

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 134 525

SO 009 782

TITLE A Nation of Nations. Materials for Using American Issues Forum in the American History Classroom, Topic I.

INSTITUTION New York State Education Dept., Albany. Div. of General Education.

SPONS AGENCY National Endowment for the Humanities (NFAH), Washington, D.C.

PUB DATE 76

NOTE 78p.; For related documents, see ED 123 163, ED 129 661-662, and SO 009 783-785

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.83 HC-\$4.67 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS *American Indians; Classroom Techniques; *Cultural Pluralism; Ethnic Groups; Grade 11; History Instruction; *Immigrants; Resource Materials; Secondary Education; Slavery; Social Studies; Teaching Methods; *United States History

IDENTIFIERS *American Issues Forum

ABSTRACT

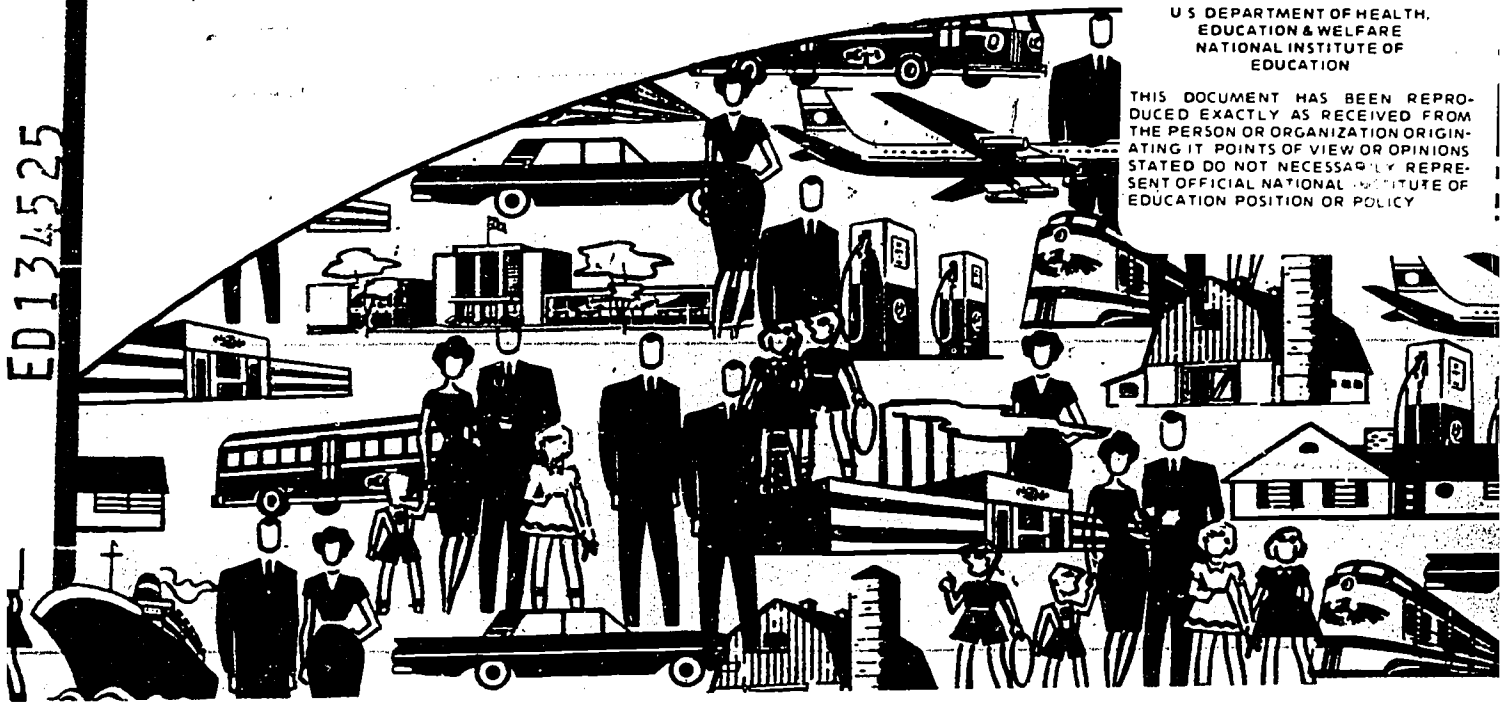
This booklet presents a set of secondary level classroom strategies for examining American history in light of the issues identified by the American Issues Forum. Emphasis is on the composite nature of American society, based on assimilation of American Indians, European and Chinese immigrants, and African slaves. A section on Indian-white relationships includes drawings about conquests and treaties made by Spanish and colonial Americans, a description from an 1868 edition of Harper's Weekly about Indian prisoners taken by Custer, recommended readings, and a list of words which illustrate Indian contributions to English language and culture. Sections on European and Chinese immigrants focus on motivations for immigration, native opposition to newcomers, and restrictive legislation. Drawings from magazines illustrate European families awaiting deportation, and Chinese merchants being harrassed by American legal restrictions. Readings portray the frustrations of immigration inspection on Ellis Island and political debates about allowing Chinese laborers into the country. Also recommended are techniques for analyzing social difficulties experienced by freed black slaves. All the materials are in field-test condition. (AV)

 * Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
 * materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
 * to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
 * reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
 * of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
 * via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
 * responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
 * supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *

ED134525

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.



