-whites. Other natives were relocated violently, like the Cherokee of Georgia who were rounded up, whose property was destroyed and whose homes were burned, before they were marched

1,000 miles to Oklahoma without proper food, water or protection from the harsh climate. Resisters were hung or shot. Some chiefs tried to negotiate better conditions for their communities and petitioned for better land exchanges, but they were not always able to leverage political power, as the Indian "nations" were not deemed sovereign states (see the Supreme Court Case *Cherokee Nation v. George* 1831) with the same privileges other states could claim in international treaty negotiations.

The story of the Trail of Tears is often told as an isolated tale disconnected from broader global trends. While the Indian removal is a fundamental part of our national story, it was not an experience happening in isolation. As a familiar example of how governments utilized power and claimed land to craft the state in a period of expansion, it is a good place to start. The violent relocation of Indians during this period can be compared to that of forced aboriginal resettlement in Australia and tribal sedentarisation in the tea plantations of India. Given the tools, skills and materials to discover systemic parallels, students can take on the role of the historian-detective, formulating hypotheses and discovering evidence to strengthen their historical understanding.

Students might compare the language of the Indian Removal Act (1830) signed by Jackson authorizing the forced migrations to a document created by **Australian Governor Macquarie's Proclamation to the Aborigines**, dated May 4, 1816, which restricted the movements of native people and encouraged them to become productive, settled, agrarian producers [see attached excerpt on next page].

In what ways are these two legal orders similar in how they frame the necessity (or utility) of the policies they prescribe? What do these documents (one a legislative Act and one a Governor's Order) tell us about the role of the state in defining rights and protecting property? Both documents speak to the issues of "security" and "settlement" — in particular the importance of confining native people to specific places and encouraging their productive role in agriculture. In each context, the authority of the state to resettle populations and to mandate a sedentary way of life is unquestioned by executive power holders.

GOVERNOR MACQUARIE'S PROCLAMATION TO THE ABORIGINES

Dated May 4, 1816 (excerpt)

To prevent a recurrence of murders, robberies and depredations, as well as to protect the lives and properties of His Majesty's British subjects residing in the several settlements of this Territory, His Excellency **the Governor deems it his indispensable duty to prescribe certain Rules, Orders and Regulations to be observed by the natives**, and rigidly enforced and carried into effect by all Magistrates and Peace Officers in the Colony of New South Wales, and which are as follows:

First — That from and after the fourth day of June 1816, **no black native or body of black natives shall ever appear at or within one mile of any town, village or farm, occupied by, or belonging to any British Subject, armed with any warlike or offensive weapon or weapons of any description, such as spears, clubs, or waddies, on pain of being deemed and considered in a state of aggression and hostility, and treated accordingly.**

Second — **That no natives, exceeding in the whole six persons, being entirely unarmed, shall ever come to lurk or loiter about any farm in the interior, on the pain of being considered enemies, and treated accordingly.**

Third — That **the practice**, hitherto observed amongst the native tribes, of assembling in large bodies or parties armed, and of **fighting and attacking each other on the plea of inflicting punishments on transgressors of their own customs** and manners at or near Sydney, and other principal towns and settlements in the Colony, **shall be henceforth wholly abolished, as a barbarous custom repugnant to the British laws**, and strongly militating against the civilization of the natives, which is an object of the highest importance to effect, if possible. Any armed body of natives, therefore, who shall assemble for the foregoing purposes, either at Sydney or any of the other settlements of this Colony after the said fourth day of June 1816, shall be considered as **disturbers of the public peace** and shall be apprehended and punished in a summary manner accordingly. The black natives are therefore hereby enjoined and commanded to discontinue this barbarous custom, not only at and near the British settlements but also in their own wild and remote places of resort.

Fourth — That such of the **natives as may wish** to be considered under the protection of the British Government, and disposed to **conduct themselves in a peaceful, inoffensive and honest manner, shall be furnished with Passports or Certificates** to that effect, signed by the Governor, on their making application for the same at the Secretary's Office at Sydney, on the first Monday of every succeeding month; which **Certificates they will find will protect them from being injured or molested by any person**, so long as they do not carry or use offensive weapons, contrary to the tenor of this Proclamation.

The Governor, however, considers it equally a part of his public duty as a **counterbalance for the restriction** of not allowing them to go about the country armed to afford the black natives such means as are within his power to **enable them to obtain an honest and comfortable subsistence on their own labour and industry**. His Excellency therefore hereby proclaims and makes known to them that he shall always be **willing and ready to grant small portions of land, in suitable and convenient parts of the Colony**, to such of them as are inclined to **become regular settlers**, and such occasional assistance from government as may enable them to cultivate their farms: namely:

First — That they and their families shall be virtualled from the King's Stores for six months, from the time of their going to reside actually on their farms.

Secondly — That **they shall be furnished with the necessary agricultural tools**, and also with wheat, maize, and potatoes for seed, and

Thirdly — To each person of a family, one suit of slops and one colonial blanket from the king's Stores shall be given. But **these indulgencies will not be granted to any native, unless it shall appear that he is really inclined, and fully resolved to become a settler, and permanently to reside on such farm as may be assigned to him for the purpose of cultivating** the same for the support of himself and his family.

... continued...



Trugannini, 1866. Picture of Aboriginal Man. Museum at Devonport, Tasmania, Australia, 1866.

Trugannini 1866. Published by Wikipedia, available under Public Domain at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Trugannini_1866.jpg

guarantee that the resettled populations shall enjoy the “superintendence and care” of the President himself (if not the guarantee of actual rights on equal grounds with other U.S. citizens). Reading closely the language of these texts, students may compare the context of the American presidency, in this phase of national development, to the story of Australian colonization and its settlement in the context of the British Empire. Students familiar with how this region first developed as a penal colony, and later as a center for commercial farming, will be better equipped to analyze the role of the state and the racial policies that it adopted to maintain white settler dominance.

President Jackson emphasizes the state’s willingness to give aid and assistance to settlers to ensure their subsistence for the first year after their removal; Governor Macquarie stresses the state’s role in providing incentives to tribal peoples to seek long-term “comfortable subsistence on their own labor and industry.” Contextual differences are apparent when comparing these documents, too. Macquarie offers the aboriginal people who cooperate with the planned resettlement “Passports of Certificates” to legitimize their status within the new scheme; Jackson does not address the question of the resettled peoples legal status or citizenship. Jackson does, however, promise the Native Americans protection from “disturbance or interruption” from other nations or tribes. Furthermore, the language of the U.S. Act provides a somewhat paternalist

As the British Empire expanded into new territories in the early 19th-century, it was necessary for colonial administrators to find legal justification for their territorial ambitions. As the Macquarie Proclamation notes, concern with white settler safety in Australia (both safety of person and property) was of primary concern. Pacifying indigenous resistance was central to the project of the colonial state, and, in many parts of the Empire, this was a costly and time-consuming effort. Imperial authorities often found that it was easier (and less costly) to rule over a cooperative subject race of people who were settled, agrarian and unarmed. At least initially, in those British colonies where white settlers represented the minority population (as in South Africa, Kenya, India, Australia, etc.), the state had to proceed cautiously in enforcing policy that might spark an uprising. Whole-scale removal of native peoples to reservations, as was the case in the U.S. in the 1830s, was not possible in Australia in this period. The state did, however, utilize incentive schemes to encourage native cooperation and civil obedience, to restrict movement and to control “criminal behavior.”²

2 Some historians have noted that the British definitions of “criminal behavior” varied from context to context. In Australia during this period “Europeans made a sport of shooting kangaroos, thus destroying Koorie food sources; Koories were then imprisoned or shot for killing sheep to provide food for themselves.” (Walking Respectfully: Exploring Indigenous Culture and Reconciliation in Early Childhood Practice, A project by Early Childhood Australia, Victorian Branch 2008, p.8).



New South Wales, Australia, where the first Aboriginal Reserve was established by government authorities in 1826.

New South Wales in Australia by Wikimedia Commons user TUBS. Published by Wikipedia, available under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported License © available at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:New_South_Wales_in_Australia.svg



Within a decade of Governor Macquerie's arrival to Australia in 1809, the white immigrant population grew rapidly and so, too, did conflicts between settlers and aboriginal peoples. Such tensions prompted the state to introduce new policies restricting aboriginal movements and rights, and in 1826, 40 square kilometers of land south of Newcastle on the shores of Lake Macquarie (New South Wales, Australia) was assigned to the trustees of the London Missionary Society for use as an Aboriginal reserve. Other mission reserves were established by state grant in 1834 and in 1837. Aboriginal people were moved to these missions in great numbers, some by force, others voluntarily. Macquarie's efforts to secure land for white settler populations, at the expense of the indigenous populations, utilized strategies of statecraft that balanced force, coercion and persuasion. Missionaries helped win indigenous cooperation by providing social services, education and via conversion.

Both the American and Australian stories share similar experiences: smallpox, indigenous relocation, missionary education, gold rush migrations, immigrant influx, frontier pioneering, agricultural expansion, and the role of the state to define rights and citizenship during times of accelerated socio-economic change. Students can consider how Australian racial policy and questions of sovereignty were complicated by its colonial status within the British Empire (until 1901). They can also discuss how differences between a slave-based economy (U.S.) vs. an economy initially reliant about convict labor (Australia), shaped state policy decisions toward indigenous populations. In what ways did rapid industrialization, extensive cotton cultivation and connection to the Atlantic economy shape debates about land usage in the United States? How did British conceptions of race and assumptions about the inferiority of native peoples in other parts of the growing Empire (South Africa, Sudan, Afghanistan and India) shape debates about Aboriginal land rights in Australia? Macquarie had lived and served in the military on four continents, including North America during the War for Independence, so how might his experiences and worldview have shaped state policy?

A look at one final story that further explores the tensions between state expansion and indigenous land struggles will lend clarity to the issues raised in the American and Australian case studies. It also moves us closer to answering the larger essential question that arises in this study: *why did expanding states seeking to claim new territories and claim resources create policies that marginalized indigenous people and their land claims?*

For our final case, we go to the hills of Darjeeling. This story is set in northeast India, in the foothills of the Himalayas, on the boarder of Nepal and Tibet. In this case, we see policies that justified both territorial acquisition for economic purposes, and the political marginalization of those “inferior” people who inhabited coveted lands but did not share similar ideas as white power elites.

In 1835, the Raja of the Kingdom of Sikkim “gifted” the small hilly region of Darjeeling to the British East India Company in exchange for British troop support received when soldiers from the Kingdom of Nepal had overrun his state. In return for this gift of 138 square miles of icy mountain slope, the Raja received “one double barreled gun, one rifle, 20 yards of red-broad cloth, 2 pairs of shawl — one superior



Today, Darjeeling (noted here by the red diamond in the blue circle) is a district in the State of Sikkim, India.

Map of Nepal and Bhutan, from *Trapped by Inequality: Bhutanese Refugee Women in Nepal*. (Copyright sign) 2003 Human Rights Watch, September 2003. Available at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/09/23/trapped-inequality-0>

quality and the other of inferior quality,” and a small annual allowance from the East India company.³ Also as a result of this land transfer, thousands of peoples’ lives would be dramatically changed by the British occupation of this region and by the introduction of plantations dedicated to cultivating a small, leafy green stimulant already quite popular in Europe: tea.

The cultivation of tea began in northeast India in the regions of Assam and Darjeeling (Sikkim) less than a decade after the East India Company acquired these territories. This was largely due to the fact that the E.I.C. lost its trade monopoly over the Chinese tea trade in 1833, and as a result, British botanists sought an indigenous Indian bush that would satisfy the thirsts of a growing English middle class. To quench that thirst, “the first twelve chests of manufactured tea to be made from indigenous Assam leaf were shipped to London in 1838 and were sold at the London auctions.”⁴

As the number and size of British plantations in the area grew in the 1840s and 1850s, the British attempted to recruit laborers among the various indigenous people who inhabited the hill forests of India. However, strong resistance to such work came from the local tribal people, who were unaccustomed to such labor and who preferred a nomadic lifestyle, practicing shifting cultivation and forest foraging. Most of the indigenous people did not wish to receive wages to work long hours, under harsh conditions, plucking leaves, living on plantations. Outside laborers were thus imported. This resistance intensified as British planters began clear-cutting forests and stripping hillsides to create open land for tea estates. Conflicts over land with the indigenous people led to brutal British military interventions and also resulted in the annexation of more lands from local chiefs and rajas. Often rajas benefitted financially from such deals while their people suffered dislocation and loss.

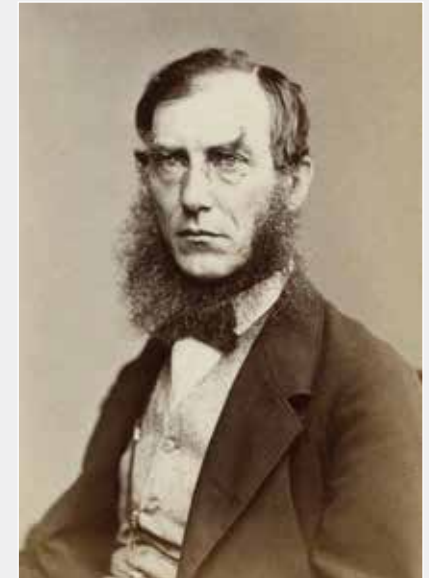
3 <http://darjeeling.gov.in/darj-hist.html> “Pre Independence” History Page, officially Darjeeling web page, Government of India, accessed January 4, 2013.

4 Piya Chatterjee, *A Time for Tea: Women, Labor, and Post/Colonial Politics on an Indian Plantation*. (Duke University Press, 2001), 55.

The population of Darjeeling boomed quickly as the British built roads through the mountain passes, established more nurseries, created housing for plantation laborers and encouraged settlers with land incentives. Early sources from British visitors to the region identified the local tribal people, the Lepcha in particular, as cooperative, timid and likely to make excellent plantation laborers (see attached document **“Hooker’s Thoughts on Lepcha”**).

Students examining the primary source by J. Hooker might be struck by the contradictions between the reality of tribal resistance and the impression this traveler had about the willingness of the Lepcha people to submit and serve. His 1848 comments do not hint at a future land struggle, as was to be the case. In fact, he seems to imply the Lepcha have great potential as plantation laborers due to their work ethic and cooperative nature. He sees these qualities as necessary for *progress* (see attached **“Hookers Thoughts on Lepcha”** on next page).

The Lepcha, and other less cooperative indigenous people who refused settlement or a life on the plantation as wage earners, were deemed criminal and hostile tribes by the British administration. Laws were put into place to monitor their movement and restrict their access to the land and its resources. The British saw the nomadic life as



Joseph Hooker, (1817-1911) British Botanist, surveyor, explorer

Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker by Henry Joseph Whitlock, Published by © National Portrait Gallery, London at www.npg.org.uk



SIR JOSEPH DALTON HOOKER

(1817 — 1911)

Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker was one of the greatest British **botanists** and **explorers** (Antarctica, India, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Ceylon, Morocco, Palestine, Syria and America) of the 19th century. Hooker was a founder of geographical botany and **Charles Darwin's** closest friend. He was Director of the **Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew**, for 20 years and the first European to collect plants in the Himalayans. He spent three years (1847-1851) on expedition, gathering botanical and geographical information for the British in northern India. His base was Darjeeling. He toured with British East India Company representative **Archibald Campbell**, who negotiated Hooker's admission to **Sikkim**, and together with Campbell was briefly taken prisoner by the Raja of Sikkim. This international incident sparked the Anglo-Sikkim War and prompted the British annexation of Darjeeling. He wrote "*Himalayan Journals, or notes of a naturalist, in Bengal, the Sikkim and Nepal Himalayas, Khasia Mountains ...*" (1854) and dedicated it to his friend and colleague, Charles Darwin.

Hooker's observation about the native inhabitants of Darjeeling, the tribal community, the Lepcha, who later refused to enter into bonded labor on the British tea estates, is interesting. The Lepcha rebelled, and their resistance efforts were violently repressed by British military action. Many fled the region, and their plantation labor was substituted by imported Nepali workers who were more cooperative. In this 1848 excerpt from Morris' book, Hooker seems to think Lepcha will make willing and helpful Empire builders:

"The Lepcha is the aboriginal inhabitants of Sikkim, and the prominent character in Darjeeling, where he takes all sorts of outer employment....They are of shorter stature—four feet eight inches to five feet; rather broad in the chest, and with muscular arms, but small hands and slender wrists. The face is broad, flat, and of eminently Tartar character, flat nosed, oblique-eyed, with no beard and a little moustache....In disposition they are **amiable and obliging, frank, humorous and polite, without the servility of the Hindus**; and their address is free and unconstrained.

Their intercourse with one another and with European is scrupulously honest; **a present is divided equally among many, without a syllable of discontent or grudging look or word**: each, on receiving his share, coming up and giving the donor a brusque bow and thanks....A more interesting and attractive companion than the Lepcha I never lived with: cheerful, kind and patient with a master to whom he is attached; **rude but not savage**, ignorant yet intelligent;... **Ever foremost in the forest or on the bleak mountain, and ever ready to help, to carry, collect or cook, they cheer on the traveller by their unostentatious zeal in his service, and are spurs to his progress.**"

From Morris, John (1938). *Living with Lepchas: A Book about the Sikkim Himalayas*. London: William Heinemann. P.34-35. Read more: <http://www.everyculture.com/South-Asia/Lepcha.html#ixzz2GsPQz5Gq>

unproductive and, to some extent, dangerous to a stable society. Shifting cultivation and other customary practices were unacceptable in a colonial context where cash-crops and agro-industry required a sedentary working population.⁵ "Colonial states

5 In Hill Stations, the "leisure principle" defined one end of the spectrum, the other being filled by the 'productivity principle' (p. 53, 189). See: Hill Stations: Pinnacles of the Raj, a review article by Dale Kennedy of Vinay Lal's monograph: *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj, Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*.

also tended to reject the idea that nomadic and transhumant communities should have the right to roam over more land than they were perceived to need or use; pressure was put upon them to settle down, cultivate, take up wage labour, and pay taxes."⁶ This process of sedentarisation and agrarianization, notes historian Sumit

6 Beinart, 120.

Guha, also supported British efforts to convert more woodland into farming areas, since “clearing forests meant greater central authority and military control of those regions which were deemed unstable by the British.”⁷ Laws were enacted that labeled uncultivated lands as “waste lands” and tribal people were removed from those areas which was then sold to “productive” planters.⁸

The British identified their efforts to pacify and settle the tribals as part of the “civilizing” process. By turning nomads into cultivators of the soil, they were encouraging European values like industry and private ownerships. Tribals, on the other hand, would have been keenly aware of the link between settlement and servitude. Tribal people had little recourse in criminal courts and were not well positioned to advocate for greater recognition of their rights in the civil courts.