MATERIALS FOR USING
AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM
IN THE AMERICAN HISTORY CLASSROOM

TOPIC I: A NATION OF NATIONS



SP009 782

Developed with a grant from
THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

The University of The State of New York
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
Bureau of General Education Curriculum Development
Albany, New York 12234
1976

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Regents of The University (with years when terms expire)

1981 Theodore M. Black, A.B., Litt.D., LL.D., Pd.D., D.C.L.,
L.H.D., Chancellor - - - - - Sands Point
1987 Carl H. Pforzheimer, Jr., A.B., M.B.A., D.C.S., H.H.D.,
Vice Chancellor - - - - - Purchase
1978 Alexander J. Allan, Jr., LL.D., Litt.D. - - - - - Troy
1981 Joseph C. Indelicato, M.D., L.H.D. - - - - - Brooklyn
1986 Kenneth B. Clark, A.B., M.S., Ph.D., LL.D., L.H.D.,
D.Sc. - - - - - Hastings on
Hudson
1983 Harold E. Newcomb, B.A. - - - - - Owego
1988 Willard A. Genrich, LL.B., L.H.D., LL.D. - - - - - Buffalo
1982 Emyln I. Griffith, A.B., J.D. - - - - - Rome
1977 Genevieve S. Klein, B.S., M.A. - - - - - Bayside
1981 William Jovanovich, A.B., LL.D., Litt.D., L.H.D. - - - - Briarcliff
Manor
1983 Mary Alice Kendall, B.S. - - - - - Irondequoit
1984 Jorge L. Batista, B.A., J.D. - - - - - Bronx
1982 Louis E. Yavner, LL.B. - - - - - New York
1979 Laura B. Chodos, B.A., M.A. - - - - - Clifton Park
1980 Martin C. Barell, B.A., I.A., LL.B. - - - - - Great Neck

President of The University and Commissioner of Education
Ewald B. Nyquist

Executive Deputy Commissioner of Education
Gordon M. Ambach

Deputy Commissioner for Elementary, Secondary and Continuing Education
Thomas D. Sheldon

Associate Commissioner for Instructional Services

Assistant Commissioner for General Education and Curricular Services
Vivienne Anderson

Director, Division for Curriculum Services
Gordon E. Van Hooft

Chief, Bureau of General Education Curriculum Development
Herbert Bothamley

Director, Division of General Education
Ted T. Grenda

Chief, Bureau of Social Studies Education
Donald . bragaw

77072

FOREWORD

The modules for *A Nation of Nations* included in this publication have been produced in consonance with the program of the American Issues Forum under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The classroom strategies are intended to provide suggestions for examining American history in the light of the issues identified by the national committee which proposed the American Issues Forum. In view of the topical nature of the 11th grade social studies program, this can be done without seriously disrupting most teaching programs.

The materials are in fieldtest condition, so that classes and teachers may provide input concerning learning experiences which prove to be most useful. Some assessment of each strategy used by some or all of the students and suggestions of modifications or substitutions will help the Department produce a final set of strategies which will carry the themes of the American Issues Forum into the future, as we look beyond the Bicentennial year.

Teachers will find this American Issues Forum topic closely related to the American history topic, The American People, in the syllabus for Social Studies 11, *American History*.

The Evaluation Form appears on page iv.

Shannon Turner, social studies teacher, Mamaroneck High School, and JoAnn B. Larson, formerly social studies teacher, Ravena-Coeymans-Selkirk Central School developed these materials as part of the work done under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Donald H. Bragaw, Chief, Bureau of Social Studies Education, is coordinating the project. The manuscript was prepared for publication by Janet M. Gilbert, associate in Curriculum Development.

HERBERT BOTHAMLEY, *Chief*
Bureau of General Education
Curriculum Development

GORDON E. VAN HOOFT, *Director*
Division for Curriculum Services

EVALUATION FORM FOR
A NATION OF NATIONS

Please return this form to the Bureau of General Education Curriculum
Development, The State Education Department, Albany, New York 12234

1. Classroom strategies used (list by pages)

2. How many students were involved in using this material?

3. Were the reading passages/statistical materials/ graphics within the
comprehension level of most of the students using them? (list by
pages and indicate how satisfactory each was, if a single answer does
not apply)

4. Were the suggested questions, and/or the learning strategies interesting
and helpful to students in reaching the understandings or developing
the desired concepts? (list by pages and indicate how satisfactory
each was, if a single answer does not apply)

5. Please suggest substitutions of readings/statistics/graphics which you think would be more appropriate.

6. Please suggest modifications of the learning strategies to make them more effective for more students.

Send descriptions of learning strategies, with references to reading passages, etc., which you have found effective in teaching these same understandings or concepts.

Your signature and school identification is optional; we'd like to give you credit if we use any of your ideas!

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, THOUGH CHIEFLY FROM WESTERN EUROPE, REPRESENT EVERY PART OF THE WORLD.

Teaching Strategies

Have students read a selection dealing with the migration of Indian tribes to North and South America. You may wish to choose one of the following, although other such articles are available.

- Josephy, Alvin M., Jr. The Indian Heritage of America. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. pp. 37-48.
- Willey, Gordon R. An Introduction to American Archaeology. Vol. I. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice Hall, Inc. 1966. pp. 12-25.

As students investigate this evidence have them also consider the map on page 2 and questions below:

- Who are the native Americans?
- What evidence leads archaeologists and anthropologists to believe that humans did not evolve in North and South America?
- Upon what types of evidence do modern archaeologists base their theories?
- To what extent did changes in land masses effect the migrations of native Americans?
- To what extent were the factors impelling the native American to migrate to the Americas similar or disimilar to the motives which later influenced Europeans?

The arrival of the white man in the 16th century revolutionized the life of the native American. Below you will find a picture portfolio of Indian-White Contact, some recommended readings for the general topic of Indian/White relations and additional strategies. Assign students specific segments of the evidence based upon their interests and abilities.