Western notions of land rights were shaped by contemporary writings by political philosophers such as John Locke, Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, who all spoke about the meaning of property in a civilized society. To Jackson, Macquarie and the servants of the East India Company, *how* land was “used” determined who should and should not have the right to claim *ownership* of the land. Both in America and in the British Empire, expansionists felt that need to justify the acquisition of land and lay a legal foundation for its ownership. Land seizure, territorial annexation, forced removal of subject populations and coercive settlement schemes could all be legitimized by the Land Theory of Property. To contemporary advocates of the theory, rational ownership of land belonged to those who “labored” upon it, and in the context of the time labor meant agriculture (especially cash cropping). The Public vs. Private land debates raging in England in the mid-19th-century among Utilitarians and among those involved in the Enclosure Movement would have also informed the land debates in America, Australia and India. English peasants were being pushed off their land by landlords consolidating private property, just as the Native Americans were being removed, the aboriginals were

7 Sumit Guha, *Environment and Ethnicity In India 1200-1991*, (Cambridge University Press: 1999), 35.

8 Ibid., 163.

being settled, and the tribals of Darjeeling were being sent to farm. Cultivation and enclosure meant ownership. As such, the elites who advocated these policies were expanding their own authority and property in the process.⁹ By intensifying land usage through forestry and commercial cultivation, states felt they were “better utilizing” the resources and the land for the greater “public good.”¹⁰ These values were further reinforced by racist ideologies and by popular constructions of the “primitive” evolving at the time.

On the international stage, states were developing legal codes to define sovereignty and the limits of authority. Elites defining public policy developed new understandings of land ownership and utility. Indigenous people were pushed to the margins, and in response sometimes they resisted encroachment, at other times they adapted their lifestyles, and always they renegotiated their place in a shifting power system. Today these struggles still continue as states expand and vie for political and economic power. Cash crop cultivation and the acquisition of natural resources are still essential to the members of the global capitalist market. Today, marginalized people continue to struggle for their rights, their identity and their land, even as states like the U.S., Australia and India seek to reconcile the past, apologize for brutal wrongs committed and acknowledge the place of indigenous people in the evolving concept of the nation-state.

9 Gregory Allen Barton, *Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism* (Cambridge University Press: 2002), 19.

10 Ibid., 21.

The Indian Removal Act of 1830

[This was the Jackson-era legislation authorizing the president to transfer Eastern Indian tribes to the western territories promised (falsely) “in perpetuity.” The actual relocation culminated in the 1838 “Trail of Tears” forced march, one of the most shameful occurrences in the history of federal domestic policy.]

CHAP. CXLVIII.--An Act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That **it shall and may be lawful** for the President of the United States to **cause so much of any territory belonging to the United States, west of the river Mississippi**, not included in any state or organized territory, and to which the Indian title has been extinguished, as he may judge necessary, **to be divided into a suitable number of districts, for the reception of such tribes or nations of Indians as may choose to exchange the lands where they now reside, and remove there**; and to cause each of said districts to be so described by natural or artificial marks, as to be easily distinguished from every other.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to exchange any or all of such districts, so to be laid off and described, with any tribe or nation within the limits of any of the states or territories, and with which the United States have existing treaties, for the whole or any part or portion of the territory claimed and occupied by such tribe or nation, within the bounds of any one or more of the states or territories, where **the land claimed and occupied by the Indians, is owned by the United States, or the United States are bound to the state within which it lies to extinguish the Indian claim thereto.**

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That in the making of any such exchange or exchanges, it shall and may be lawful for the President solemnly to assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange is made, that **the United States will forever secure**

and guaranty to them, and their heirs or successors, the country so exchanged with them; and if they prefer it, that the United States will cause a patent or grant to be made and executed to them for the same: Provided always, That such **lands shall revert to the United States, if the Indians become extinct**, or abandon the same.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That if, upon any of the lands now occupied by the Indians, and to be exchanged for, there should be such improvements as add value to the land claimed by any individual or individuals of such tribes or nations, it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such value to be ascertained by appraisement or otherwise, and to cause such ascertained value to be paid to the person or persons rightfully claiming such improvements. And **upon the payment of such valuation, the improvements so valued and paid for, shall pass to the United States, and possession shall not afterwards be permitted to any of the same tribe.**

SEC. 5. And be it further enacted, That upon the making of any such exchange as is contemplated by this act, it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such aid and **assistance to be furnished to the emigrants** as may be necessary and proper to enable them to remove to, and settle in, the country for which they may have exchanged; and also, to give them **such aid and assistance as may be necessary for their support and subsistence for the first year after their removal.**

SEC. 6. And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such tribe or nation to be **protected, at their new residence, against all interruption or disturbance from any other tribe or nation of Indians, or from any other person or persons whatever.**

SEC. 7. And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the **President to have the same superintendence and care over any tribe or nation in the country to which they may remove**, as contemplated by this act, that he is now authorized to have over them at their present places of residence.

http://www.civics-online.org/library/formatted/texts/indian_act.html

“All the People”

EPIDEMIC DISEASES IN THE U.S. AND THE WORLD

George Dehner, Wichita State University

Introduction

On March 30, 2009, a 10-year-old boy took sick with a high fever, cough and vomiting. His concerned caregivers brought him to an outpatient clinic where his symptoms were treated, and he was sent home, making a full recovery within a week. Apparently this illness was just a common, ordinary affliction that sickens people every day. The clinic was nothing special either; just an outpatient facility in San Diego County similar to clinics and treatment centers than can be found in just about any town in the United States. This particular clinic was doing something unusual, however: it was enrolled in a pilot study to track and identify influenza-like illnesses.

Public health officials were concerned about influenza outbreaks and recognized that rapidly identifying new circulating strains allowed for quicker action to protect the public. Accordingly, the outpatient clinic gathered a sample from the child's throat and sent it to a laboratory for testing to see if it was an influenza strain. The tests were positive for influenza, but the specimen could not be matched to any one of the specific strains then circulating. The unidentified material was sent on to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), which had a much larger library of tests to identify influenza types.

The young boy's specimen was paired with another unidentified sample taken from a 9-year-old girl who had experienced a similar illness. Her sample was collected from an adjacent county enrolled in the same pilot study of identifying influenza-like illnesses. Although they did not know it, the children had contracted a novel type of influenza and were, in fact, the first identified cases of a new strain of influenza that would rapidly sweep around the globe. This new virus spread so rapidly that by June 11, 2009, Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO) Margaret Chan announced that “the world is now at the start of the 2009 influenza pandemic.”¹

Environmental historians often refer to the “unintended consequences” of human activity.

Infectious diseases are often cited as “exhibit A” of these unintended consequences. In the following pages, be alert for those events in human history that have led to disease transfer and amplification.

1 See George Dehner, *Global Flu and You: A History of Influenza* (Reaktion Press, 2012), 135-138; Chan quote is from 7.



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A monster representing an influenza virus hitting a man over the head as he sits in his armchair.

Pen and ink drawing by E. Noble, c. 1918.

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From Finding to Farming

Pandemic is from the Greek word *pan/demos*, which translates as “all the people,” and generally refers to a contagious illness that anyone can catch. Typically, it refers to a fast-moving infection that rapidly sweeps through a population. In the wake of these illnesses, the survivors are left with either permanent immunity or a strong resistance to reinfection. Since those who have undergone the affliction are highly unlikely to contract it again, the infectious agent continually needs new individuals to inhabit in order to maintain its chain of transmission. When the chain of infection breaks, the sweep of the pandemic ends. Therefore, fast-moving infections need a certain density of population to survive. Human interaction with invasive diseases is age-old, but it took a revolution to create the conditions suitable for sustained chains of infections that eventually come to be truly pandemic. That revolution is known as the Neolithic or Agricultural Revolution.

The Neolithic Revolution was a transformational process that changed the predominant living patterns of humans from small, mobile hunter-gather groups into settled, denser concentrations of farmers. The ability to store a surplus (whether as a seed in the granary or as milk and meat on the hoof) generated expanding populations. These settled groupings of people generated complex societies that scholars call “civilization.” These civilization centers—marked by increasing and dense populations, sophisticated religious, social and governmental organizations, and supporting creators of new technologies and knowledge that could be retained and transmitted to others—supplanted other groups and came to dominate the most habitable spaces of the planet. But this civilizational process had a dark side, including degradation of the environment, increased large-scale conflict with other civilization centers and squalid living conditions for closely packed populations. When people from the civilization centers encountered others, they swapped many things. Among the items exchanged included infectious diseases that had come to plague one population or the other. In terms of disease, this sharing of ailments was not an equal transaction; rather this transfer was a mostly one-way process, from the larger

population to the smaller. Historians refer to this unequal process as “McNeill’s Law,” and the diseases transferred are called epidemics.²

Epidemic, from the Greek *epi/demos* or “upon the people,” refers to the sudden appearance of an infectious agent in a population. The interaction of settled populations, whether through benign contact such as trade or travel, or less benign contact such as conflict or conquest, led to a comingling of the attributes of the civilizational center including the diseases that afflicted them. History is replete with accounts of the appearance of a sudden terrible illness that swept through peoples, striking down many. An even greater number of outbreaks large and small must have gone unrecorded or are lost to us today. Ancient chroniclers often transcribed descriptions of these disasters, but the symptoms discussed are so vague and general that it is difficult to reconstruct what these illnesses were. Their explanations for these diseases often relied upon the proclivities of angry gods, the workings of malevolent magicians, or the baleful effects of the environment or the stars. Occasionally, the descriptions from the past are so clear or the ailment so distinct that historians are able to identify this account as smallpox or that sickness as bubonic plague and so pinpoint the agents that prompted these catastrophic epidemics.

Although generally called “pandemics” when these widespread illnesses struck, these outbreaks are not, under the strictest definitions, pandemics because “all the people” are not at risk. To put the entire planet at risk for the same infectious disease, all the people on the globe must be in contact with one another. The process of knitting separate civilizations into one interconnected global whole required a new process, a process known as the Columbian Exchange.³

2 Named for the historian William McNeill, who explored this idea in his book *Plagues and Peoples*. See William McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York: Anchor Books Doubleday, 1976).

3 Term “Columbian Exchange” comes from the title of Alfred Crosby’s book *The Columbian Exchange*. He further investigated this concept in a later work titled *Ecological Imperialism*. See Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972) and Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge University Press, 1986).

The World Columbus Made

Historian Alfred Crosby coined the phrase “Columbian Exchange” to explain the biological and ecological changes set in motion by Christopher Columbus and those who followed him. Columbus, as Crosby so memorably termed it, had reknit the seams of Pangaea, creating one large interconnected world where previously there had been four or more. Initially just a thin thread, the expanding and accelerating trade and travel links between the Old World and the New created a superhighway of connections between the continents. Along this pathway moved beneficial things like new food crops (potatoes, corn) or new animal species (horses, pigs). But this pathway also facilitated the exchange of not-so-good things as well, such as weeds and pests and, most devastating of all, new diseases.

In terms of epidemic diseases at least, the connections brought about by European travelers and adventurers was a largely one-way road—McNeill’s law held true at the continent-wide scale as well as it had at the regional level. The larger, interconnected population mass of Eurasia transferred far more afflictions to the peoples of the Americas than were exchanged back to Eurasia and Africa. The process repeated when Australia and the Pacific islands were “discovered” by Europeans. Certified killers such as smallpox, measles, rubella and a litany of others were inadvertently unleashed on the unsuspecting populations of these “New Worlds.” A comparatively paltry number of illnesses traveled back to the Old World, with syphilis the most likely candidate for a deadly disease with a New World origin. The blending of populations and their disease burdens had tremendously devastating demographic costs to smaller populations brutally introduced into this larger interconnected world.

In the centuries that followed the famed “voyages of discovery,” a new revolution began to take shape and reorder the lives and living arrangements of people around the globe. In a complex, interdependent relationship, increasing populations, booming rates of urbanization and accelerating reliance upon industrial or factory production combined to create what historians call the “Industrial Revolution.” Industrialized societies were larger, more urbanized and far more closely linked with the far-reaches of the globe

through both their economic might (these states required access to more markets and more raw materials) and through their military might (expanding colonial and imperial reach to control far-away places). Faster, larger and more efficient transportation technologies were a key component of this industrial expansion.

Columbus and his followers had tied together the world, but the modes of transportation were comparatively slow (reliant upon occasionally fickle winds) and thinly populated

(there was a limit as to how many people could be crammed aboard these sailing ships). Remarkably, despite these limitations, nearly every major infectious agent had been shared among the world’s populations. But not all, for there were still some afflictions that either cycled too fast through susceptible populations or remained too centered in remote locations to be successfully transmitted globally. Worldwide spread of these infections required faster travel and/or more sustained contact between peoples. The modern, industrial world of the long 20th-century proved to be the means for rapid distribution of these hitherto localized diseases.

Into the Modern Era

In the 19th-century, breakneck industrialization and urbanization created an environment well-suited for the maintenance and distribution of infectious diseases.



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All forms of transport play their part in the transmission of the plague. Drawing by A.L. Tarter, 194-. By: Albert Lloyd Tarter

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Cities constituted demographic black holes, where the death toll far outstripped the number of births each year, largely as a result of deadly contagious diseases. But instead of shrinking, cities grew explosively due to a rapid and continual influx of migrants from rural areas. These urban areas were swollen with new populations often crowded in desperate circumstances, with disastrous sewage and sanitary facilities. In addition, these squalid areas were linked to other cities by the speedier transportation of steam-driven shipping and rail lines. Combined, these conditions represented the perfect setting for pandemic spread of novel illnesses. In the 19th-century an illness from the Indian subcontinent known as cholera exploited these new conditions, erupting into a number of pandemics that swept around the globe.

Cholera, a disease spread by fecal contamination of water and food sources, had been an ancient scourge of the Ganges River watershed for centuries. But the nature of the illness (the illness is debilitating and tears through a population very quickly) prevented it from escaping this population center and permanently spreading to neighboring peoples. It was steamship technology—that allowed for larger ship-borne populations and a faster journey—which facilitated cholera’s transference to the wider world. In a series of increasingly more rapid waves, cholera surged into pandemics in 1817, 1832, 1849, 1866 and 1881. The illness’s steady march around the planet prompted fear and dread in populations that could chart its progress through newspaper and telegraph coverage but had little understanding of its cause. [See attached primary source 1 “Analyzing Views on the Spread of Cholera”]

In studying the pattern of global cholera transmission, faster transportation is the key element aiding its spread. In the United States, medical officials watched as the condition struck the cities of Europe and tracked its arrival in U.S. cities and dispersal along the lines of sea and rail traffic. Cholera made it increasingly clear to U.S. officials that they needed to be alert to health concerns of other states, as what afflicted them would soon appear on their own shores. Further evidence of the interconnected state of the world came in the form of the so-called 1889 Russian flu (named for where it was first identified). This illness rapidly engulfed the globe, traveling from

east to west across Eurasia and then quickly radiating to all populations in a matter of weeks. Much like a splash reverberating back from the wall of a bathtub, the infection rebounded around the globe, revisiting communities a second and even a third time and generally striking those who had been spared in the pandemic’s first visit to a population. Russian flu demonstrated how interlinked the world had become infecting millions (perhaps 30 percent or more of the globe’s population) in just a few months.⁴

As a rule, influenza pandemics have a high morbidity rate (the number of people infected), but a low mortality rate (the percentage of people who contract the illness who die), and Russian flu was no different. Still, the sheer number of people attacked by the illness led to a high global total of victims, although how high is impossible to calculate. While disruptive, influenza pandemics are not devastating. But rules are made to be broken. In 1918 a powerful and deadly pandemic emerged, upending assumptions about influenza and demonstrating that all the peoples shared one world.

The spring of 1918 found the world deeply enmeshed in the titanic struggle known as the Great War. Although the battlefields were in Europe, all regions of the globe were touched by the incessant demands for men and materiel that the war occasioned. In the United States—a late entry into the conflict—military camps were bursting with troops hurriedly training for shipment to the Western Front. In the spring of 1918, a new respiratory infection appeared at an encampment in the Midwest (Camp Funston) attached to Fort Leavenworth in Kansas. Called “three-day fever” by the men, the illness struck rapidly, driving its victims to bed with fever, chills, body-aches and respiratory distress. Nearly everyone recovered in a few days. The illness, chalked up to influenza, traversed the continent and leapt across the ocean, infecting troops on both sides of the trenches — and soon thereafter civilian populations. By late summer it appeared that the infection was petering out. Appearances, however, can be deceiving.⁵

4 See George Dehner, *Influenza: A Century of Science and Public Health Response* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012).

5 See John Barry, *The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History* (Viking, 2004).

Pandemics:	Origin	Time to spread globally
Russian flu (1889)	Bukhara	6 months
Spanish flu 2 nd wave (1918)	Brest, Boston, Freetown	4 months
Asian flu (1957)	Southeast China	3 months
Hong Kong flu (1968)	Hong Kong	3 months
Bird flu (1997)	Hong Kong	abortive
Swine flu (2009)	Veracruz	2 months

Question: What factors account for the acceleration of influenza's global spread?

In late August the waning illness surged anew, erupting in a second, markedly more vicious wave of infection on three different continents (Brest, France (Eurasia); Freetown, Sierra Leone (Africa); and Boston, Massachusetts (North America)).⁶ In much the same way as the Russian flu, the infection raced along the transportation networks that linked the globe's population, ranging from the headwaters of the Gambia River in Africa to the frozen wastes of the Seward Peninsula in the Arctic. Within four months the virus touched every population on the planet.

In the United States, the infection sped out from Boston to cities along the east coast and quickly traveled overland to the west coast. The morbidity (or infection) rate was high for this influenza strain, dubbed Spanish flu, and the mortality rate was both higher (an estimated 25 times more deadly than a typical influenza pandemic) and unusual in that it struck heaviest on the youngest, most fit members of society. As was the case with Russian flu, the pandemic waves rebounded back around the planet in diminishing, but still deadly, second, third and even fourth waves. Ultimately, an estimated 675,000 Americans were killed by Spanish flu, which

⁶ See Alfred Crosby, *Epidemic and Peace, 1918* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976). subsequently reissued as *America's Forgotten Pandemic* (Cambridge University Press, 1989). See also Dehner, *Influenza*, 42-57.

was part of a global total estimated at between 40 and 50 million people. Such a staggeringly high total revealed how deadly a pandemic could be. [See attached primary source 2 “Analyzing the Spanish Flu”]

Curiously, amnesia ensued in the years following the pandemic, as its victims were rarely commemorated and the disaster received little official public recognition. In the decades that followed, breathtaking advances in public health, medical and scientific practices seemed to herald the end of epidemic disease. Programs of cleaning up the environment and procuring clean water, begun in the late 19th-century, achieved real improvement in the health of citizens. Vaccination, first in a national context and later as an international benefit, drove many previously deadly infections to increasingly lower levels. Such vaccination efforts culminated in the elimination of smallpox —the first infectious agent purposely extinguished by human agency. Miracle drugs such as antibiotics and highly effective medical technologies seemed to promise a new age: an age when not only pandemics but epidemic spread of disease could be permanently ended. But the agents of the natural world would not be vanquished so easily.

In retrospect, the hubristic nature of the belief that diseases could be controlled and even eradicated is obvious. Within a few years of the widespread use of antibiotics, strains of antibiotic-resistant bacteria appeared, rendering the treatment ineffective. The ensuing race between the development of new antibiotics and the evolution of new resistance was one that favored the fast-replicating bacteria. In addition, while the battle against smallpox had been won, there were signs that eliminating other infections may not be possible, as was demonstrated by the massive and ultimately failed effort at globally eradicating malaria. Thus it is no surprise that the late 20th- and early 21st-centuries were marked by resurgent pandemic infections.

Emergent Diseases

As we have seen, historically epidemics arise when a new, or newly reemerged, infection is introduced into a population. Two elements are responsible for this



transference. First was establishing a connection between previously separated regions, such as through trade, travel or conquest. Second has been the role of transportation, which allows for the rapid transference of an infectious agent from one population to another. As was true in the past, both elements played a role in the emergence of novel infections in the late 20th- and early 21st-centuries.

The most dramatic reassertion of pandemic vulnerabilities in the late 20th-century was the appearance of HIV/AIDS. The new, unknown and very deadly illness was first discovered infecting select populations in the urban areas of New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco. Initially incurable and untreatable, the illness generated great fear as the infection spread to all regions around the globe. In a rapid series of breakthroughs, medical researchers identified the causative agent, behaviors linked to contracting the infection, and treatment regimes, but despite these medical advances, HIV/AIDS remains a deadly killer that threatens populations around the globe to the present day.

Scientists determined the origins of the infection (an infection of primates in sub-Saharan Africa known as SIV is related to the ancestors of HIV), and estimate that the virus entered the human population sometime in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Transforming this sporadic isolated illness into a global killer required several steps in which transportation played a vital role. The long-distance trucking industry, and the sex trade that developed concurrent to this business, aided its spread in Africa. The global trade in blood products introduced the infection in those reliant upon life-saving clotting agents around the world. The speed and ease of jet travel linked communities both across the continent and across the oceans, leading to the ready transmission of the virus internationally. Combined, these elements helped to create a pandemic.

HIV/AIDS remains the most deadly of the late 20th- and early 21st-century pandemics (according to the WHO an estimated 30 million people have died from complications of HIV/AIDS since its discovery in 1981⁷), but other new and re-emergent infections have

7 U.S. Global Policy Health Sheet, available from www.kff.org/hiv/aids/upload/3030-17.pdf

also spread globally. Multi-drug resistant strains of tuberculosis, a longtime human killer, have continued to circulate, complicating effective treatment. In the early 21st-century a previously unknown illness called Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) materialized in South China. Inadvertently carried by infected travelers, the illness spread throughout Southeast Asia and as far as North America before the epidemic ended. Although the infection proved to be an abortive pandemic, its close connection to air travel underscored the potential global threat, and there is every reason to believe other pandemics may be faster yet.

Conclusion

Every day, millions of people board aircraft that rapidly whisk them to destinations far away. At the same time, large oceangoing vessels ply the seas, delivering goods and material across vast distances. Few if any nations are more firmly connected to this international system than the United States. We are now literally the close neighbors to every other place on earth, and if possible, these connections may get even tighter. In 1918 it took four months for the second killer wave of influenza to encircle the globe. In the 2009 Swine flu, the period from discovery to pandemic was just eight weeks.

We are all citizens of a global world, and there are many benefits that come from this close interconnection. But history informs us that this close linkage can facilitate bad effects as well as good ones, with pandemic disease topping this negative list. We cannot retreat from this global world, nor should we try. But it is wise to recall the threat of pandemic diseases. Now, more than ever, what affects my neighbor—and our neighborhood extends right around the globe—affects me as well.

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Primary Source I: Analyzing Views on the Spread of Cholera

Cholera presented a vexing problem for medical scientists of the day. It clearly was contagious, one could chart the outbreak as it reached each city, but the traditional method of quarantine, which proved so effective against plague, did not prevent its transfer. Also, the pattern of the infection in a community was confusing. The infection’s blow fell heaviest on the poorest population in town—lending credence to arguments that it only attacked the dissolute or sinful—but the illness could strike anyone at any time. Now of course we know it is contact with the infectious agent (a bacteria known as a vibrio) that prompts the illness. The poorer sections of town were the places where the water and sewage systems were most likely to be contaminated. **As a class, discuss the assumptions about health and disease displayed by each writer. How do they see the world? In addition, put yourself in this position: In a time before it was recognized that illness was caused by microscopic entities (known as the “germ theory” of disease), how would you explain the onset and spread of cholera?** (The sources below were accessed at

“Cholera Online: A Modern Pandemic in Texts and Images.” U.S National Library of Medicine. U.S. National Library of Medicine, <http://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/cholera/>.)

From Isaac Pidduck, *The Identity of the Asiatic, Russian, and English Cholera: Its Cause, Symptoms,*

Prevention, and Cure. London, 1831.

It is generally admitted, that the most powerful predisposing cause of every epidemic disease is mental dejection....

Instead, therefore, of alarming the public mind with fearful narratives of the malignant Cholera, and presenting the disease to the imagination in all the horrors of the Indio-Russian Epidemic, the public safety, resulting from a feeling of confidence, ought to have been consulted. The Cholera, as it has actually appeared in this country, should have been accurately described; the circumstances which might cause it to assume a more terrific character, should have been pointed out; and the mode of preventing the imminent danger should have been detailed.

Unhappily, the warning voice, which sounds the note of alarm, is heard, not by the intemperate and depraved, who are most liable to its ravages, but it is anxiously listened to by the weak and the timid, whose danger is great in proportion, as their terrors are excited and their hopes of security destroyed. Many instances have occurred of nervous persons being made seriously ill by reading the appalling accounts of malignant Cholera; of its contagious nature; the horrible sufferings attending it; and its almost uniformly speedy and fatal termination.

From George Stewart Hawthorne, *The True Pathological Nature of Cholera, and an Infallible Method of Treating It*, London, Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 1849.

The opinion that Cholera is not contagious has not, I am satisfied, been hastily adopted, but has been founded on extensive and acute observation. From my own



observation upon the disease, I had long since arrived at the same conclusion.

Quarantine restrictions never retarded the entrance of Cholera into any country for a single hour. They never did good, but always a great deal of mischief. They embarrassed commerce, and injuriously excited the fears and cramped the industry of the people. It will be a great blessing to the community, in case of another invasion of the disease, if the alarm of the people be not increased, and all the concomitant evils aggravated, by any unnecessary and useless precautions.

How the disease is propagated, and by what laws its progress from country to country is governed, are subjects involved in absolute mystery. It is pre-eminently “the pestilence that walketh in darkness.” All the phenomena, however, attending its former and present progress over the earth go to fortify the opinion, that it is not propagated by contagion. We find it starting up in many places simultaneously, leaving intermediate towns, even where the intervening traffic has been extensive, untouched. Its mode of travel has been unprecedented, and by its eccentricity, it has set all speculation as to the laws which regulate its course, at defiance.

In marking its present career towards us, a truly remarkable fact to be observed is, that it follows, as nearly as may be, precisely the same course as formerly; and, more remarkable still, it leaves untouched those places it formerly passed over. Altogether, it is the most abnormal scourge that ever swept our earth. Unsubjected to those laws which have been observed to mark or retard the course of other pestilences, it surpasses them all in the width of its range, and outstrips them in the destructive rapidity of its progress.

From Moses L. Knapp, *Discovery of the Cause, Nature, Cure, and Prevention of Epidemic Cholera*. Cincinnati, H.W. Derby, 1855.

Discarding all the hypothetical causes of Cholera that may have been offered, such as contagion; infection; epidemic influence; an imaginary entity, possessing the quality of portability; astral influence; malaria, or miasmata, (whether vegetable

fungi, or animalcules); teluric emanations; supernatural agency, called the displeasure of Providence, or the vengeance of God; I look only to known, natural causes of disease, or extreme impressions of the natural vital stimuli, for the cause of Cholera, and a rational explanation of all the phenomena it presents.

Deviations from a healthful standard, in the impression of the vital stimulus of food, or alimentation, constitute one class of causes of disease.

On this proposition I remark, that the natural law, governing man as an *omnivorous* animal, is as imperious as that which has ruled the ox, *herbivorous*, or the tiger *carnivorous*. Infractions of this law call for a penalty; and it is as much a violation of it to withhold all kinds, or a variety of animal and vegetable food and fruits from man, as to stall-feed an ox on meats, or to graze a tiger on clover.

Deviations from a healthful standard, in the impression of atmospheric air, constitute another class of causes of disease. On this proposition I venture the remark, that this source is most accused, but least at fault. Oxygen is tempered by nitrogen to a suitable medium standard for life and health, and the vegetable kingdom is continually absorbing its accidental impurities, and exchanging pure air: maintaining it in status quo, or at the healthful natural standard. It is impossible for more than merely confined localities to have an impure-air, and ventilation quickly corrects the evil. Deviations from a healthful standard, in the impression of heat, light and electricity, always united, so far as science reveals, constitute a third class of causes of disease: these second and third classes are called meteoric classes.

From Joseph Wallace, *Cholera: Its Causes and Cure*, J. Magill, Belfast, 1866.

It is well known that the predisposing causes to this disease are imprudent excesses in either eating or drinking — chiefly the latter — and uncleanness. Many people think that drinking strong alcohol helps to keep off attacks of Cholera, but such is not the fact; the statistics of Cholera in all countries and climates show clearly that the drunken patient is sure to succumb to the attack, whilst those who recover are

usually of the sober or temperate class, and not one in a hundred contracts Cholera who is habitually sober or temperate.

Dr. Forsayeth, in the *Medical Press and Circular*, of 23rd May, 1866, writing on Cholera, says — “A Russian physician states — ‘It is a positive fact that Cholera does not seize on its victims at hazard, as many say. It has been ascertained that out of every *hundred* individuals who die of this disease, *ninety* are in the habit of drinking ardent spirits to excess.’”

Mons. Huber, who saw 2,160 perish in twenty-one days of Cholera in one town in Russia, says — “It is a most remarkable circumstance that persons given to drinking have been swept away like flies. In Tiflis, containing 20,000 inhabitants, every drunkard has fallen — all are dead, not one remains.”

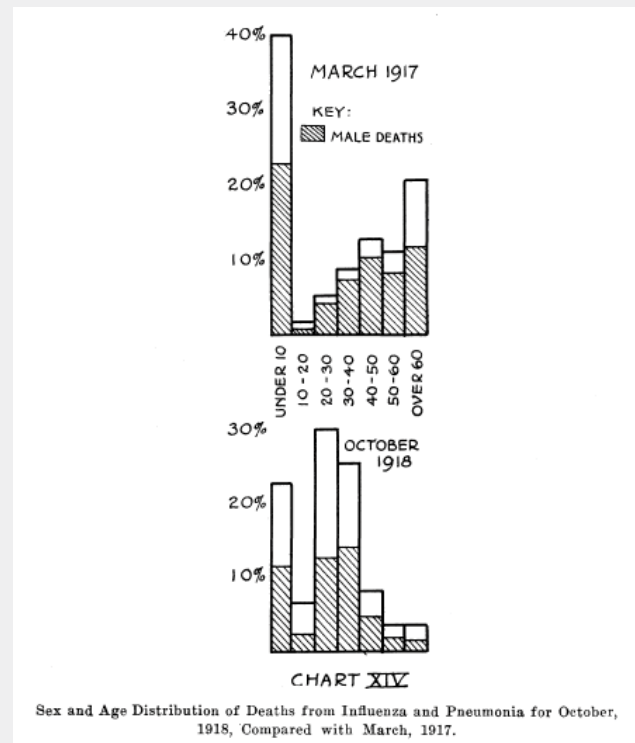
Dr. Rhinelander, visiting Montreal in 1832, states — “The victims of the Cholera are the intemperate.” A Montreal journal states — “That not a drunkard who had been attacked had recovered, and almost all the victims have been, at least, moderate drinkers.”

Dr. Bronsen, of Albany, states — “Drunkards and tipplers have been searched out by Cholera with such unerring certainty as to show that the arrows of death have not been dealt out with indiscrimination; there seems to be a natural affinity between Cholera and ardent spirits; and their habitual use, in the smallest quantity, seldom fails to invite the disease and render it incurable when it takes place.”

Primary Source 2: Analyzing the Spanish Flu

The following charts reveal the devastating impact of the Spanish flu both by the unprecedented number of victims from an influenza infection, the unusual nature of those who succumbed and how quickly the illness reached an epidemic peak in a community. **As a class, discuss what these numbers mean in terms of societal impact. What would it be like if suddenly a sizable portion of your community was stricken with the flu? What would happen to services, to government, to**

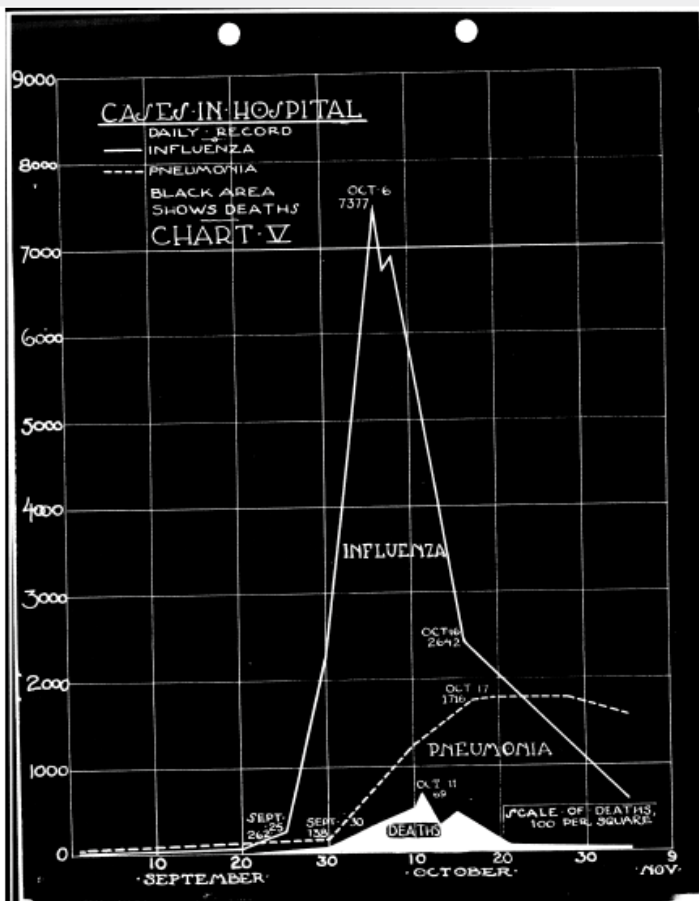
the economy, to you? In addition, discuss why Spanish flu’s morbidity and mortality pattern is more disruptive for a society than any other influenza pandemic and most other epidemic diseases.



Source: Report and Handbook of the Department of Health of the City of Chicago for Years 1911 to 1918 inclusive, *Influenza Encyclopedia: The American Influenza Epidemic of 1918*, A Digital Encyclopedia. University of Michigan, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/f/flu/index.html>.

“Chart XIV: Sex and Age Distribution of Deaths from Influenza and Pneumonia for October 1918, Compared with March 1917,” *American Influenza Epidemic of 1918 - 1919: A digital Encyclopedia*. <http://www.influenzaarchive.org>. June 6, 2013.





Source: Proceedings Of The Meeting Of Camp And Base Hospital Surgeons, Camp Zachary Taylor, Kentucky. Thursday, October 24, 1918, *Influenza Encyclopedia: The American Influenza Epidemic of 1918, A Digital Encyclopedia*. University of Michigan, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/f/flu/index.html>.

DEATH RATES DURING WEEKS OF HIGHEST INCIDENCE IN CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Week ended ...	Death Rates Per 1,000 Population Weeks of Maximum Death Rates				Nine Weeks Sept. 1 to Nov. 9	Excess of Deaths All Causes	Excess Population
	Oct. 5	Oct. 19	Oct. 26	Nov. 2			
New York—							
Influenza			2971		10255	....	....
Pneumonia			826		9192	....	....
All Causes			6783			20568	3.5
Death Rate			60.23				
Chicago—							
Influenza			1541		5045	....	....
Pneumonia			826		3230	....	....
All Causes			3137			8205	3.2
Death Rate			63.0				
Philadelphia—							
Influenza			2953		7842	....	....
Pneumonia			1644		4823	....	....
All Causes			5270			13065	7.4
Death Rate			156.01				
St. Louis—							
Influenza				170	643	....	....
Pneumonia				87	419	....	....
All Causes				426		815	1.0
Death Rate				28.48			
Boston—							
Influenza	989				3421	....	....
Pneumonia	225				934	....	....
All Causes	1476					4239	6.4
Death Rate	98.78						
Cleveland							
Influenza				529	1413	....	....
Pneumonia				153	485	....	....
All Causes				870		2018	2.8
Death Rates				63.98			
Detroit—							
Influenza				297	903	....	....
Pneumonia				208	863	....	....
All Causes				669		1632	2.6
Death Rate				54.63			
Baltimore—							
Influenza		564			1524	....	....
Pneumonia		793			2161	....	....
All Causes		1691				4022	6.7
Death Rate		147.03					
Pittsburgh							
Influenza				93	1022	....	....
Pneumonia				537	1376	....	....
All Causes				1132		2015	6.1
Death Rate				99.49			
Los Angeles							
Influenza				329	973	....	....
Pneumonia				53	241	....	....
All Causes				532		1171	2.1
Death Rates				49.23			

Deaths (except Detroit) as reported in U. S. Census Weekly. Population midyear 1918 as estimated by U. S. Bureau of the Census.