- To what extent did all whites have a common approach to native Americans?
- How extensive was the native American impact upon European life styles and culture?
- To what extent did any single group of Europeans treat Indians more harshly than any of the others?
- How realistic a view did Europeans and Americans of European ancestry have on native Americans? Why?
- To what extent did European culture alter the culture of the native American? How?

Have students examine the following picture portfolio. They should consider the above questions and the following specific questions.

- According to the pictures, which group (white or Indian) assumed the more aggressive stance toward the other? Why?
- What evidence can you identify to illustrate the harsh treatment of the Indian by Europeans?
- Why did Europeans adopt the policy they did toward Indians?
- What solutions did Americans have for its problems with relations to the Indian?
- What would your attitude be if you were a native American regarding other Americans?

Copyrighted material removed by ERIC.

(Map by Jean Paul Tremblay from THE INDIAN HERITAGE OF AMERICA by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. Copyright (c) 1968 by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. Published by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., and Bantam Books, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Bantam Books, Inc.)



The whites' discovery of the New World was also a discovery of peoples with cultures totally different from those of Europeans. Published accounts of what the newcomers saw often carried crude woodcuts like this German print of 1505 that tried to depict the practice of cannibalism by South American coastal Indians, as described by Amerigo Vespucci.

A PICTURE PORTFOLIO / *Indian-White Contact*



An Indian invention, new to whites, was the hammock. The illustration at left of a Brazilian Indian woman in a hammock "attached to two trees" appeared in a French book of 1625.



The Indian canoe, propelled by paddlers, was depicted in an Italian book published in Venice in 1572. This type of large, somewhat square-prowed craft, steered by a sternsman, was common in the Caribbean.

Everywhere the Europeans went, conquest followed discovery. The illustration below of Aztec warriors attacking Cortez's lieutenant, Alvarado, during the Conquest of Mexico appeared in a manuscript of 1579-81 by Fray Diego Durán. The Indian warriors include elite eagle and jaguar "knights," distinguished by their animal dress.



[Handwritten text in Spanish, likely a petition or document, with a diamond-shaped decorative element.]



Spanish rule of conquered Indians could be harsh. At left is an illustrated petition from Mexican Indians to the Spanish government in 1570, listing their grievances and asking for better treatment.



"The imaginative view...based on a sixteenth-century engraving, shows Pizarro's conquistadors capturing the Inca ruler, Atahualpa, during the Conquest of Peru in 1532."
(New York Public Library)



A painting by Franklin A. Hume for The Hudson's Bay Company

For many years in large parts of North America almost the only whites known to Indians were French and British fur men who were usually interested only in peaceful trade. In this modern painting, a Hudson's Bay Company trader (left) is seen witnessing a confrontation in 1715 in the Far North between Athapascan Chipewyans and their enemies, Algonquian Crees, to whom the British had already traded guns.



Above: Conflict between expansive whites and resisting Indians was a constant theme in U.S. history. This early nineteenth-century print depicts a 1763 incident in which whites from Paxton, Pennsylvania, angered by Indian attacks, massacred some peaceful, Christianized Indians at Lancaster. The atrocity incurred the wrath of responsible Colonial leaders.

Below: The Treaty of Greenville in 1795 that followed Anthony Wayne's victory over Ohio Valley Indians at Fallen Timbers was the first of many treaties that wrung large land cessions from defeated Indians. The cessions of the Miami leader Little Turtle and his allies, shown negotiating with Wayne, opened most of Ohio and part of Indiana to white settlers.



Chicago Historical Society

"On the morning of the 27th surprised the camp of Black Kettle...we captured the entire camp, killing the chief, Black Kettle, and 102 warriors, whose bodies were left on the field, all their stock, ammunition, arms, lodges, robes and fifty-three women and their children."

(Harper's Weekly, December 19, 1868, page 811.)



THE SEVENTH U.S. CAVALRY CHARGING INTO BLACK KETTLE'S VILLAGE AT DAYLIGHT, NOVEMBER 27, 1868.—[SEE PAGE 811.]

(Ibid., page 801.)



H. B. Alexander, Sioux Indian Painting
Yale University Library

The painting above by Sioux artist Amos Bad Heart Bull shows the Oglala hero Crazy Horse, mounted on a white steed, charging in among Custer's disorganized troopers at the dramatic Battle of the Little Bighorn, June 25, 1876. The Indian triumph was short-lived. Within a year the army had crushed forever the power of the Plains Indians.

The end of freedom: a wire fence on the Pine Ridge Sioux reservation in South Dakota in the late nineteenth century.



Clarke Historical Library, Mount Pleasant, Michigan



AMERICA FOR THE RED MAN.
The most practical way of solving the Indian question.

(Harper's Weekly, February 1, 1879, page 96.)

Have students examine the following engraving and article which accompanied the engraving.

- . Why did the U.S. government wish to break up the "nomadic habits" and "irregular settlements" of the native American?
- . What do terms such as "hostile Indians," "vanquished savages" say about American attitudes regarding the native American?
- . What does Harper's Weekly mean when it speaks of reducing the native American to "their proper position" in relation to the government?
- . What does Harper's Weekly think of government policy regarding the native American? Explain.
- . To what extent does Harper's Weekly show any sympathy to the plight of the native American as individual human beings?
- . If you were a native American living in the United States of the 1860's what would your reaction have been to this article and engraving?
- . To what extent and in what way did white attitude regarding the native American change from colonial times to the 1860's?

INDIAN PRISONERS TAKEN BY CUSTER.

Our engraving on page 825 illustrates a peculiar feature of SHERIDAN's plan of Indian warfare. His object is to break up the nomadic habits and to destroy the irregular settlements of the hostile Indians. He finds them as at Black Kettle village out of their proper place; he pounces upon them, shows his power by a physical conquest, breaks up their villages and lodges; but after that comes the most important and most difficult portion of his work: he has to bag the whole parcel of vanquished savages and bear them off—the warriors, the aged, and the young—to their proper reservation. And there the Indian must stay, understanding that if again found wandering he must suffer the severest penalties of martial law.

The action of Congress in transferring the entire management of Indian affairs to the War Department will very materially facilitate General SHERIDAN's operations. The Department of the Interior has made a sad bungle of this Indian matter; its immense patronage has introduced corruption and almost criminal negligence, and thus Indian agencies as well as the Indians themselves have become demoralized. The new arrangement will make it possible to reduce the Indians to their proper position in relation to the Government; it will make coercion possible in so far as that may be necessary, and it will bring peace to our borders through the stern lessons of war—the only lessons which savages can appreciate.

Our illustration shows the method adopted in transferring Indian prisoners to their reservations. The old men and women and papposes are tied to ponies, as represented in the cut, while the hardy young Indians perform the tedious journey through the snow on foot.

(From Harper's Weekly, December 26, 1868, p. 826)



12

THE INDIAN CAMPAIGN—PRISONERS CAPTURED BY GENERAL CUSTER.—SKETCHED BY THOMAS B.

18

(Harper's Weekly, December 26, 1968, page 825.)

Written in the nation's centennial year, the following excerpt traces the course of white/native American relationships and goes on to predict the native American's future in 1976.

- . What does the excerpt say about the white/native American relationship?
- . To what extent does the excerpt regard the native American in a favorable light?
- . What specific references would you consider condescending or anti-native American? Why?
- . According to the excerpt how had the native American been abused by his white neighbors?
- . What future did the author feel the native American had in 1876?
- . How accurate was his prediction?

Ever since the year 1492 the aboriginal American has been a subject of peculiar and romantic interest to his brethren of the European stock. Travelers have described his external life and habits from every imaginable point of view. Philosophers have speculated on his origin and destiny, with fancies untrammelled by knowledge. Poets and romancers have exaggerated both his virtues and his crimes, as artists and dramatists have travestied the barbaric splendor of his attire and the dignity of his speech and deportment. Sculptors and post traders have chiseled him atrociously; he has been alternately converted by missionaries and murdered by frontiers-men, swindled by treaties and bullied by soldiers, until he has been gradually elbowed out of all available hunting grounds on earth, and driven into the central deserts of the continent, where, while waiting for the happy hunting grounds of futurity, he must in the mean time either starve or steal.

Now a starving heathen is not likely to reason very nicely concerning the rights of property. Among the whites, on the other hand (according to the peculiar tenet of the party that happens to be out of office), "stealing is unconstitutional." Hence it is easy to foresee, ere another centennial volume is added to our national history, there will be nothing left of the noble red man but a case of flint arrow-heads, stone hatchets, and moth-eaten trappings at the Smithsonian. ...

It is historically evident that the simple-minded aboriginal was honeyfugled out of Pennsylvania by the amiable astuteness of its founders about as thoroughly and rapidly as he was preached out of New England by the twanging orthodoxy of the Puritans, or driven from Virginia by the reckless steel and gunpowder of the Cavaliers.

(Harper's Weekly, January 29, 1876, page 625.)

Oppressed by an exacting and intolerant civilization which he can not accept in any form presented to him, an encroaching power which he has never been able successfully to resist, the Indian of the plains at this day hunts, feasts, dresses, starves, steals, fights, and scalps as did his fathers on the shores of the Atlantic when first discovered by European adventurers. ... Unchanged in faith as in habits, the red man sees the deadly circle closing around him, struggling savagely to the last and still sustained by the sublime hope of rejoining those fathers

"In the island of the Blessed,
In the kingdom of Ponemah,
In the land of the Hereafter."

If we can not help it, we must at least acknowledge there is some poetry in the people who have bequeathed all these grand and beautiful names to our rivers, lakes, and mountains, names rich with traditional significance, excelling the ancient Greek in sonorous dignity, vying with the modern Tuscan in musical sweetness. That there must be some inherent greatness of soul in that race whose savage pride has matched the relentless bigotry of the all-conquering Englishman, and in the three centuries of unequal and hopeless war has not furnished a single slave to flatter the victor's triumph. ...

Recommended Readings:

- Fenton, William. American Indian and White Relations to 1830. Chapel Hill, N.C. 1957.
- Gibson, Charles. Spain in America. New York. 1966.
- Hallowell, A. Irving. The Backwash of the Frontier: The Impact of the Indian on American Culture. Annual Report, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. 1958. pp. 447-72.
- Innis, Harold A. The Fur Trade in Canada. New Haven, Conn. 1962.
- Josephy, Alvin M., Jr. The Indian Heritage of America. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Chapter 4, "The White Man's Debt to Indians," and Chapter 24, "The Impact of the White Man on Indians."
- Spicer, Edward H., ed. Perspectives in American Indian Cultural Change. Chicago. 1961.

Below is a list of words which illustrates Indian contributions to the English language and culture. Assign students to research the derivation and meaning of the following list of words.

wigwam	toboggan	cougar	war park
succotash	tomahawk	woodchuck	big chief
tobacco	moose	hominy	Indian summer
papoose	mackinaw	war paint	happy hunting ground
chipmunk	hickory	Indian file	
squash	pecan	bury the hatchet	
skunk	raccoon	paleface	

(Adopted from Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. The Indian Heritage of America, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1968, pages 32-33.)