Source: Report and Handbook of the Department of Health of the City of Chicago for Years 1911 to 1918 inclusive, *Influenza Encyclopedia: The American Influenza Epidemic of 1918, A Digital Encyclopedia*. University of Michigan, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/f/flu/index.html>.

"Table XI: Death Rates During Weeks of Highest Incidence In Cities of the United States" *American Influenza Epidemic of 1918 - 1919: A digital Encyclopedia*. <http://www.influenzaarchive.org>, June 6, 2013.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

Ryan Campbell, British International School

“Cancel wager. I regard this mission as something finer than a matter of money.”

—Sergeant Bates

Imagine this: In 1872 Gilbert Bates, a former Sergeant of the Union army, began an epic 400 mile-march the length of Britain, bearing aloft the Stars and Stripes. He was on a mission to prove to his fellow Americans that the people of Great Britain bore them no ill feeling over the American Civil War.¹ Not only was Bates proven correct by the hero's welcome he received on his journey through Britain, but he inadvertently illustrated an aspect of the time period in question that is often overlooked at the secondary level.² Namely, that the American Civil War should be considered with a more global lens than national history alone provides. Bates then begins our inquiry into the question “To what extent was the American Civil War a world war?”

This article has three major aims. The first is to show a way of teaching an inquiry-based approach that will both provide a model for the students and suggest pedagogical tools to develop a sophisticated understanding of the inquiry-led learning process. The second is to show a way students can develop a strong grasp

¹ Bates' mission to England was similar in spirit to his earlier trek across the southern states carrying the stars and stripes. Despite initial public skepticism (including from writer Mark Twain), this earlier walk was also a resounding success.

² And perhaps not only at secondary level, see Professor Brian Holden Reid's closing remarks in his review of 'God Cannot Afford To Do Without America': What Was the American Civil War About?, (review no. 1320). URL: <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1320> Date accessed: 12 January, 2013.

of the underlying issues and skills involved in “doing history,” such as thinking critically about sources. The third, and most overt, is to help students develop a conceptual understanding and sense of the time period in question through examining primary and secondary sources. Tying these three aims together is a focus on the work of academic historian Sven Beckert whose work links the American Civil War to global historical trends. The activities suggested throughout this article are flexible and can be adapted for homework assignments, as well as solo, pair or group work.

The Importance of Inquiry

In introducing an inquiry-led approach, it is useful at this stage to quote history teaching guru Ian Dawson at some length on the importance of this approach:

“The essence of [inquiry] learning is about problem-solving, independent and team-driven research, identifying relevant evidence and evaluating its reliability, moving from tentative to firmer conclusions on the basis of that evidence and finally reaching a judgement and knowing how certain that judgement is, balancing the arguments for and against....and developed in History in the most important context of all, the actions and motives of real, individual people.”³

Dawson also makes the point that these skills are transferable to other areas.⁴ It is these attributes, above all others, which make history and student-led research not only relevant, but increasingly so. Driven by the Internet revolution, information sources are proliferating at an exponential rate. It therefore follows that the ability to critically examine source material becomes an essential transferable career skill to

³ Dawson I. Developing Enquiry Skills <http://www.thinkinghistory.co.uk/EnquirySkill/downloads/DevelopEnquirySkills.pdf> found on www.thinkinghistory.co.uk last accessed 01/12/12.

⁴ Ibid., pg 3.

develop at the secondary level. The pedagogical tools for developing and mastering these inquiry skills are what we shall discuss next.

Inquiry Questions

Inquiries must begin with a broad area of study, in our case, the American Civil War as an event in world rather than national history. As modeled in our introduction, we shall give shape and focus by utilizing a research question. This is not quite as straightforward as it appears, as secondary students often have problems formulating a good inquiry question. One solution to this is to give the students a checklist of success criteria to judge questions against. Then it is important to practice by assessing our chosen inquiry question, “To what extent was the Civil War a World War?” against the criteria. This in turn naturally leads the students toward constructing their own research questions and assessing each other’s. Here is an example criteria checklist:⁵

Level	Inquiry Question	Example
1	Vague/Not in question form	The American Civil War as a world war.
2	Question form but overly general	How did the American Civil War change the world?
3	Question form but too ambitious and broad for secondary level	To what extent were impacts from the American Civil War responsible for later developments in world history?
4	Question is clearly constructed and achievable	To what extent did the King Cotton strategy shape Southern relations with Great Britain during the American Civil War?

By the end of this process, the students should have both an awareness of how to judge inquiry questions and a beginning ability to craft their own. As we delve deeper into the global aspects of the Civil War, students can pick up areas they

⁵ This approach to developing good inquiry questions is derived from an idea developed in conversation with colleague Stefan Merchant.

are particularly interested in, construct their own inquiry questions and explore particular aspects arising from the source material. Having established the background, we will now use it as a springboard into our main investigation.

Why Did King Cotton Fail?

As an illustration of the thinking behind the South’s “King Cotton” strategy, the following extract from Senator James Hammond’s famous speech is one example of a primary source:

*“Without firing a gun, without drawing a sword, should they make war on us, we could bring the whole world to our feet...What would happen if no cotton was furnished for three years?...England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her save the South. No, you dare not to make war on cotton. No power on the earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is King.”*⁶

Students are then asked if there are any aspects to the speech and the strategic thinking underlying it that suggest that the Civil War should be seen as a global event. Student thinking is likely to be at the beginning stage, but will naturally open the pedagogical door to linking the insights from the source by revising the initial inquiry questions. Some of the revised questions may target the extent of foreign involvement in the Civil War, reasons why and when Northern relations with the British were put under pressure, what role the King Cotton strategy played in guiding Southern policy decisions and — of particular relevance to our investigation — how and why the King Cotton strategy failed.

For an answer to the last question, we will pair Hammond’s speech with the work of academic historian Sven Beckert and draw the strands of our investigation together.

⁶ The full text of Hammond’s speech is available online in various locations such as http://www.sewanee.edu/faculty/willis/Civil_War/documents/HammondCotton.html.

For Beckert, the American Civil War is of immense significance because the blockade of the South physically prevented Southern plantation owners from selling their produce on world markets.⁷ This embargo forced the nations such as Britain, which depended on Southern cotton, to spearhead measures to open up new areas around the world for cotton cultivation, radically altering not just these countries but the entire global economy. Beckert argues that Britain achieved this by merging the new areas into the global network of capital flows. Beckert employs a sophisticated and tightly supported line of argument that, while aimed well above high-school level, can be broken down in a manner which will not only make the material accessible but will also serve as a model for developing student skills.

Beckert's Thesis



We will now ask students to examine Beckert's arguments as to why the King Cotton strategy failed. The list below can easily be cut up, given to the students and then rearranged to construct Beckert's line of argument.

⁷ Beckert S. Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War. *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 109, No. 5 (December 2004), pp. 1405-1438. The University of Chicago Press on behalf of the American Historical Association Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/530931> last accessed: 24/09/2011 01:37.

Beckert's Arguments

Prior to 1861, most of the world supply of raw cotton was produced by southern plantation slaves
Slave emancipation led to the growth of direct imperial control over Asia and Africa and indirect control over cotton farmers in other parts of the world
After the blockade removed southern cotton from global markets, manufacturers were forced to look elsewhere for a cheap supply
The war transformed the ways people and places were involved in the growing, trading, manufacturing and consuming of cotton
This led to a new global empire of cotton that stretched worldwide

By now, students should be coming up with some beginning ideas about the global nature of the American Civil War. Stronger students may even begin to look critically at Beckert's arguments and start to ask what supporting evidence he has. We will discuss this shortly when we look at the concept of historical significance, but for our immediate next step we will introduce a way of further developing the range and complexity of student thinking.

Sophisticating Thinking

Taxonomies are a superbly effective and time-honored tool for advancing student thinking. An excellent, user-friendly way of developing conceptual understanding is the SOLO taxonomy. While most teachers are more familiar with Blooms' Taxonomy, SOLO is well worth investigating and adding to your pedagogical toolbox. SOLO, which stands for Structure of the Observed Learning Outcome, works by guiding the students through progressively more sophisticated thinking.⁸ Here is how it looks when applied to Beckert's work:

⁸ Biggs J. Solo Taxonomy 2011 http://www.johnbiggs.com.au/solo_taxonomy.html last accessed 1/12/12.



SOLO Level	Example Response
1. Prestructural/No clue	I'm not sure about the role of the American Civil War in world history.
2. Unistructural/One idea	I know that cotton played a key role in the American Civil War.
3. Multistructural/Many ideas	I know there were several global aspects to the American Civil War that ranged from the King Cotton strategy to the involvement of cotton producers all over the world.
4. Relational/Linking ideas to build the "big picture"	The presence of international interest in the American Civil War was linked to the importance of southern cotton to the 19th-century industrial economy in Europe.
5. Extended Abstract/looking at the ideas in a new/different/innovative way	Far from being solely a national level conflict, the American Civil War both resulted from trends towards modernity and crucially helped drive these trends forward by reshaping the global economy.

Now, armed with a way of guiding progression in thinking, we are able to go back to our inquiry and guide the thinking further. By this point the students should have a few ideas (multistructural). Consolidate this by asking the students to generate a hypothesis as to how the sources might be linked together conceptually (relational) and then peer assessing each other's work against the SOLO criteria.

Historical Significance

This is the perfect opportunity to introduce historical significance as a measurable concept.⁹ After eliciting definitions of significance, it is important to work out a way of assessing it. This will also give us the foundation for constructing an effective and tightly argued historical argument based on Beckett's work. There may be a variety of suggestions from the students. These should be discussed and concept checked

⁹ This discussion of historical significance and the significance criteria are heavily indebted to the work of Cercadillo L. " 'Maybe they haven't decided yet what is right:' English and Spanish perspectives on teaching historical significance. Teaching History 125 Significance pgs 5-8. The Historical Association 2006.

until the students have both a solid and defensible understanding of the term and, perhaps even more important, a toolkit for critically assessing relative significance. Here is a suggested list of criteria:

Historical Significance Taxonomy	Example
1. No allusion to any type of significance	I think the American Civil War was important and that it had international dimensions.
2. Intrinsic significance	The American Civil War was important to world history because it was very famous at the time.
3. Contemporary and causal significance	The American Civil War was important to world history because it involved people from all over the world. This led to the involvement of international newspapers and made the war the first military media event.
4. Fixed contextual significance — Appreciating different types of significance	The American Civil War does matter to world history. It involved troops and press from all over the world and led to the world economy becoming more interconnected.
5. Relative contextual significance — mixing short- and long-term ideas and different types of significance	I think that the Civil War itself is important to a certain extent to world history because of its global impact. However, the fighting did not spread beyond America, and this does make the war primarily a matter for national history. What does make the war a crucial factor in world history is the impact on cotton production across the world, which was changed forever by....

Referring back to our conceptual framework, the students should have several ideas (a multistructural approach) and be beginning to see that, far from being a solely national conflict, the war had crucial international dimensions. Newly armed with the ability to assess and develop sophisticated answers as well as a strong understanding of historical significance, we will conclude by having the students critically assess Beckett's supporting evidence.

Examining Evidence

Beckert's Supporting Evidence

Contemporaries such as Richard Cobden, Tsar Alexander II and Karl Marx were aware that cotton cultivation and manufacturing were globally linked.

In England alone, it was estimated that the livelihood of between one-fifth and one-fourth of all people was based upon the industry, one-tenth of all British capital was invested in it, and close to one-half of all exports consisted of cotton yarn and cloth.

By the late 1850s, the United States accounted for a full 77 percent of the cotton consumed in Britain, 90 percent of the cotton used in France, 60 percent of the cotton spun in the German states, and as much as 92 percent of the cotton manufactured in Russia.

By 1864, 40 percent of all fertile land in lower Egypt had been converted to cotton cultivation.

India had only contributed 16 percent of Britain's raw cotton in 1860 but over 70 percent to Britain and France by 1862.

The growth of Bombay can be traced directly to the impact of the American Civil War.

The American Civil War led to permanent economic change in Egypt.

Historians of Egypt rank the American Civil War among the most significant events in Egypt's 19th-century history.

Brazilian subsistence farmers switched to cotton crops and doubled Brazilian cotton exports between 1860 and 1865.

After emancipation, cotton was grown by cotton farmers worldwide. They were often poor, deep in debt, vulnerable to world market prices, politically weak and kept that way by unequal labor contracts.

Students will use these supporting evidence information cards to organize and compare against the significance criteria. They will then hopefully be able to make an assessment of the soundness of Beckert's arguments, which prepares them perfectly for examining and improving their own in the future. Once assessments are complete, it is important to compare with those of peers to test thinking and discuss to what extent Beckert was successful in his aim. Does he overstate (or

even understate) the historical significance of the American Civil War to the wider world? This exercise is inherently valuable as a critical research skills builder but also as a way of providing a model of how a professional historian has looked at a historical problem in a new way. From here the inquiry could culminate with the students producing an extended piece of writing to answer our inquiry question: "To what extent was the American Civil War a world war?" which links the entire inquiry together.

Concluding Remarks

Throughout this investigation, our overarching objective has been to explore the American Civil War from a global perspective rather than a national one. Our aims have been three-fold. The first, to expose students to different aspects of the global nature of the war itself by investigating how the strategic vision of the King Cotton strategy failed. Whereas this first goal focused on the students acquiring a strong grasp of the key events and concepts, the second parallel goal has been to develop student skills in "doing history." We did this by building their historical toolboxes to include designing research questions, using them to focus inquiries, and analyzing a wide variety of sources as a launching pad for their own investigations. We concluded by introducing the concept of historical significance and then leading the students to develop an increasingly strong conceptual understanding of the American Civil War as a seminal event in world history rather than national history. This is fitting, as it was the first recognizably modern war not only in how it was conducted but in the globalized nature of its impact.

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Primary Source I: “Cotton is King” Sen. James Henry Hammond (D-SC)

March 4, 1858 On the Admission of Kansas, Under the Lecompton Constitution Speech Before the United States Senate

If we never acquire another foot of territory for the South, look at her. Eight hundred and fifty thousand square miles. As large as Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia and Spain. Is not that territory enough to make an empire that shall rule the world? With the finest soil, the most delightful climate, whose staple productions none of those great countries can grow, we have three thousand miles of continental sea-shore line so indented with bays and crowded with islands, that, when their shore lines are added, we have twelve thousand miles. Through the heart of our country runs the great Mississippi, the father of waters, into whose bosom are poured thirty-six thousand miles of tributary rivers; and beyond we have the desert prairie wastes to protect us in our rear. Can you hem in such a territory as that? You talk of putting up a wall of fire around eight hundred and fifty thousand square miles so situated! How absurd.

But if there were no other reason why we should never have war, would any sane nation make war on cotton? Without firing a gun, without drawing a sword, should they make war on us we could bring the whole world to our feet. The South is perfectly competent to go on, one, two, or three years without planting a seed of cotton. I believe that if she was to plant but half her cotton, for three years to come, it would be an immense advantage to her. I am not so sure but that after three years’ entire abstinence she would come out stronger than ever she was before, and better prepared to enter afresh upon her great career of enterprise. What would happen if no cotton was furnished for three years? I will not stop to depict what every one can imagine, but this is certain: England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her, save the South. No, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is king. Until lately the Bank of England was king; but she tried to put her screws as usual, the fall before last, upon the cotton crop, and was utterly vanquished. The last power has been conquered. Who can doubt, that has looked at recent events, that cotton is supreme? When the abuse of credit had destroyed credit and annihilated confidence; when thousands of the strongest commercial houses in the world were coming down, and hundreds of millions of dollars of supposed property evaporating in thin air; when you came to a dead lock, and revolutions were threatened, what brought you up? Fortunately for you it was the commencement of the cotton season, and we have poured in upon you one million six hundred thousand bales of cotton just at the crisis to save you from destruction. That cotton, but for the bursting of your speculative bubbles in the North, which produced the whole of this convulsion, would have brought us \$100,000,000. We have sold it for \$65,000,000 and saved you. Thirty-five million dollars we, the slaveholders of the South, have put into the charity box for your magnificent financiers, your “cotton lords,” your “merchant princes.”

But, sir, the greatest strength of the South arises from the harmony of her political and social institutions. This harmony gives her a frame of society, the best in the world, and an extent of political freedom, combined with entire security, such as no other people ever enjoyed upon the face of the earth. Society precedes government;

creates it, and ought to control it; but as far as we can look back in historic times we find the case different; for government is no sooner created than it becomes too strong for society, and shapes and moulds, as well as controls it. In later centuries the progress of civilization and of intelligence has made the divergence so great as to produce civil wars and revolutions; and it is nothing now but the want of harmony between governments and societies which occasions all the uneasiness and trouble and terror that we see abroad. It was this that brought on the American Revolution. We threw off a Government not adapted to our social system, and made one for ourselves. The question is, how far have we succeeded? The South, so far as that is concerned, is satisfied, harmonious, and prosperous, but demands to be let alone.

SOURCE: Reprinted in *Selections from the Letters and Speeches of the Hon. James H. Hammond, of South Carolina* (New York: John F. Trow & Co., 1866), pages 311-322.

Primary Source 2: Sergeant Gilbert Bates' Speech in London, 1873

A year ago in America, in my own home in Wisconsin, I asserted to my own countrymen that the people of England were friendly to us Americans as a nation, and that America was respected by Englishmen. My friends asserted the contrary. I repeated my assertion, and said I would carry the American flag from one end of England to the other without its being treated with any disrespect. A merchant of Illinois offered to bet me a thousand dollars to a hundred that I could not do it, and I accepted the wager. No doubt a great many of my countrymen thought I was wrong and a great fool, but I felt certain I was right, and I came over to this country. I tell you fairly that my first idea was to win this thousand dollars for my wife and children, but after I had reached this country I thought differently—I thought that if I conducted the affair properly it might result in good, and I determined to carry it out on purely patriotic principles, so that if good did not result it should not be my fault. So, after I had started from Scotland, I mailed a letter to my friend in Illinois,

telling him that I resigned the wager, and he might take the hundred dollars, but that I preferred to go through England from other motives. I did expect that this march would do some good, and I was determined that it should. I felt that I could rely upon the honor of Englishmen. It has been asserted by the press that this is a Yankee test of English feelings toward the States, but as far as I am concerned, it is no test. It is only a proof that I was right. I did not cross the Atlantic for a test, but to prove that I was right when I said the English people respected America. Well, I have had a wonderful reception. I have met with nothing but the kindest treatment. I have not had even a cross look from any one. My own countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic have been watching the progress of our tour of my flag with the greatest interest, and therefore I am gratified that the English people have proved that I was right. . . . As one of the most humble citizens of my country, allow me to thank you for the honor and kindness with which you have received me today, and for the way in which you have received the flag of America.

SOURCE: "The Tour of the American Flag," *Bruce Herald*, March 28, 1873, accessible at <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz>.



Becoming Chinese in America

GIVING VOICE TO THE CHINESE IN THE AMERICAN WEST

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Any thorough classroom coverage of the 19th-century American West recognizes the presence of the Chinese. The presentations normally recount how they worked in the gold fields of California, built the transcontinental railroad and suffered discrimination culminating in the Chinese Exclusion Act. Yet how can students delve more deeply? How can we give voice to the Chinese in the American West to understand their motivations, experiences and contribution to the development of America in a way that honors them more than just as a colorful background story highlighting the diversity of Westward Expansion? This is a difficult, yet crucial task. The inquiry-based approach described below demonstrates how students employed critical thinking and interpretive skills to analyze a broad range of sources constructing a more full, nuanced view of the Chinese in America. Only when understood in an international sense do the Chinese in the American West emerge as active participants, both shaped by and shaping events in America as well as China.

The key is to remember that these immigrants (and all immigrants) existed in at least two worlds—their adopted homeland and their motherland. While Chinese



Quon Ding Zhu, Butte, Montana, 1901. Note the queue hairstyle enforced under the Qing Dynasty.

Detail of *The Committee of the Chinese Empire Reform Association*. Butte, Mont., 1901. Reproduced and cropped by permissions from Montana Historical Society / Research Center Photograph Archives available at <http://mhs.mt.gov/>

immigrants previously self-identified by the region of China they were from, and further self-segregated along family and clan lines, the experience in the American West led to unity among the Chinese and growing nationalism that built upon and significantly impacted events in China itself. These Overseas Chinese were shaped by their experience in America, learning technical skills as well as the inner-workings of American democratic institutions that could help strengthen a severely weakened China they had temporarily left, but never forgotten.

Chinese Migration to America: 1849-1882

Pulled by the opportunities available after the discovery of gold in California, thousands of Chinese migrated to “Gold Mountain,” hoping to stay temporarily, send money home and eventually return to China with an elevated status. The factors that pushed the Gold Mountain Men to make the arduous journey to America included severe domestic disruption in their home region. The majority of Chinese migrants were men who came from southern China, specifically from Guangdong province.¹ Throughout the 19th-century, human and natural disasters plagued this region with floods, famines, and conflicts, causing massive social disruption. Adding to the calamities, the Qing Dynasty, China’s ruling empire since 1644, was increasingly ineffective at ministering to the needs of its people. Defeated in the Opium Wars (1839-1842 and 1856-1860), humiliated by unequal treaties and challenged by internal rebellions, China was in chaos.²

An estimated 250,000 Chinese came to the U.S. from 1849-1882, seeing no other way to support their families than to earn a living abroad. However, viewed as an act of disloyalty, emigration was illegal and punishable by death,

1 Robert R. Swartout, Jr. “Kwangtung to Big Sky: The Chinese in Montana, 1864-1900.” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Winter, 1988), 42-53.

2 Madeline Hsu. *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnational Migration Between the United States and South China, 1882-1943* (Stanford University Press, 2000), 24-25.

though this was rarely enforced.³ What was strictly enforced was a visible sign of subservience to the Qing Dynasty—the queue. The Qing court mandated that all loyal male subjects shave their hair above the forehead and grow a long queue, or face execution. Since virtually all those who migrated to the U.S. As the economic success of the emigrants increased, the Qing government changed its attitude toward Overseas Chinese, revoking the harsh dictates and considering them loyal citizens whose efforts helped enrich China and who should thus be protected.⁴ However, with the Qing court unable to adequately administer matters in China, protection for the Chinese in America was unrealistic. In fact, the weakness of the Qing in addressing domestic issues, which was the impetus for massive out-migration, followed the migrants to their new home in America.

Treatment of the Chinese in the American West

Seeking a life free from southern China’s calamities, the Chinese in America met much opposition. Noted for their diligence—viewed as negative competition by other groups—and for not assimilating, the Chinese were easy targets for discrimination. Discriminatory policies arose quickly, with the 1852 Foreign Miner’s Tax in California marginalizing Chinese miners. As precious metals dwindled, the Chinese moved on to strikes throughout the Rocky Mountains, following the mining industry into Nevada, Colorado, Idaho and Montana. Discrimination followed. The Chinese adapted to the changing mood of each region, moving into other industries—serving as railroad workers, gardeners, restaurateurs and launderers.⁵ Usually

3 Yong Chen, “Understanding Chinese American Transnationalism During the Early Twentieth Century: An Economic Perspective.” Found in Sucheng Chen, ed. *Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas between China and America during the Exclusion Era* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 160-161.

4 Chen, “Understanding Chinese American Transnationalism During the Early Twentieth Century: An Economic Perspective,” 161.

5 Swartout, 47-51.

coinciding with moments of economic instability, anti-Chinese rhetoric increased, taking two forms—governmental attempts to limit immigration and mob violence to intimidate the Chinese.

With the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the Chinese became the first ethnicity singled out by American immigration policy. This racially based exclusionary policy was strengthened in 1888 with the Scott Act, and again in 1892 with the Geary Act, making it difficult for Chinese who had legally entered the U.S. to leave and return again. In addition to suffering from official discrimination, Chinese in the West were under constant threat of violence.

In Rock Springs, Wyoming, in 1885, white miners killed 28 Chinese. In 1887 in Idaho, 34 Chinese were murdered for their gold. News of these massacres spread, sparking additional violence against the Chinese throughout the West. Little support came from the few Qing diplomats in America. The Chinese relied on fraternal organizations, kinship networks and their own ability to persevere in the face of adversity to survive and attempt to prosper.⁶ Yet the Chinese in America reasoned if China modernized by adopting technological innovations and modern political systems, perhaps they would have stronger protection.

The Weakness of the Qing Dynasty and the Hundred Days of Reform

The weakness of the Qing Dynasty concerned both the Overseas Chinese and their countrymen back home. China's decline was worsened by widespread opium addiction and complicated by natural disasters, ineffective responses from civil servants and a stagnant system unable to meet the challenges of the increasingly interconnected world.

Efforts at reform did occur, most notably the Self-Strengthening Movement

⁶ Ibid., 51.

from the 1860s to 1890s. However, these efforts failed to position China to defend itself against the modern militaries of the Western powers and a transformed Japanese state. Especially damaging was the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, 1894-1895. News of this loss inspired a radical protest from within that challenged China's age-old system. In 1895, thousands of candidates gathered in Beijing to sit for the imperial examination, hoping to earn a civil administration position. Upon learning of the humiliating terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, hundreds of candidates signed a petition urging far-reaching reforms to strengthen China and prevent further disgraces. This call for reform challenged the Confucian system, which emphasized tradition, hierarchy, respect and deference. The leader of the movement, Kang Youwei, had challenged the imperial examination system as outdated for quite some time. Kang had submitted numerous memorials to the emperor to this effect, and now the petition signed by the patriotic scholars advanced to the court as well.⁷

The Guangxu emperor was open to such ideas; however, the ultra-conservative Dowager Empress Cixi who actually held all-encompassing power, strongly resisted such modernization efforts. However, she was gradually moving into retirement, increasingly ceding control to Guangxu to reign. He took note of one of Kang's memorials, granting him a private audience.⁸ Kang took advantage of this opportunity, encouraging the emperor to initiate widespread reforms:

“A survey of all states in the world will show that those states that undertook reforms became strong while those states that clung to the past perished....If Your Majesty, with your discerning brilliance, observes the trends in other countries, you will see that if we can

⁷ Odd Arne Westad, *Restless Empire: China and the World Since 1750* (Basic Books, 2012), 103-107.

⁸ Pankaj Mishra *From the Ruins of Empire: The Intellectuals Who Remade Asia* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2012), 143-146.

change, we can preserve ourselves; but if we cannot change, we shall perish.”⁹

Kang’s meeting lasted five hours, the longest recorded audience with an emperor throughout Chinese history. Following the advice of Kang, his key student Liang Qichao and other reform-minded scholars, the emperor issued a flurry of imperial edicts enacting modernizing reforms in education, economics, military training and foreign affairs.¹⁰ However, a key obstacle to reform was that few educated Chinese had direct experience with the Western technologies and systems that the reformers advised Guangxu to adopt. As Tan Sitong, a leading reformer, stated:

“In China, during the last several decades, where have we had genuine understanding of foreign culture? When have we had scholars or officials who could discuss them? . . . You have never dreamed of or seen the beauty and perfection of Western legal systems and political institutions.”¹¹

A new class of administrators, trained in western ways, was needed to modernize and advance China to an equal status. However, the reforms that began in 1898 were sabotaged from within before such programs could take root.

The Chinese Empire Reform Association

Exile did not diminish Kang and Liang’s enthusiasm for reform; instead they sought support elsewhere—specifically, among the Overseas Chinese. These thousands of Chinese workers had useful financial resources and direct

9 Kang Youwei. “Comprehensive Consideration of the Whole Situation.” In *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From 1600 Through the Twentieth Century*, edited by William Theodore de Bary and Richard Lufrano, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 269-270.

10 Mishra, 143-150.

11 Ssu-yu Teng and John King Fairbank, eds. “Advocacy of Complete Westernization.” Found in *China’s Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923* (Harvard University Press, 1979), 158-160.



The Guangxu emperor ruled nominally from 1875-1898, but power was actually held by the Dowager Empress Cixi.

Detail of *The Committee of the Chinese Empire Reform Association*. Butte, Mont., 1901. Reproduced and cropped by permissions from Montana Historical Society / Research Center Photograph Archives available at <http://mhs.mt.gov/>



experience with the industries and political systems of the West. With a vested interest in seeing China modernize, the Overseas Chinese became fertile ground for Kang and Liang to continue their efforts to reform China. Seeking to organize the diverse communities of Chinese in North America and elsewhere, Kang and Liang founded the Chinese Empire Reform Association (CERA) in July 1899 in Vancouver, British Columbia. The foundational goal of the CERA was to depose the Dowager Empress Cixi and return to power the rightful ruler, the Guangxu emperor who would continue reforms to modernize China.¹²

The CERA rapidly became a global phenomenon, with over 150 branches across North America, Australia, Hawaii, Japan and elsewhere. While it is no surprise that cities with traditionally large Chinese populations, such as San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York, developed strong branches of the CERA, the geographic dispersal shows the widespread interest in this movement. For instance, Chinese communities in Montana established 12 branches of the CERA as early as 1901, and Liang and Kang visited these organizations in 1903 and 1905, respectively.¹³ It is easy to assume that the highly educated leaders of such a movement taught the Chinese in America the importance of the need for reform. However, with regard to Montana's Chinese community, Kang, Liang and the CERA did not *begin* empowerment movements; rather they built upon a pre-existing sense of community pride, nationalism and empowerment that Montana's Chinese exhibited.

The Chinese in Montana had experience advocating for their rights within the

12 Jane Leung Larson, "An Association to Save China: How Baohuanghui Reformers Nurtured Chinese Citizenship and Set China on the Course to Revolution." *China Heritage Quarterly*, No. 27 (September, 2011).

13 Jane Leung Larson, "The United States as a Site for Baohuanghui Activism." Paper presented at Fifth International Conference of Institutes and Libraries in Chinese Overseas Studies, World Confederation of Institutes and Libraries in Chinese Overseas Studies, Vancouver, BC, Canada, 2010; Christopher Merritt, "'The Coming Man From Canton': Chinese Experience in Montana (1862-1943)." PhD diss. (University of Montana, 2010), 254.

American legal system, winning key successes that emboldened the community, predating the efforts of the CERA. For instance, Butte, which had one of the largest Chinese communities in the Rocky Mountain region, witnessed a pivotal moment in the use of American jurisprudence for Chinese protection. In 1896, Butte's labor unions organized a citywide boycott against Chinese-owned businesses. Playing upon fears that the Chinese took jobs from whites and bolstered by racial animosity against the Chinese, the boycott organizers used intimidation against the Chinese and their white customers. Instead of passively submitting to the threats, the Chinese fought back—legally. They brought suit that their rights had been violated. In *Hum Fay et al v. Frank Baldwin et al* the Chinese testified about the intimidation they suffered and the ensuing economic consequences. Indicating their solidarity, Butte's Chinese population signed a petition expressing their desire to seek legal redress against the boycott organizers. This petition, signed by 300 members of Butte's Chinatown, highlights their active fight against discrimination. The Chinese won the case, including a financial settlement for legal fees and an injunction enforced against further discriminatory action from labor unions.¹⁴

Victory in the boycott case is just one of many examples of the Chinese in Montana employing the legal system to fight for their rights, including claims of equal protection under the 14th Amendment. This sophisticated use of the American legal system, though not always successful, is evidence of the adaptations occurring within the Chinese community.¹⁵ With these experiences, it is no surprise that the CERA thrived amongst Montana's Chinese communities. Their efforts and knowledge of American democratic institutions were exactly the experiences the reform-minded elite in China desperately needed, but lacked.

14 Stacy Flaherty, "Boycott in Butte: Organized Labor and the Chinese Community, 1896-1897." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Winter, 1987), 34-47; Daniels, 72-78.

15 John R. Wunder, "Law and Chinese in Frontier Montana." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Summer, 1980), 18-31.

Pedagogical Approaches: Using an Inquiry-Based Approach to Explore the CERA

As previously stated, the goal of this study is to bring the Chinese to the forefront of the American West, as motivated participants who took an active role in shaping their fortunes in America as well as impacting events in China. It is through a close analysis of these efforts that students gain entry into the mind-set of the Chinese in America and see their role as dynamic and empowered, rather than passive and powerless.

Using an inquiry-based approach, I began my U.S. History class with the story of the Chinese in Montana. Specifically, I used an approach developed by Sam Wineburg and Jack Schneider in their article “Inverting Bloom’s Taxonomy.” Wineburg and Schneider describe the flaws with the familiar pyramid design of Bloom’s Taxonomy, with Knowledge at its base and skills like analysis, synthesis and evaluation only possible once a strong factual base has been established. The authors assert, and I agree, that too often history education gets mired in the establishment of factual knowledge, with teachers fearing students cannot progress upward to higher-order thinking skills until a strong foundation of factual information has been established. Instead, Wineburg and Schneider argue that Bloom’s Taxonomy must be inverted, with students starting with evaluation and inquiry, asking questions as to why events happened how and when they did, then using analysis and interpretation to seek answers, thus gathering the knowledge needed to form complete answers.¹⁶

Committed to this approach, I began the unit with the primary sources attached, modeled how to interrogate sources, and turned the students loose to inquire and seek answers to their queries. The following strategies, developed by Wineburg, brought order to student investigation of each source while leaving room for authentic inquiry:

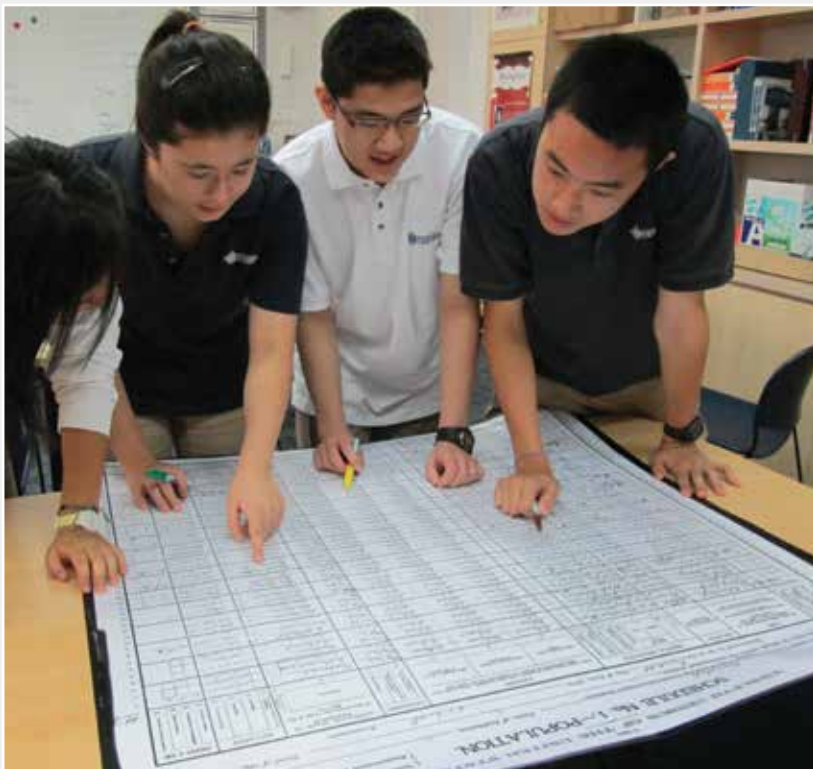
¹⁶ Sam Wineburg and Jack Schneider, “Inverting Bloom’s Taxonomy,” *Education Week*, Vol. 29, Issue 6 (2009), 28-31.