- What Indian tribes contributed these words to English? What does this tell you about the point of contact between the two cultures?
- What reasons can you propose for these words being adopted into English?
- What do these words tell you about the nature of Indian life?
- Based upon these words and the types of cultural interchange they suggest, how extensive an influence did Indians have upon the European life style and culture.

The following represent three areas where Indian-White contact altered the Indian way of life. Using some of the sources listed above or additional ones of your choice, have students discuss what life was like for Indians before Europeans introduced the innovation and how it altered the Indian way of life in one of the following areas:

- stone and flint tools replaced by metal ones
- introduction of the horse
- the effects of the white man's diseases

Below you will find three commonly held generalizations concerning French, Spanish, and English approaches and interactions with the native American. Divide the class into three groups (French, Spanish and English) and using material in the recommended reading have the students determine the validity of these generalizations or cliches.

- The French—primarily concerned with the fur trade/religion.
- The Spanish—primarily concerned with the possibility of finding precious metals.
- The English—primarily concerned with acquiring land.

- To what extent did French, Spanish and English official policy toward the Indian differ?
 - To what extent did actual settlers carry out this policy?
 - To what extent did any single group of Europeans treat Indians more harshly than any of the other groups?
- How would you alter these statements to more accurately reflect conditions in colonial America.

THERE ARE COMMON THREADS IN THE MOTIVATIONS FOR THE IMMIGRATION TO THE THE UNITED STATES, WITH VARIATIONS RELATED TO SOURCE AND TIME OF MIGRATION.

What can be learned about the motivating forces for migration by comparing voluntary and involuntary migrations of the colonial period?

Below are two statements concerning African and European society. Using an overhead projector show your students each statement.

- The African came out of a society where nature was kind: nature furnished him enough food, enough land, enough of the basic things he needed to live a pretty good life.
- The European, coming from a society where nature was rather stingy and where he had to compete with his brother for his breakfast, his land, and his woman, had acquired a competitive nature that the African could not deal with.

Now have students examine each statement. Students should now assume that they accept the statements as valid. Taking the statements as given they should then formulate a composite picture of the types of people described in each students.

African Characteristics

European Characteristics

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

- To what extent does this composite picture differ from your usual stereotype of Africans and Europeans?
- How valid is this new stereotype?

- . To what extent are national characteristics predetermined by geographic and climatic conditions?
- . What criticism can be leveled against the concept of geographic determinism?

The greatest destroyer of African culture, the greatest exploiter of the African, was the plantation system in the New World. The African was transformed into something called a Negro; he was demeaned. Using an overhead projector show your students each of the following sets of statements.

A COMPARISON OF SLAVERY IN TWO AREAS OF THE NEW WORLD

West Indies

1. Slaves usually came from the same areas in Africa.
2. Families were generally kept together.

United States

1. The plantation system consciously sought to destroy every element of African culture.
2. The family which was the most meaningful entity in African life was systematically and deliberately destroyed.

- . To what extent do you agree or disagree with either or both of these sets of statements concerning the slave system in the New World?
- . How does this picture of the migration of the African to the United States, differ from the picture your students have of other groups who migrated at the same period?

ALTHOUGH THIS NATION'S NEEDS FOR IMMIGRANTS PRIOR TO THE 20TH CENTURY WERE GREATER, MOST IMMIGRANTS, THEN AS NOW, HAVE EXPERIENCED SIMILAR SOCIOLOGICAL PATTERNS OF CHANGE.

RESISTANCE TO IMMIGRANTS PRODUCED NATIVIST OPPOSITION TO NEWCOMERS AND EVENTUALLY RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION.

The United States is essentially a nation of both voluntary and involuntary immigrants but our attitudes towards these immigrants has changed over the years. In this section the guide will deal with:

- . Reactions to the new immigrant
- . The fear of the new immigrant
- . The development of the quota system as a means of restricting the "new" immigrant.

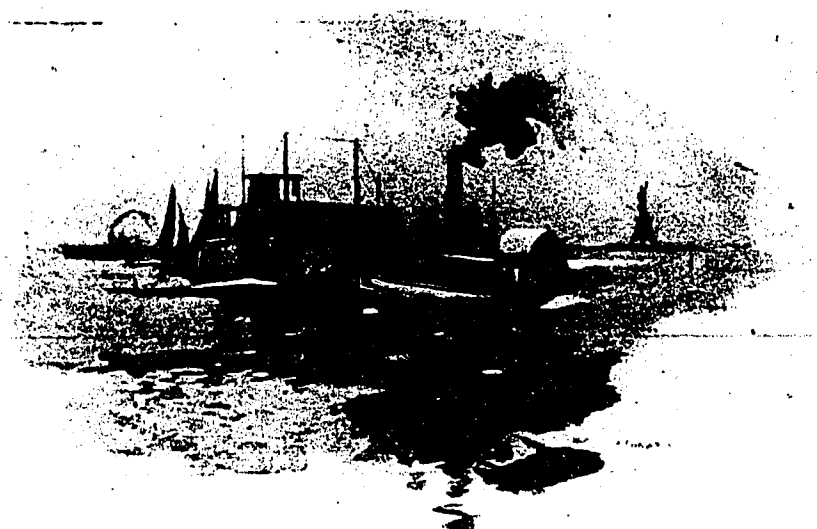
Below you will find a picture portfolio of immigrants arriving in New York. These pictures were compiled from magazines published at the turn of the century and as such represent an important primary source of evidence. Have students examine these pictures and then have each student contribute a phrase or a single sentence that synthesizes his/her impression of what the immigrant must have felt upon entering the United States for the first time.

After the class has drawn a composite verbal picture of immigrant impressions, have students re-examine the picture series for more specific characteristics of the process all immigrants experienced.

- Who were the immigrants at the turn of the century?
(Where were they from? Why did they come? How old were they? What did they bring with them?)
- What do the immigrants facial expressions, the posture of their bodies, tell you of the way they felt as they passed through Ellis Island?
- What bias, if any, do the original captions display?
- The articles from which these photographs and drawings were taken were entitled: "Americans in the Raw," "America's Welcome to the Immigrant," and "In the Gateway of Nations." What do these titles tell you of American attitudes toward immigrants? Why?

Duplicate a set of the pictures for each student. After students have examined and discussed the pictures in class have them bring them home and share them with their families. Have students ask parents, grandparents and friends to share stories of their family's arrival in the United States. Have the class compile an anthology of these accounts. Some families may be unwilling or unable to convey these stories so these students should be assigned alternative strategies.

- When do you think or know that your family first arrived in America?
- Where did they arrive?
- Why did they come?
- What were their earliest impressions of America?
- What was life like for them here? How different was it from their homeland?



"A BOATLOAD OF IMMIGRANTS JUST TRANSFERRED FROM A STEAMER"

(From Outlook, October 4, 1902, page 257.)



LANDING ON ELLIS ISLAND

The immigrants are brought in barges from the ships to the Island

(From World's Work, October 1902, page 2651.)



"ALONG THE WHARF THEY CAME TRUDGING"

(From Outlook, October 4, 1902, page 256.)



ON ELLIS ISLAND

Polish women going from a barge to the immigration building .

(From World's Work, October 1902, p. 2649.)



INTERIOR OF THE IMMIGRANT STATION ON ELLIS ISLAND.

(From Architectural Record, December 1902, p. 731.)



Drawn by G. W. Peters. Half-tone plate engraved by W. Miller

THE REGISTRY DESK, ELLIS ISLAND

(From Century Magazine, March 1903, page 677.)

30



Drawn by G. W. Peto. Based on the original by R. C. Collins
 THE NEW YORK DETENTION ROOM, ELLIS ISLAND

(Century Magazine, March 1903, page 680.)



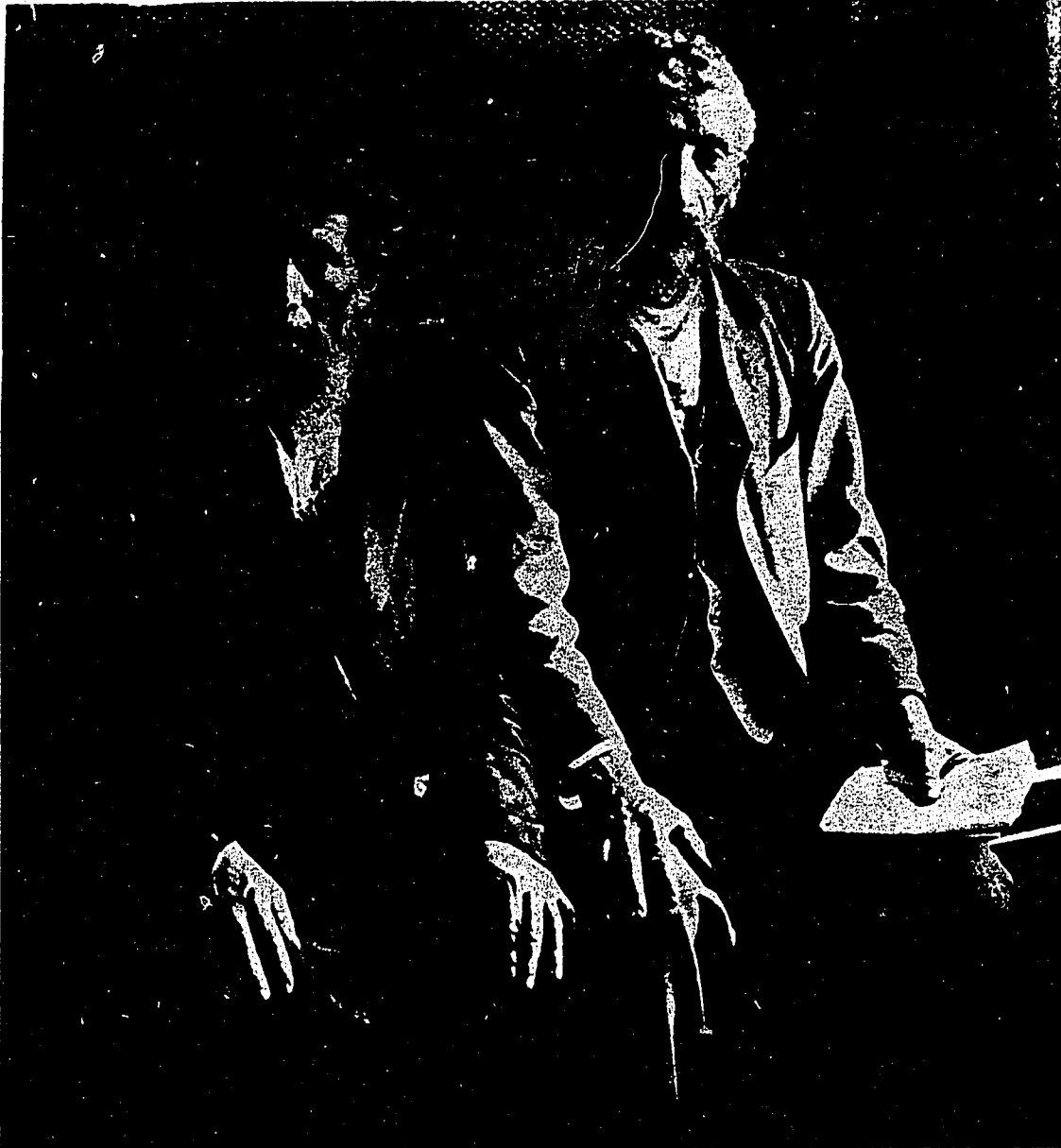
"THEN PASSING ANOTHER DOCTOR"

(Outlook Magazine, October 4, 1902, page 261.)