- 1. Sourcing:** Think about a document’s author and its creation.
- 2. Contextualizing:** Situate the document and its events in time and place.
- 3. Close Reading:** Carefully consider what the document says and the language used to say it.
- 4. Using Background Knowledge:** Use historical information and knowledge to read and understand the document.
- 5. Reading the Silences:** Identify what has been left out or is missing from the document by asking questions of its account.
- 6. Corroborating:** Ask questions about important details across multiple sources to determine points of agreement and disagreement.¹⁷

At the outset, students had little previous knowledge to help them understand the context of China in the late Qing Dynasty or the experiences of the Chinese in the American West. However, through inquiries that emerged from their investigations of the sources, students built a foundation of knowledge, including the push-pull factors of Chinese immigration, the economic development of the West, an understanding of late-19th-century immigration policies, and the complex nature of events that led to the efforts of the CERA. This is the historian’s craft—not an easy book report of what others have found, but a rigorous process of crafting and testing theories, seeking and analyzing evidence, and working to support hypotheses. By empowering students as historians, content knowledge results; however, it is achieved through active inquiry and research, developing critical thinking skills. The complex nature of events challenged students to make connections across regions, think critically about a wide variety of sources and develop higher-order thinking skills to understand the globally intertwined incidents. By examining newspapers, census data and CERA documents, students grew to see the Chinese in Montana as they

¹⁷ Sam Wineburg, “Thinking Like a Historian.” *Teaching with Primary Sources Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Library of Congress, Winter 2010.





Students examine census records from Marysville, Montana. The census helped students assess the years of migration of Montana’s Chinese population, gender patterns and occupation.

Proceedings of the Meeting of Camp and Base Hospital Surgeons, Camp Zachary Taylor, KY, October 24, 1918; 710 Influenza, Camp Zachary Taylor (D); Correspondence, 03/01/1917 - 09/30/1927 (Entry 31 - D Cantonments); Records of the Office of the Surgeon General (Army) (Record Group 112); National Archives at College Park, MD.

saw themselves, increasingly united by a shared experience and empowered through an understanding and use of the very American systems that sought to oppress them.

Montana’s newspapers noted the efforts of the Chinese to organize, with reporting ranging from racist mocking to praiseworthy assessments of the reform efforts (see Primary Sources 1 and 2). Assessing both sides of this reportage, students sought documents from the Chinese themselves and found that two of the CERA branches became incorporated business entities. The organizers filed extensive paperwork with the proper state offices, proclaiming the goals of the organization—including educating “the Chinese people in the principles of the Constitution and Laws of the United States of America,” and listing the bylaws, which included annually electing leaders (see Primary Source 3).

The most illuminating documents are photomontages that show the members of the CERA. One from the Marysville CERA shows founding members with the picture of Guangxu at the top (see Primary Source 4). Four photos of modern naval vessels flank the emperor, emphasizing their goal that China transform militarily to protect itself and its citizens abroad. In the Butte photomontage, 33 members are pictured under an image of the emperor (see Primary Source 5). Close examination reveals that the members have telling differences in their dress and hairstyle. Roughly half are clothed traditionally and maintain the queue. However, some of those pictured reveal signs of westernization in their dress and foregoing the queue, indicating their crafting a new identity based on their American experiences. The photo of one man in particular captures him in the midst of this transformation. This man has both western-style dress *and* the traditional queue. However, he has not shaved his head for several days and, if his western dress is any indication, appears to be embracing the modern ways of the westernized Chinese in America. His accessories give further evidence of this straddling of two worlds.

While all those photographed wear small lapel pins of the emperor, only three wear American flag pins. It is clear that those who sat for this moment were intentional about how they wanted to be viewed. These documents are powerful testimony to a proud Chinese community in Montana, strengthened through successes such as the legal victory against the boycott.

Using this inquiry-based approach to introduce the critical thinking needed for National History Day, my final assessment built upon NHD themes. After immersing themselves in primary and secondary sources, students crafted powerful, ambitious thesis statements about the topic related to varied NHD themes from across the years. The student assertions varied greatly, demonstrating that viewing the same events through a slightly different lens can produce very different emphases. The themes included:

- Turning Points in History
- Rights and Responsibilities in History
- Migration and Movement in History
- Taking a Stand in History
- Debate and Diplomacy in History

Using this approach at the beginning of the year established the historical patterns of thought that I expect throughout the course. Students were highly engaged, realizing that the course would not merely emphasize fact-based recall, but rather how to use creativity, curiosity and critical thinking to ask difficult



Quon Tiang Fong, member of the Chinese Empire Reform Society of Butte, Montana.

Detail of *The Committee of the Chinese Empire Reform Association, Butte, Mont., 1901*. Reproduced and cropped by permissions from Montana Historical Society / Research Center Photograph Archives available at <http://mhs.mt.gov/>



questions and seek complex answers.¹⁸

With the broad geographical distribution of the CERA, investigating other branches across the U.S. is viable. Using “Chronicling America,” a resource provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Library of Congress to digitize historical newspapers, students could track the efforts of the CERA elsewhere, as well as Liang and Kang’s well-publicized travels throughout the U.S. Students could also map the globally interconnected efforts of the CERA.¹⁹

More broadly, the approach is applicable to all immigrant groups. Instead of stopping with the generalization that push-pull factors led to migration, students could investigate these factors in greater detail. By recognizing that immigrants exist in at least two worlds—their adopted homeland and their mother country—students can research the events linking the two. Consideration of the transnational nature of migration reveals a more complete, nuanced view of these individuals and communities, resulting in a more thorough understanding of the global nature of American history. Understanding how their experience in America transformed the migrants into more consciously Chinese—bound together by shared experience, fighting for a common cause—is only possible by examining this aspect of American history through a global lens.

18 We obtained sources used for this inquiry-based approach through collaboration with the Montana Historical Society (MHS). This relationship has been extremely rewarding and empowering for my students, with research librarians giving encouragement and assistance, as well as access to key documents. To replicate an approach based on similar primary sources, I suggest that teachers reach out to local historical societies and inquire about similar collaboration. However, a teacher does not necessarily need a collaborative relationship with a history research center like the MHS; many online services, such as Ancestry.com for access to census data, or Chronicling America for access to historic newspapers, can arm a class with enough material to conduct a similar inquiry-based investigation.

19 Key sources of new scholarship on the Chinese Empire Reform Association, called Baohuanghui in Chinese, are found at “Baohuanghui Scholarship,” <http://baohuanghui.blogspot.com/> and the Chinese in Northwest America Research Committee (CINARC) at www.cinarc.org.

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Primary Source 1: "Club Life Among the Chinese of Helena," *Anaconda Standard*, June 30, 1901.

[T]he high-toned Chinamen of the capital have filed with the secretary of state articles of incorporation of "The Chinese Empire Reform society," whose aims and objects are "social intercourse, mutual happiness, mental and moral improvement, physical development and general education of the Chinese race." These are worthy aims and objects, worthy of any midsummer night's pipe dream.

The Chinese are very strong in Helena. You can detect their presence, blindfolded, at a distance of eight blocks, lineal measurement. You can stand at Henry Zayas' place—that is you can if you haven't tasted Henry Zayas' whiskey—you can stand at Henry Zayas' front door and if the wind is in the right direction, and your nose is in full possession of all its faculties, the impression is borne in upon you that, instead of being a quarter of a mile from the Chinese colony on West Main street, you are up against the whole Chinese empire with all its 400,000,000 inhabitants, in anything but a good state of preservation. You feel that the need of a Chinese Empire Reform society is imperative, and you are filled with misgivings lest the world's output of disinfectants be totally inadequate to accomplish the reform.

Primary Source 2: *Anaconda Standard*, August 16, 1903, page 14.

BUTTE NEWS: TWO CHINESE DIPLOMATS: They Are in Butte on Their Mission of Reform. Both Are Intelligent Men. They Have Visited Nearly Every City of Importance in the East and Will Call at All in the West. Lecture Last Night.

Leong Kai Chu²⁰, vice president of the Chinese Empire Reform association, and Pow Chee, his secretary, arrived in Butte last evening, and will spend two days here in the interest of the reform movement spreading throughout the Chinese empire and other countries in which there are Chinese. Leong Kai Chu is about 31 years old, while his secretary is somewhat older, and two brighter Chinamen



Moral and Mental Improvement. "Club Life Among the Chinese of Helena." *The Anaconda Standard* June 30 (1901): 20. from © Newspaperarchive available at <http://newspaperarchive.com/?afsrc=1>

²⁰ Note that "Leong Kai Chu" is actually Liang Qichao, the vice-president of the Chinese Empire Reform Association and colleague of Kang Youwei who inspired the Hundred Days of Reform.



could not be found anywhere on the face of the globe. They are making a tour of the country, stopping in every place where their countrymen reside, and impressing upon them the necessity for keeping active and augmenting the reform movement. They landed in New York about three months ago, and since then they have visited Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Hartford, Baltimore, St. Louis, New Orleans, Kansas City and other cities, in each of which they accomplished much work in the interest of the Chinese Reform association. They also visited Billings and Livingston, and before leaving the state will go to Helena and other Montana towns.

In speaking of the association and its objects to a reporter for the Standard last evening Secretary Chu said: "The association is about four and a half years old. The reform movement was begun in our country in 1898, by the sanction of his majesty the Chinese emperor. The objects of the association now are the dethronement of the [Dowager Empress], the establishment of a constitutional government and the planting of modern educational institutions in China. We are endeavoring to follow the system of education that prevails in the United States and England. At the inception of the movement Leong Kai Chu and Kang Yu Wei were the recognized leaders, the latter having been appointed by his majesty the emperor. During the first three months these men had accomplished many good things in the way of reform for China, and put aside many of the old laws of the country that were not good. Peace and enjoyment such as had never been before known in the kingdom were proclaimed all over the country, and the good work was progressing successfully when the empress dowager stepped in and put a stop to it. She had heard of the work in progress and engaged men to ascertain the nature of the movement and report to her. These men worked in secret. The movement was so strong that the empress dowager was dethroned, and the emperor put in her place. He, however, has really never been in power. The government is simply being conducted in his name, but not by him.

"At that time the empress dowager not only put aside the good work in progress, but sought the lives of the reformers. She offered a reward of 150,000 Mexican

dollars for Leong Kai Chu, the vice president, who is now sitting by my side, dead or alive. Fortunately for Mr. Chu, he had a friend in the person of Marquis Ito, the ex-premier of Japan, who heard of the reward and sent his consul and a number of Japanese to China to accompany him to a Japanese man-of-war. They found Leong Kai Chu and took him to Japan on the vessel, where he remained the guest of the Japanese government for some time. Since his departure from Japan he has been in India, Australia and Honolulu and is now here.

"So far we have met with great success in our work of reform, and expect to keep right on meeting with it. The Chinese of Butte are quite enthusiastic in the work. The reform movements have been started in every city and town in which Chinese live and it is our purpose to keep it alive and add fuel to the flame of enthusiasm."

Leong Kai Chu delivered an address in the Chinese mission house on West Mercury street last evening, and the house was filled with his countrymen to hear him. His address was, of course, delivered in the language of the country, but both the diplomats speak excellent English, and several other languages besides those of their own and this country.

Primary Source 3: Articles of Incorporation of the Chinese Empire Reform Society of Montana

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS: that we, Ting Fong, F. Kahn, and Wong Sing Won the undersigned residents and inhabitants of the City of Helena, County of Lewis and Clarke, and State of Montana and the duly elected Trustees of the Chinese Empire Reform Society of Montana, duly authorized by said Corporation to make the following Articles of Incorporation, do hereby execute and make the following Articles of Incorporation.

Article I. The name by which this Corporation shall be known is the Chinese Empire Reform Society of Montana, and its duration shall be twenty years.

Article II. The purpose and business of this corporation shall be for social intercourse, mutual helpfulness, mental and moral improvement, mental recreation, physical and mental development and for the promotion of literature, science and fine arts and the promotion and diffusion of knowledge, and for promoting the cause of temperance and moral reform and for establishing and maintaining hospitals for the treatment of diseases. The above objects are intended to be accomplished in, among other ways, by promoting and encouraging general education of the Chinese people in the principles of the Constitution and Laws of the United States of America, in the arts and sciences generally and otherwise, with a view to ensuring the adoption of the leading improvements, industrial and otherwise, which have been and are being advantageously adopted by the English speaking people of the Earth in every lawful way to bring about the amelioration of the Chinese people, and to secure for them the advantages of a freer diffusion of useful knowledge; and generally to promote reforms in the Customs and habits of the Chinese people and generally to do and perform anything and everything whatsoever necessary or convenient to carry into effect the objects aforesaid....

Article V. The title of said Incorporators is Trustees of the Chinese Empire Reform Society of Montana, and they are elected annually on the 14th day of September of each year by a majority vote of the members of said Society present at the annual meeting of said Society held on the fourteenth day of September of each year.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF WE have hereunto set our hands and seals to these presents executed in triplicate this 25th day of June, 1901

[signed] Ting Fong

[signed] F. Kahn (Chinese)

[signed] Wong Sing Won





Primary Source 4: Photomontage of Chinese Empire Reform Society of Marysville, MT, 1901.

The Committee of the Chinese Empire Reform Association. Marysville, Mont., 1901. Reproduced by permissions from Montana Historical Society / Research Center Photograph Archives available at <http://mhs.mt.gov/>



Primary Source 5: Photomontage of Chinese Empire Reform Society of Butte, MT, 1901.

The Committee of the Chinese Empire Reform Association. Butte, Mont., 1901. Reproduced by permissions from Montana Historical Society / Research Center Photograph Archives available at <http://mhs.mt.gov/>

LONGVIEW FOUNDATION

for Education in World Affairs and International Understanding, Inc.

Our Mission

Founded by William L. Breese, the Longview Foundation for World Affairs and International Understanding has been helping young people in the United States learn about world regions and global issues since 1966.

At the dawn of the 21st century, knowledge of other peoples, economies, languages and international affairs has become a necessity for every child. Eliminating global poverty, solving international conflicts, working in new markets, and addressing global health and environmental problems require international knowledge and cooperation. And in our increasingly diverse communities in the United States, knowledge of other cultures is essential to strengthening our own democracy.

The skill set required to prepare tomorrow's citizens for the global age must go beyond "the basics" and even beyond the growing emphasis on science, math, and technology skills. Today's students need opportunities to gain broad and deep global knowledge and the language and intercultural skills to engage effectively with people around the corner and around the world.

Salem as a Global Village **INDUSTRIALIZATION, DEINDUSTRIALIZATION AND IMMIGRATION IN A NEW ENGLAND CITY**

Aviva Chomsky, Salem State University

One of the beautiful things about studying history is that it allows us to see everyday realities with new eyes. Instead of taking their existence for granted, we can see the people, the culture, the institutions, and even the roads, buildings and neighborhoods around us as products of history.

In New England, local history is frequently taught and commemorated. But global history is less well acknowledged, even though New England's cities and towns have been deeply connected to global trends for hundreds of years.

Salem, Massachusetts, a small coastal city north of Boston, was a Native American village before the English arrived in 1620. Thus one of its histories is part of a global history of European expansion and colonialism. While Salem's colonial history—in

particular, the witch trials—has been the subject of creative and historical works—its commonality with ongoing issues of race, citizenship, national identity and neocolonialism is rarely explored.

In the 18th-century, Salem rose to national and global prominence as the most active port in the newly established United States. Slaves, sugar and rum produced by slaves, and salt cod to feed West Indian slaves were some of the major products flowing between Salem and the Caribbean, while Salem ships also dominated the East Asia trade. Much of Salem's wealth was created in this period. The historic houses of Chestnut Street and the McIntyre District and the Peabody Essex Museum offer silent testimony to Salem's maritime age.¹

As Salem's port lost ground to the growing harbors of Boston and New York in the early 19th-century, members of its merchant class joined forces to invest in what appeared to be New England's next frontier: a textile mill. Salem shipped out cotton and wool textiles from Lawrence and Lowell, and brought in cotton, hides, glues and jute from everywhere from the U.S. south to South America and South Asia. In 1838 they incorporated the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company, the first New England mill to run on steam power—with coal brought in from Appalachia. The mill produced cotton sheeting—Pequot sheets—sold throughout the United States and as far away as Zanzibar, where the manufactured American cloth came to be known as merekani (American).²

As in most industrializing areas of the northeast and midwest, the new industry attracted parts of the migrant stream then coming into the U.S. Workers from Ireland were soon joined by French Canadians and Polish immigrants from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As was the case with many of the Europeans streaming into the United States between the mid-19th- and the early 20th-centuries, these were

1 See Robert Booth, "Salem as Enterprise Zone, 1783-1786," Matthew G. McKenzie, "Salem as Athenaeum," and Dane Anthony Morrison, "Salem as Citizen of the World," in *Salem: Place, Myth, and Memory*, ed. Morrison and Schultz.

2 See Prestholdt, "On the Global Repercussions of East African Consumerism."

national minorities from the peripheries of capitalist and industrial development. Their national identities were sometimes oppositional and even revolutionary.³

New immigrants brought with them radical ideas, and fought hard for their rights as workers. Within a generation or two, these immigrants assimilated. They gained some rights, and many began to identify with, rather than challenge, the capitalist system that they worked for and their adopted country. Two ethnic neighborhoods housed many of the new immigrant workers. By the end of the 19th-century French Canadians had flocked to the old Stage Point, newly christened “Le Point,” where company tenements and private boarding houses lined the streets with triple-decker houses. The later arrivals, the Austrian Poles, filled the Derby Street area near the wharf. These neighborhoods still exist today. The Polish history of Derby Street is still alive, reflected in street names, social halls, veterans’ associations and many families living there. The French Canadian history of the Point has mostly vanished, as French speakers moved out and Spanish speakers moved in during the second half of the 20th-century. Today the small shops are Caribbean *bodegas* and restaurants.

The first generations of Irish immigrants formed a union at the mill, and there were several strikes in the first decades of the 20th-century. By the 1920s, though, New England’s textile sector was in decline, as the country’s first wave of plant closures struck the industry. This neighborhood ethnic and industrial history is quite visible to the discerning eye. In Salem, like in any industrial or post-industrial city, students can explore it through old photographs, newspapers and strolls through neighborhoods.

Textile magnates had explored the idea of multiple siting for decades, and the U.S. south held a number of attractions for them. Taxes and wages were lower there. Instead of radical immigrant workers they could employ “native American stock.” Unions were almost unknown. The legacy of slavery was omnipresent in racial divisions, in white conservatism and reluctance to challenge the social order, and in

³ This section draws on Chomsky, *Linked Labor Histories*, chapter 2.

suspicion of government regulation. Spartanburg, South Carolina, advertised itself directly to mill investors as “The Lowell of The South.” By the 1920s, mill after mill was making the decision to move.

Mr. Seamans’ report (Primary Source 1) documents the Salem mill’s exploration of a southern location in the 1920s. The report reveals the rush by northern factories to relocate, and shows the specific factors like labor and taxes that were cheaper in the south. Although the report doesn’t address how this situation affects people living in the south, students can consider how low wages and low local and business taxes might affect residents. They can compare the mid-20th-century shift of the textile industry to the south with the current deindustrialization that is taking manufacturing jobs to places like China and Bangladesh, and ask who benefits from this process. They can consider why the mill preferred “native American stock” to immigrant labor.

For the mills that remained in New England, the threat posed by the south served as a potent tool for labor control. Mill owners complained that the southern competition was ruining them. (Even though frequently their southern “competitors” were branches of their own companies.) They appealed to their workers, and to local governments, to accommodate their needs and replicate southern conditions—in particular, low wages, low taxes and minimal regulation—in order to help them compete and stay profitable in the north. And they threatened that if they didn’t get their way, they would leave.

Today, analysts call this process the “race to the bottom,” and it affects virtually every industry. Popular opinion tends to blame other countries, like China and Mexico, for “stealing” industries and jobs from the United States with their low-wage, low-tax, low-regulation environments. Some also blame free trade agreements that the United States has signed with countries like Mexico. But the roots of the surge in off-shoring, runaway plants and deindustrialization in the late 20th-century can be found in the textile industry 100 years earlier. And like 100 years

ago, employers frequently use the threat of plant closure to control their workers, especially when confronted with union organizing drives.⁴

In Salem, the mostly male- and mostly Irish-controlled union entered into an experiment in labor-management collaboration in the 1920s. The main issue at stake was speed. The company wanted to speed up the labor process and increase production and efficiency by having workers tend more machines. This way fewer workers could produce the same amount of cloth. In early 1933 the workers rebelled and walked off the job. For 11 hungry weeks over 1,000 workers held firm to their demand that “we want no more research!”

The city took on a festive atmosphere as thousands of workers and their supporters held massive meetings, marches and fundraisers. Support poured in from other unions and organizations. The mill argued that increasing productivity was to the benefit of all. If the mill remained profitable, it could remain in Salem while other factories were relocating in the south. Moreover, increased efficiency could keep prices low, which would help consumers and increase production. True, the work pace would be increased and some workers would be laid off, but this, they argued, was the cost of progress.

Workers defined their goals differently: by the quality of their working lives, and by their collective identities. They were fighting, they claimed, for the rights of textile workers everywhere. If they agreed to accept worse working conditions, workers in other mills would also be forced to accept them to keep their mills “competitive.”

Salem’s strike touched on key questions of 20th-century labor history. Should workers collaborate with management to lower production costs and increase sales, in order to maintain profitability and keep jobs from moving? Or should they fight to maintain decent working conditions, and challenge the race to the bottom? Are workers in other regions—and other countries—their potential allies in the struggle of labor against capital, or their competitors,

⁴ Bronfenbrenner, “The Effects of Plant Closing.”

in the struggle of one region or country against another? To what extent should government regulate labor relations? Finally, is constantly increasing production and consumption a viable economic model for the national, or the world, economy?

These questions come to the fore again in a late 20th-century struggle in Salem, over its 1950s-era coal fired power plant. Local environmental groups organized to regulate or close the plant, which studies and local experience showed was emitting hazardous levels of coal dust and increasing rates of asthma, cancer and other illnesses in its environs. Plant officials protested seeking exemptions from environmental regulations. The union at the plant and city officials opposed the environmentalists, arguing that the plant was essential to the city’s tax base, and for the jobs it provided. Labor and environmentalists lined up against each other.

In Kentucky and West Virginia, where most of the plant’s coal came from, parallel battles over regulation and production were taking place as the region’s underground coal mines were being increasingly replaced by a surface mining technique known as “mountaintop removal.” Appalachia’s mountains began to be blasted away one by one as mining companies sought more efficient, less labor-intensive access to the coal hidden within them.

The mining union, the UMWA, was torn. Mountaintop removal cost the jobs of underground miners, but created new sectors to organize, even if it required far fewer workers overall. Local residents—many from mining families—were outraged at the destruction of the mountains so central to their history, identity and local economies beyond coal. Many there felt that the extractive economy had only entrenched the region’s poverty over the past century, and that mountaintop removal would only accelerate the process. The battle lines were drawn over regulation. The union fought alongside grassroots environmental organizations for greater regulation of surface mining in the 1970s, but by the 1990s had reformulated its position to

become part of the “coal lobby” that argued the environmentalists were standing in the way of progress and jobs.⁵

By the 1990s Salem’s plant was moving increasingly to imported coal from Colombia, South America. Major U.S. coal producers like Exxon and Drummond had begun to close their U.S. mines in order to invest in Colombia, where labor was cheaper and regulation minimal. By the 1990s northern Colombia boasted two of the world’s largest open-pit coal mines, and had become one of the world’s major coal exporters. Most of it went to the eastern seaboard of the United States, including Salem’s plant.

Battles were being fought over coal mining in Colombia, too. The mines began a process of displacement of Afro-Colombian and indigenous communities that had practiced subsistence farming and herding in the area for centuries. As the communities protested, they sought allies in Colombia’s mining union, and also among those who consumed the coal. During the first decade of the 20th-century, numerous representatives of these communities and of Colombia’s mining union visited Salem to educate residents about the human costs of their use of coal and their energy consumption.

Community activists described the impact of the constantly expanding mines that took over their lands, contaminated their water and air, and destroyed villages and cultures. Union leaders described abysmal working conditions, and a climate of anti-labor violence that had claimed the lives of dozens of union activists in the coal region, and thousands nation-wide, in Colombia. They accused the mining companies of colluding with right-wing paramilitary forces to destroy the union movement.

Like Salem’s workers in the 1930s, though, they refused to accept the paradigm that posited an inevitable conflict between jobs and progress, on one hand, and human rights and decent working conditions on the other. Like Salem’s workers, they

⁵ This section draws on Chomsky and Montrie, “North and South.”

demanded a redefinition of “progress” that was based on quality of life rather than increasing production at all costs. “Without the river, there is no water. Without water, there is no life. Without life, there are no jobs,” the union president told a group of visitors in 2012, when asked how it could be that a union was opposing the mine’s plan to expand — and create more jobs — by diverting the region’s major river.⁶

Salem was invisibly connected to these events in Colombia because of its regular imports of coal from these mines. The invisible connection became visible through community activists in both regions who challenged the idea that increasing jobs and consumption was a goal to be pursued regardless of the costs.

In a petition in 2006 (Primary Source 2) the residents of one indigenous village affected by the mine asked a visiting delegation from Salem and other coal-consuming communities to take responsibility for the damage that their coal consumption was causing. Students—like the visitors who were handed this petition—can reflect on the hidden ways in which people in distant regions are connected. Seeing the devastation caused by Colombia’s mines led some people to ask whether there was something wrong with the economic model of “development” itself. Could it be that our search for ever-increasing “standard of living”—i.e., consumption—was inherently unviable? Residents of Salem, of the Appalachian coal fields and the Colombian coal fields engaged in fruitful dialogues about these issues in the course of visits and meetings over the years.

Salem came closer to Latin America in other ways in the second half of the 20th-century as well. The Pequot mill closed in the early 1950s, moving, as had so many other New England mills, to South Carolina and then to Mexico. As the mill’s tenement houses emptied of their French-Canadian residents, they were filled with new immigrants from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. It was a pattern repeated throughout the region. As industry migrated to Mexico and the Caribbean, Mexicans and Caribbean peoples migrated to the declining mill towns.

⁶ In a meeting with “The People behind the Coal” delegation, June 2012. The author led the delegation and translated at this meeting.



They were attracted by the cheap housing stock, but even more so by the jobs created by the declining industrial economy. The few, small factories that couldn't afford to relocate sought ever-cheaper workers in order to compete with those that had moved abroad. Meanwhile deindustrialization created a new, low-wage service economy. Those who profited from the process sought more personal services (like nannies and landscapers). Those who lost out in the process also needed more services, as they worked longer hours and had to scrape by on less. In the second half of the 20th-century struggling middle class families relied more on fast and processed food (produced cheaply by immigrant workers), childcare and other expanding, low-wage sectors that underlay continued high consumption in the deindustrializing economy.⁷

In Salem, the first Dominican workers were recruited to work in the declining small leather shops in the 1980s. Their numbers increased, and they moved into the service sectors. By 2010, over 30 percent of the children in Salem's schools came from Spanish-speaking homes. In this process Salem resembled a multitude of other New England textile towns, like Lawrence and Lowell in Massachusetts, and Central Falls, Rhode Island.

Salem's history has been deeply intertwined with global trends and events in multiple ways over hundreds of years. Making visible these invisible global links offers a challenge and an opportunity to local historians, and also provides valuable material for the classroom.

Salem is not unique in its global connections. Every area of the United States has been affected by colonialism, industrialization, deindustrialization, migrations and globalization. Students can search for these global connections in their own communities' past and present.

They could begin by looking at the global origins of the products they use. Most supermarkets state the origin of their produce, and students can see a global

⁷ See Chomsky, *Linked Labor Histories*, chap. 4, and Chomsky, *They Take Our Jobs!*

system there in the aisles. By law, clothing and shoes must state where they were manufactured. What the labels don't tell us is who worked in those factories and on those farms, and under what conditions. They don't tell us why manufacturers have moved, or outsourced their work, to those countries, or why peasants and farmworkers around the world remain poor, while the food they produce graces our supermarket shelves in the United States. But a bit of research, and investigation into history and political economy, can start to answer those questions. Students can first become more aware of their contemporary realities, and then try to understand how they came to be.

Migrations, past and present, also create very visible markers in local communities. Students can be encouraged not only to find those markers, but also to ask those historical "why" questions that lead to global connections.

The production and movement of energy sources—coal, gas and oil—may be more invisible than those of food, clothing and people, yet they affect the lives of every person in the United States. Learning about one case, like the Colombian coal shipped to Salem, can lead to questions about other energy-producing regions, the social impact of extraction, and the interests, policies and relationships that have structured our energy-hungry world.

When students begin to learn about inequality and social injustice, they often also begin to ask what they can do to create a more just society and world. These were, in fact, the questions that motivated me to study history. For if we do not understand the events, systems and forces that brought us to where we are today, how can we begin to imagine how we can make change?

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Primary Source I

Salem, December 21, 1926

To the Directors of the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company.

Gentlemen:

The Committee to investigate the question of a possible Southern location, begs leave to submit the following report:

We sent Mr. Seamans and our engineer, Mr. Arey, to make a survey of possible sites in Alabama. The impression that we had that Alabama was particularly attractive as a location was strengthened by the data collected as well as by the fact that many of our competitors are already there or have sites selected for future development.

Briefly stated, our representatives covered a route of 750 miles from central to northern parts of the State under the guidance of Col. Mitchell, Vice-President of

the Alabama Power Company. They visited mills or saw sites belonging to such northern concerns as the Merrimack, Indian Head (Nashua), Dwight, Otis, Pepperell, Everett, and Utica.

The region covered is favorable as to climate, has good roads, abundant labor supply of native American stock, and the communities are eager for new industries and ready to help in every way, even giving us what land we would require. The mills run night and day, 55 hours day shift and 50 hours at night.

Roughly speaking, taxes would be less than 50% of what they are here; power 40%; labor 25 to 50% lower than in the North; the greatest saving being on weaving as the weavers run more looms each than here. Goods can be shipped north for finishing, freight rate on finished goods being only 84¢ against \$1.15 on raw cotton. Anniston, Alabama, is the site selected by our representatives as combining all of the advantages named above and including also the best climate and railroad facilities in the State.

With many of our competitors located there or planning to do so, it is none too early in the opinion of your Committee to give the matter of building a small experimental unit there most earnest consideration.

This could be done by increasing our stock and operating under our own name or by organizing a separate corporation, all the stock of which could be held by this company. The cost of a complete 25,000 spindle unit with looms but without a finishing plant is estimated to be \$1,250,000. and cost of housing for, say, half our help would cost about \$200,000. more. This plant could turn out about 50,000 lbs. of "Salems" or similar goods.

This is a condensed report from Mr. Seamans' notes. His complete report will be placed in your hands for perusal at your leisure.

Respectfully submitted,
Committee on Southern Location



Primary Source 2

Petition from the Community of Tamaquito
Republic of Colombia
Department of La Guajira
Municipio of Barrancas
Indigenous Community of Tamaquito II
August 2006
International Group Witness for Peace

Warm greetings,

Knowing your great spirit and cooperation with the communities, we hope to present you information about our needs and the damages caused by the Cerrejón mine and its administration.

The Tamaquito II community is suffering greatly from the contamination, and our people are becoming sick from the coal dust from Cerrejón's excavations. They say that we are not within the mine's area of exploitation, but according to the law no community should have to be located less than 10 km from a mining operation. The other thing is that they do not take our community into account in any way. We hope that you can help us so that the mining company will relocate us away from here so that we can live comfortably.

We have pursued some projects for relocation with the municipal government, but they are just playing around with us ("nos están mamando gallo") and they have taken away our medical services and medicines, which we have not received for the past five (5) months.

We thank you in advance for your attention to our petition and we are sure that you will help us.

Sincerely,

Jairo Dionicio Fuentes E.

Gobernador de Cabildo (Indigenous community government leader)

Nilson Antonio Ramírez

Secretario Comité de Cabildo G.

Short-term Needs

Transportation

Issues: When a person from the community becomes ill, we have to carry him or her out in a hammock because we have no vehicle with which to take them into town.

We hope that you can help us with our transportation problem, so that we have a vehicle of our own, as we are incommunicado without one.

Medical Supplies

Issues: If we had access to medical supplies we would be able to treat people who become sick while we are waiting to be able to take them to the town.

Food coupons

Issues: The community, has you saw, has no source of work to be able to support our families. We ask for your help in enabling us to keep our families happy and healthy, as we have no place to cultivate our food.

Artisanry

Issues: We have no source of work to enable us to buy materials for our women to carry out their weaving.

Note: Any financial help that you can provide us with, we would like to be sent directly to the community through the Committee of the Cabildo.

Health

We are getting sick because we no longer receive doctors' visits in our community,

and we have no medicine. We need these because they took them away. We have no health program and the community has to sacrifice to be able to go to the doctor. We are the only community that does not receive visits from the medical brigade.

Education

The problem comes from the fact that when it rains the road becomes impassible, and the community loses its access to the town. We need our own teacher in the community, so that our children will not miss their classes. We hope that with your help, we can get the provincial government of La Guajira to appoint a teacher for our community.

The indigenous community of Tamaquito will be very grateful for your gestures of good faith which will be a small step towards achieving peace.

Long-term Needs

Indemnification and Relocation of the Community of Tamaquito II

Issues: The members of the community are becoming sick because of the contamination from the mine, and they do not let us cultivate our lands. We cannot raise animals because they also die. We cannot harvest our crops because of the burning of the coal.

Very sincerely,

Indigenous community of Tamaquito II

21 signatures follow

Petición de la comunidad de Tamaquito, 2006

República de Colombia

Departamento de La Guajira

Municipio de Barrancas

Resguardo (Comunidad) Indígena Tamaquito II

Agosto del 2006

Señores

Grupo Internacional

Acción Permanente por la Paz

Cordial Saludo,

Conocedores de su gran espíritu de cooperación con las comunidades esperamos presentarles a Ustedes las necesidades y los prejuicios causados por parte de El Cerrejón y la administración. La comunidad de Tamaquito II está pasando por la mayor parte de las contaminaciones y las personas se están enfermando por causa de la carbonilla que botan las excavaciones del carbón, y Cerrejón dice, que nosotros no estamos dentro de las acciones de explotación del carbón pero según la ley ninguna comunidad debe estar en menos de 10 km de las excavaciones del carbón, y el otro caso es que ellos tampoco tienen en cuenta a esta comunidad para nada y esperamos que Ustedes nos puedan ayudar para que estos señores nos puedan reubicar de aquí para poder vivir cómodamente.

Nosotros estábamos en unos diálogos con ellos y se le pidió la reubicación y una indemnización y ellos se retiraron de la comunidad.

Con la Administración Municipal estamos adelantando unos proyectos de reubicación pero ellos nos están manado gallo y nos han quitado los servicios de los médicos y las medicinas, donde tenemos más de cinco (5) meses de no recibirlos.

Agradeciéndoles su atención a la presente donde estamos seguros que ustedes nos ayudarán.

Atentamente,

Jairo Dionicio Fuentes E.
Gobernador de Cabildo
Nilson Antonio Ramírez
Secretario Comité de Caibldo G.

Necesidades a Corto Plazo

Transporte

Motivos: A veces se nos enferma una persona y tenemos que sacarlo en hamaca por no tener un vehículo donde sacarlo al pueblo y esperamos que ustedes nos ayuden con el transporte para poder tenerlo propio porque estamos incomunicado por falta de él.

Botiquín

Motivo: Con el botiquín tenemos la facilidad de poder auxiliar a un enfermo mientras se pueda sacar al médico en el pueblo.

Bonos alimentarios

Motivo: La comunidad, como vieron ustedes que no tiene ninguna fuente de trabajo para poder sostener cómodamente a su familia, queremos su ayuda para tener una familia feliz y saludable y no tenemos donde cultivar los alimentos.

Artesanía

Motivos: No contamos con fuente de trabajo para poderle comprar a nuestras mujeres los materiales para realizar sus actividades artesanales.

Nota: La ayuda que ustedes nos puedan brindar deseamos que sea enviado directamente a la comunidad a través del Comité de Cabildo G.