DETAINED FOR SPECIAL INQUIRY



(World's Work, October 1902, page 2644.)



IN THE DETENTION PEN
Men who will be deported as not desirable

(World's Work, October 1902, page 2646.)

35

26



"A RED HEADED WATER LORED ON WITH A SMILE"

(Outlook Magazine, October 4, 1902, page 258.)



YOUNG IRISHMEN READY FOR POLITICS



RUSSIAN JEWS

(World's Work, October 1902, page 2647.)

38



A TYPICAL ITALIAN FAMILY



PEASANTS FROM NORWAY ON THE ROOF AWAITING DEPORTATION

(World's Work, October 1902, page 2648.)



UNTIL HER FRIENDS ARRIVE.



COMING TO A NEW LAND IN HER OLD AGE.



RELEASED ITALIANS AWAITING THE BOAT TO NEW YORK

(World's Work, October 1902, pages 2649, 2650.)



WAITING IN ONE OF THE RAILWAY DETENTION ROOMS

(World's Work, October 1902, page 2645.)



(Century Magazine, March 1903, page 682.)

The following series of excerpts represent eye witness accounts of immigrants entering the United States at the turn of the century.

- . What kind of reception awaited the immigrant?
- . What efforts, if any, did the United States make to welcome these newcomers?
- . How did the immigrants feel about their reception?
- . How would you feel if you were treated in this manner?
- . What factors made an immigrant unacceptable? Why?

While the statesman ponders the perils of unrestricted immigration, and debates with organized labor whom to shut out and how, the procession moves serenely on. Ellis Island is the nations' gateway to the promised land. There is not another such to be found anywhere. In a single day it has handled seven thousand immigrants. "Handled" is the word; nothing short of it will do.

"How much you got?" shouts the inspector at the head of the long file moving up from the quay between iron rails, and, remembering, in the same breath shrieks out, "Quanto moneta?" with a gesture that brings up from the depths of Pietro's pocket a pitiful handful of paper money. Before he has it half out, the interpreter has him by the wrist, and with a quick movement shakes the bills out upon the desk as a dice-thrower "chucks" the ivories.

Ten, twenty, forty lire. He shakes his head. Not much, but he glances at the ship's manifest-is he going to friends?

"Si, si! signor," says Pietro, eagerly; his brother of the vineyard-oh, a fine vineyard! And he holds up a bundle of grapesticks in evidence. He has brought them all the way from the village at home to set them out in his brother's field.

"Ugh," grunts the inspector as he stuffs the money back in the man's pocket, shoves him on, and yells, "Wie viel geld?" at a hapless German next in line. "They won't grow. They never do. Bring 'em just the same." By which time the German has joined Pietro in his bewilderment en route for something or somewhere, shoved on by guards, and the inspector wrestles with a "case" who is trying to sneak in on false pretenses. No go; he is hauled off by an officer and ticketed "S. I.," printed large on a conspicuous card. It means that he is held for the Board of Special Inquiry, which will sift his story. Before they reach the door there is an outcry and a scuffle. The tide has turned against the Italian and the steamship company. He was detected throwing the card, back up, under the heater, hoping to escape in the crowd. He will have to go back. An eagle eye, with a memory that never lets go, has spotted him as once before deported. King Victor Emmanuel has achieved a reluctant subject; Uncle Sam has lost a citizen. Which is the better off?...

(From Century Magazine. Vol. 65, March 1903. "In the Gateway of Nations," by Jacob Riis. pp. 674-682.)

Behind the carefully guarded doors wait the "outs," the detained immigrants, for the word that will let down the bars or fix them in place immovably. The guard is for a double purpose: that no one shall leave or enter the detention-"pen" it used to be called; but the new regime under President Roosevelt's commission has set its face sternly against the term. The law of kindness rules on Ellis Island; a note posted conspicuously invites every employee who cannot fall in with it to get out as speedily as he may. So now it is the detention "room" into which no outsider with unfathomed intentions may enter. Here are the old, the stricken, waiting for friends able to keep them;...

The railroad ferries come and take their daily host straight from Ellis Island to the train, ticketed now with the name of the route that is to deliver them at their new homes, West and East. And the Battery boat comes every hour for its share. Then the many-hued procession-the women are hooded, one and all, in their gayest shawls for the entry-is led down on a long pathway divided in the middle by a wire screen, from behind which come shrieks of recognition from fathers, brothers, uncles, and aunts that are gathered there in the holiday togs of Mulberry or Division street. The contrast is sharp-an artist would say all in favor of the newcomers. But they would be the last to agree with him. In another week the rainbow colors will have been laid aside, and the landscape will be the poorer for it. On the boat they meet their friends, and the long journey is over, the new life begun. Those who have no friends run the gantlet of the boarding-house runners, and take their chances with the new freedom, unless the missionary or "the society" of their people holds out a helping hand. For at the barge-office gate Uncle Sam lets go. Through it they must walk alone.