En Salud

Nos estamos enfermando por lo de las visitas médicas y las medicinas. (Nos hacen falta porque las quitaron.) No contamos con ningún programa de salud y

la comunidad tiene que sacrificarse para poder ir a dónde el médico y es la única comunidad que no cuenta con visita médica.

En Educación

El problema radica en que la comunidad, cuando lleve, se comunica con el pueblo y por lo tanto necesitamos un profesor propio de la comunidad para que los niños no pierdan clases, y esperamos por vía de ustedes del Departamento nos pueda hacer el nombramiento del profesor.

La comunidad indígena de Tamaquito sabrá agradecer un gesto de buena fe a poner un grano de arena hacia la Paz.

Necesidades a largo plazo

Indemnización y Reubicación de la Comunidad de Tamaquito II

Motivo: La comunidad se está enfermando por culpa de la contaminación de El Cerrejón y no nos dejan cultivar en sus tierras. No podemos criar animales por que también se mueren. Los cultivos no cosechan por la quema de la carbonilla.

Muy atentamente,

Comunidad Indígena de Tamaquito II

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Kevin Gaines, University of Michigan

In 1957, Louis Armstrong, the legendary African-American jazz trumpeter, was thrilling audiences in Europe and Africa as a cultural ambassador. At the height of the Cold War, the U.S. State Department sponsored the international tours of Armstrong and other jazz musicians to showcase jazz as a quintessential expression of American culture, and to counter negative international criticism of the racism and violence that still prevailed within the United States. Armstrong described his concerts in Ghana, then on the eve of its independence from British colonial rule, as one of his proudest moments.

Widely known by his nickname of “Satchmo,” the beloved entertainer succeeded so well as a goodwill ambassador that U.S. officials contemplated a tour of the Soviet Union. But the school desegregation crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas, intervened. As angry white mobs and the Arkansas National Guard blocked nine African American students from enrolling in the city’s all-white Central High School, Armstrong, who had known searing poverty and racism in his birthplace of New Orleans, angrily denounced President Dwight D. Eisenhower for allowing local authorities to defy federal court-ordered desegregation. Armstrong mused bitterly that events in Little Rock suggested that black people don’t have a country. Armstrong’s outburst put an abrupt end to plans for a tour of the Soviet Union, though he eventually resumed his activities as goodwill ambassador.

Armstrong’s furious reaction to the Little Rock crisis illustrated the extent to which the cause of civil rights was thoroughly implicated in international affairs.

And the musician’s proud identification with Ghana and other newly independent African nations was shared by many African Americans who, at crucial moments, viewed struggles for citizenship in the U.S. through the global context of the decolonization of Africa.

In the minds of U.S. policymakers, civil rights activists and supporters, and observers at home and overseas, these local civil rights campaigns were always connected to global affairs. International press coverage ensured that audiences all over the world avidly followed the United States’ convulsive struggle toward a more just society.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the U.S. civil rights movement transformed American society by ending state-sanctioned racial discrimination in the U.S. south. Acts of brutality waged by segregationists against nonviolent demonstrators demanding basic human rights garnered national and international headlines. It was in this tragic aspect of the many famous and unsung martyrs, as well, that the Civil Rights Movement, a landmark event in modern American history, held an international scope and significance, as well.

As the vast baby boom generation of young Americans came of age during the 1950s and 1960s, a changing global order provided the context for the civil rights movement. For many young Americans of all backgrounds, the Civil Rights Movement epitomized a democratic spirit of change and a commitment to social justice and reform that would lead them to question the logic and objectives of Cold War foreign policy, particularly after the escalation of the U.S. war in Vietnam in 1965.

The Fight Against Jim Crow Segregation

In the U.S., Jim Crow segregation, a regime of *de jure*, or legal racial discrimination throughout the U.S. south, lasted almost a century, from the end of Reconstruction, in 1877, roughly speaking, to the passage of federal Civil Rights and Voting Rights legislation by 1965. In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the Supreme Court gave legal sanction to Jim Crow with its doctrine “separate but equal,” ruling that southern



laws requiring separate, whites-only railroad cars did not violate the Constitution. For generations, ideologies of white supremacy stoked fears of “social equality” that resulted in shocking acts of mob violence and lynching against any blacks that dared challenge the status quo, or were perceived by whites as doing so. For African Americans living under Jim Crow segregation, the threat of violence, fear and defenselessness were ever-present realities.

Throughout the 20th-century, African Americans fought back, through such civil rights organizations as the northern-based National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), founded in 1909. Moreover, millions of blacks sought a better life by migrating out of the Jim Crow south to northern industrial cities, where they gained a measure of political and social progress; they also encountered discrimination in employment and housing, and sometimes violence, as well. The national emergency of foreign wars and the need for military manpower provided leverage for African-Americans’ demands for equality. From the 1930s, led by African-American attorney Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP waged a protracted struggle in the courts to overturn segregation in public schools. During World War II, U.S. and military officials’ calls for national unity and resolve against fascism and racial and religious bigotry made the South’s *de jure* segregation and racism seem outmoded.

World War II energized the demands of civil rights leaders and organizations for desegregation of the U.S. Army and American society. African-American labor and civil rights leader A. Philip Randolph led the fight against racial discrimination in defense industries. African-American newspapers promoted the Double V campaign, linking African-American support for victory against fascism overseas with their demand for victory at home against the South’s racial tyranny.

A resurgence of racial violence against blacks in the South after the war led President Harry S. Truman and U.S. officials to fear that international news coverage of such incidents was undermining the image of the United States and its claim as leader of the “Free World.” The Soviet Union seized upon such incidents and the persistence of

Jim Crow, criticizing U.S. racism to overseas audiences, including new and emergent Asian and African nations liberating themselves from British and French colonial rule, a process known as decolonization. The Cold War, decolonization and the U.S. foreign policy of containing Soviet communism and promoting democracy elevated the domestic issue of civil rights to one of global magnitude for U.S. policymakers. Officials spoke of racial discrimination that undermined American ideals of freedom as an “Achilles heel” for the nation. The U.S. State Department closely monitored international criticism of American racism, and labored to convince foreign audiences that America was solving its problems of racial conflict. Because segregation in public schools had attracted condemnation in the United Nations and the foreign press, the U.S. Justice Department supported the desegregation of the public schools in the District of Columbia. Desegregation, U.S. officials concluded, was essential to national security and the nation’s moral leadership of the world’s free and democratic nations. In 1954, when the Supreme Court handed down its unanimous decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, striking down “separate but equal,” the State Department and the United States Information Association (USIA) wasted no time in broadcasting the decision to Eastern Europe and other countries under Soviet control.

Southern politicians loudly condemned the *Brown* decision. White Citizens’ Councils sprang up throughout the region, seeking to rid their society of “the dark cloud of integration” as a “communistic disease that is being thrust upon us.”¹ But supporters of civil rights also invoked Cold War anticommunism to gain support for their cause. Such prominent African-American civil rights leaders as A. Philip Randolph and Roy Wilkins argued that segregation was not only morally wrong but also damaging to the nation’s global moral standing. In the end, Cold War anticommunism was double-edged; while it informed the consensus for desegregation among civil rights advocates, the Supreme Court, and the U.S. State Department, it also provided segregationists with the means to demonize and discredit the cause of civil rights as part of a communist conspiracy.

1 Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). p. 111.

The International Origins of Nonviolent Direct Action: From Montgomery to the Sit-In movement

The Cold War was not the only global conflict that influenced the Civil Rights Movement. During the 1940s, American civil rights activists in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist organization, emulated the nonviolent philosophy and tactics of the Indian nationalist Mohandas Gandhi, who led the successful mass movement against British colonial rule. More broadly, for many supporters of civil rights in the U.S., global anticolonial movements in India, and throughout Africa and Asia, provided inspiring examples of peaceful, democratic social change. The Gold Coast nationalist movement against British rule in West Africa, led by Kwame Nkrumah, embraced Gandhian ideals of nonviolent change, and welcomed the support of American pacifists and civil rights activists.

In 1947, an interracial group of civil rights and peace activists in the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) used Gandhian-inspired tactics of nonviolent, passive resistance in conducting sit-in protests to desegregate restaurants in northern U.S. cities. The example of Gandhian nonviolence would be instrumental for the Montgomery (Alabama) Bus Boycott. Activists in Montgomery enlisted Reverend Martin Luther King to lead the boycott movement. CORE activist and pacifist Bayard Rustin joined King in Montgomery as an advisor, schooling King in the philosophy and tactics of nonviolence. Many of the African Americans of all walks of life who refused to patronize the segregated bus system were inspired, in part, by news reports of the nationalist movement in the Gold Coast colony in West Africa against British rule.

Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, invited Martin Luther King and other African-American political and civic leaders to that nation's independence ceremonies in March 1957 as a gesture of solidarity with the cause of civil rights. Nkrumah told King that the unity of the people of Montgomery had given him hope in his people's struggle. King described his elation at the moment the new nation's flag was raised as the cheers of thousands echoed in the open air stadium: "And I



Martin Luther King, Jr., head-and-shoulders portrait, facing right, at microphones, after meeting with President Johnson to discuss Civil Rights, at the White House, by Warren K. Leffler, 1963. Published by Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, U.S. News & World Report Magazine Collection, [LC-DIG-ds-00836, frame 27]. Available at <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2011648312/>

could hear that old Negro spiritual once more crying out: 'Free at last, free at last, Great God almighty, I'm free at last'..." He also relayed Nkrumah's invitation to African Americans to come to Ghana, putting their business, professional and technical skills to use in building the new nation. Revealing a global outlook that linked the civil rights movement to the freedom struggles of African peoples, King drew hope from what he called the "passing...of an old order of colonialism, of segregation, of discrimination."²

² Kevin Gaines. *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), pp. 83-84.



Although the Little Rock crisis followed some months after Ghana's independence, the optimism of King and others that nonviolent direct action could generate relatively peaceful change seemed to be borne out by the sit-in movement that started at a Woolworth's in North Carolina. Subsequent protests spread throughout the South, and eventually the nation, as hundreds of protests involving some 70,000 students confronted Jim Crow over the next year and a half. This nonviolent youth movement led to the founding of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), whose activists invoked the interracial ideal of the Beloved Community while voicing frustration with the white South's defiance, claiming that Africans would be free before they could enjoy a cup of coffee downtown.

Hopes raised by the sit-in movement that political change in the U.S. and Africa might be achieved through nonviolent means were sorely tested by events in South Africa, the Congo and the U.S. South. In March 1960, police in Sharpeville, South Africa, fired upon nonviolent demonstrators protesting that nation's pass laws. In June, the Congo, a vast nation in central Africa, was fractured by civil war immediately after ceremonies marking its independence after nearly a century of colonial rule by Belgium. In February 1961, the slaying of the Congo's democratically-elected Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, was announced by Belgian officials. Like Nkrumah, Lumumba was popular among those African Americans with a keen interest in emerging African nations. Some African Americans disrupted a session on the Congo at the United Nations, holding the U.N., Belgium, and the U.S. responsible for Lumumba's death. In May 1961, interracial groups of CORE and SNCC activists staged Freedom Rides on a bus tour of the South to test a federal law that desegregated bus station restrooms, waiting rooms and lunch counters. The extensive national and international press coverage of the attacks and beatings endured by the Freedom riders led Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to demand a halt to such demonstrations, believing that they played into the hands of the nation's Soviet adversaries.

For the administration led by the attorney general's brother, President John F. Kennedy, the Cold War was a much higher priority than the Civil Rights Movement.

To be sure, Kennedy supported SNCC's voter education efforts in Mississippi, preferring them to nonviolent direct action protests like the Freedom Rides that were likely to provoke mob attacks and embarrass the U.S. before the eyes of the world. But Kennedy did not openly support civil rights until the crisis in Birmingham in May of 1963. There, in a city notorious for its violent resistance to change, King and the SCLC led a campaign of massive nonviolent protests. The city's police responded with attack dogs, beatings, fire hoses and mass arrests. Acutely aware of the potential harm to the nation's standing caused by news coverage of these displays of brute force, Kennedy declared his support for federal civil rights legislation, becoming the first president to describe civil rights as a moral issue. As testimony to the global interest in the Civil Rights Movement, demonstrations in sympathy with the 1963 March on Washington were held in London, Paris, Munich and Tel Aviv. And African-American activists in Ghana picketed the U.S. Embassy, condemning U.S. foreign policy toward Africa and the federal government's gradualism on civil rights.

Less than a month after the triumphant March on Washington, four girls attending Sunday school were killed by a bomb planted by Ku Klux Klan members that exploded in the basement of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham. The atrocity lent credence to critics of nonviolence such as the Nation of Islam spokesman Malcolm X, who had long voiced the frustration of blacks in northern cities who faced discrimination in housing and employment, and police brutality. After the assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963, Malcolm X's criticism of the U.S. government's reliance on military force and covert action around the world led to his ouster from the Nation of Islam.

As John Lewis, Bob Moses and other SNCC leaders failed to reform the Democratic Party from within, they, like Malcolm X, and eventually Dr. King, would voice their criticisms of U.S. power within an international perspective. Enduring the constant threat of violence, and plagued by the deaths of local activists, SNCC members were disillusioned by President Lyndon Johnson's opposition to their bid to unseat the all-white, segregationist Mississippi delegation at the Democratic National Convention in



Martin Luther King and Malcolm X Waiting for Press Conference by Marion S. Trikosko, 1964., Published by Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, U.S. News & World Report Magazine Collection, [LC-USZ6-1847, frame 27]. Available at <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/92522562/>

1964. After the defeat at the convention, Bob Moses and other SNCC leaders toured Africa. In Nairobi, Kenya, John Lewis ran into Malcolm X, who was touring the continent separately. One outcome of their discussions was Malcolm X's speech to SNCC activists in which he told them, as Lewis recalled, "that this was a world struggle we were engaged in, not just an American struggle."³ Malcolm X pledged support for civil rights leaders he had previously maligned, and redefined the issue of civil rights as a global movement for human rights. The prospects for such a black united front ended with Malcolm X's assassination. For his part, Bob Moses came to assess the plight of Mississippi blacks in

3 John Lewis, (with Michael D'Orso). *Walking With the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1998), p. 324.

relation to the abuses of American military power abroad. SNCC declared its opposition to the Vietnam War in January 1966. Viewing the war as immoral, SNCC activists and the burgeoning antiwar movement rejected the argument that the conflict was essential for the Cold War strategy of containment, to halt the spread of communist regimes.

Even after the hard-won achievements of federal civil rights and voting rights legislation, Dr. King, too, was compelled by events to articulate an ever more radical indictment of injustice at home and abroad. In 1966, while accompanying King on a march through Mississippi, younger activists from SNCC who were disenchanted with nonviolence and conciliation openly challenged King's leadership. The press picked up the militants' chants of "Black Power," much to the consternation of moderate civil rights leaders, white public opinion and Dr. King, himself. King shifted the movement's attention to employment and housing discrimination in Chicago, succeeding in little more than provoking an intense backlash among whites. In April 1967, King declared his opposition to the Vietnam War as unjust, immoral, wasteful and an obstacle to social and economic justice at home. In the eyes of President Johnson and the establishment media, King's antiwar stance had made him a pariah. Even fellow civil rights leaders questioned the wisdom of King's speaking out against the war, which they feared would further undermine waning popular support for civil rights. Undaunted in the face of criticism and death threats, King called for an economic restructuring of society, condemned U.S. interventions in Asia, Latin America and Africa, and organized a poor people's campaign. On April 4, 1968, the day after his emotional speech at a rally hinted at a premonition of his untimely end, King was assassinated in Memphis while lending his support to striking sanitation workers.

Kwame Nkrumah learned of the assassination of Martin Luther King while in exile in Conakry, Guinea. Nkrumah's government had been overthrown by a military coup in 1966. King's murder had convinced Nkrumah, who had survived two assassination attempts while in office, of the violence at the heart of American society, a view shared by many Americans who had invested their hopes in King's leadership. As he presciently wrote to a correspondent, "Yesterday Malcolm. Today Luther King. Tomorrow fires all over the United States." Nkrumah's prediction of civil unrest in cities across the U.S. was

accurate. King and Nkrumah were more alike than they knew, both forced to abandon their optimism on the prospects for change, both dissenting from American and Western empire and militarism, and suffering a dispiriting fall from grace.

If there is a redeeming lesson to this tragic saga, a living legacy amid the destruction of dreams of freedom and so many of those who tried to realize them, it is the durability of nonviolence as a strategy for global change. The end of the Cold War has seen an escalation of violence among states and non-state actors, and the ubiquity of armed conflict around the world. Nevertheless, nonviolent resistance has remained a potent tool for those struggling for human rights and liberation against dictatorships. The moral leadership of Nelson Mandela, jailed for 27 years by the apartheid regime of South Africa, is widely credited upon his release for ensuring the relatively peaceful transition to the Republic of South Africa in 1994. The comic book of Dr. King and the Montgomery Bus Boycott was translated into Arabic and used as an organizing tool by activists during the Arab Spring demonstrations in Cairo, Egypt, in 2011. And hope endures in the person of Rep. John Lewis, the courageous veteran of many civil rights battlegrounds, who braved countless beatings and arrests in confronting injustice, and continues to preach nonviolence and reconciliation to a nation and world sorely in need of such a message:

“There is an old African proverb: ‘When you pray, move your feet.’ As a nation, if we care for the Beloved Community, we must move our feet, our hands, our hearts, our resources, to build and not tear down, to reconcile and not to divide, to love and not to hate, to heal and not to kill. In the final analysis, we are one people, one family, once house—the American house, the American family.”⁴

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⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 503

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Primary Source I: Questions for “Beyond Vietnam”

What group was Martin Luther King addressing?

Why did Dr. King oppose the war?

What did Dr. King suggest for ending the U.S. involvement in Vietnam War?

Why did Dr. King think the U.S. needed a moral revolution? What suggestions did he have to make the revolution possible?

Primary Source 2: Questions for “The Birth of a New Nation”

How did Western nations perceive Africa?

Why did Kwame Nkrumah return to Africa?

What was Nkrumah’s position on violent revolution?

What challenges did Nkrumah face in guiding his country?

What role did Dr. King see for Americans in the birth of the new nation?



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