When the steamship reaches her pier the inspectors discharge such immigrants as they may deem it unnecessary to examine (usually not over fifteen or twenty). All the others are transferred to barges and taken to Ellis Island. There on the main floor of the big immigration building they are divided into groups, according to the manifests, and separated. Later, in lines set off by iron railings, they undergo "primary inspection." Each immigrant is questioned to see if his answers tally with the manifests. If they do, he is discharged; if they do not, he is detained for "special inquiry," by boards composed of four inspectors, who decide all questionable cases. Only the Secretary of the Treasury can overrule their decision. The immigrants are kept in the big detention room downstairs until the railway agents take them to board trains to their final destinations. While on the island they are

(From World's Work, October 1902. "America in the Raw," by Edward Lowry. pp. 2644-2655.)

lodged by the Government and fed by the steamship companies.

I welcomed Florio Vincenzo when he came over to become one of us. He had no doubts of the future for he wooed the Goddess of Good Fortune boldly. Florio is fourteen; he came from Palermo. He traveled light. When he opened his cheap paper valise, it was apparently empty, save for a pair of discredited and disreputable old shoes. Florio bowed, cap in hand, and his white teeth flashed as he smiled suavely:

"I am a poor man, nobleman, seeking my fortune."

There was an odor that an old inspector knew. He picked up one of the shoes and extracted from it, after some manipulation, a creased and crumpled hunk of Bologna sausage. The other shoe was stuffed with a soft, sticky and aggressively fragrant mass of Italian cheese. These articles and a sum of Italian money equivalent to about \$1.80, and the clothes he stood in, formed the basis on which Florio expected to rear his fortune.

...An old Italian was detained at Ellis Island, preparatory to being deported because he had arrived here penniless. He sent for his son, a push-cart man, who had been in this country just one year. The boy (he was not more than twenty) brought his bank book showing deposits aggregating \$250. This money represented the sum he had saved. He impressed upon the inspectors his ability to support his father, and the old man was admitted. The boy said his expenses were about \$7.00 a week, and that he did not work for a padrone, but was an independent merchant.

Across the way was the room in which were the women who were temporarily detained. When the door was opened, there was not the movement that there had been in the other room; most of the occupants were too busy looking after children. Light and air came in through high, broad windows on two sides. A woman carrying an infant and with a little child running by her side slowly crossed the room. With a stream of Italian, accompanied by appealing gestures, she entreated the agent for her release. No explanations seemed to satisfy her, although she knew perfectly well and was told again and again that her husband was making his journey from Pittsburg to receive her. Unconsoled, she began to weep—or, rather, as we say of children, to cry, for she cried like a child. The Anglo-Saxon woman, when she weeps, either covers her face to avoid observation or controls her features to avoid disfigurement. But this poor Italian woman, wearied by her long voyage and impatient at her long waiting, talked and cried, unconscious of her appearance, as the baby beside her might have done—as, indeed, several babies in the room were actually doing. In this respect she was a type of the women of her race and station. With such ingenuous unreasonableness the constant patience of the officials was not easy to understand. The Government apparently saw to it

(From Outlook Magazine. Vol. 72, October 4, 1902. "America's Welcome to the Immigrant," by E. H. Abbot. pp. 256-264.)

that these untrained people were supplied not only with food, shelter, and protection, but also with self-control. ...

At the end of the passageway was the room of the rejected. It was not easy to face a room full of men whose hope for all their future had been dashed. In the front of the group, crowding near the door, were three figures, as it happened fairly representative. To the right was a man evidently blind, though he was trying to create the impression that he could see: to the left was a tall, gaunt, grisled man, "senile at forty-three;" between the two, a pert young fellow, a stowaway, with a smirk and a twinkle, looked up now to the right and now to the left with amusement at their despairing expostulations. Yet every case was not hopeless. If it should transpire, for instance, that the middleaged man, rejected on account of senility, should have some friend, or, rather, near relative, who could be made responsible for his support and prevent him from becoming a public charge, he would probably be allowed to enter. As for the stowaway-to anticipate-he received employment on the island, and finally was persuaded by a chum, who had been a stowaway with him but had the advantage of being an American citizen, to try his fortune elsewhere. ...

Downstairs the agent of the Italian immigrant society was hastening back and forth through the corridors, seeing that the immigrants were delivered safely into the hands of their friends. His work involved an elaborate system of record in books and on cards. After much calling of names and asking of questions, a woman was allowed to receive her sister-in-law, with considerable kissing; a stalwart, middle-aged man was happily put in charge of his pretty-faced grand-daughter; a rough-looking laborer was permitted to meet his sister. At last the cards of this group of visitors were all accounted for. But there remained near the desk a young, fair-haired, well dressed Americanized Italian. After some questioning his card was found, and a woman, prematurely aged by labor, and wearing peasant costume, accompanied by a little boy of five or six years, was taken into the cage opposite the desk. Immediately there was a joyful start of recognition simultaneously from the man and the woman, and much bobbing about to catch sight of one another. The woman held the child high up in the air. "Relation?" "Husband." "Name?" "Giuseppe Rosario." "Address?" "14 Macon Street, Jersey City." There was a rush. The cage door opened. The clerkly-looking young Italian had his peasant wife in his arms. Then in a moment he was carrying the boy on his shoulder. They had scarcely gone around the corner when the man reappeared, a troubled look on his face. His wife, in her rustic innocence, had given her baggage over to some man, she knew not whom. Here was more work for the Immigrant Society. The man sat down and waited anxiously alone on a bench.

Increasingly demands for the restriction of immigration on the basis of national origin grew until in the 1920's the Quota and National Origins Act was enacted. The following article from the March 1903 issue of Century Magazine expresses some of the attitudes which contributed to the enactment of restrictive legislation.

- . How valid were the author's ethnic views? Why?
- . How widely held do you think these views were? Why?
- . How do the ideas expressed in this article relate to those of Charles Darwin and Adolf Hitler?
- . If you accepted this viewpoint on racial and ethnic characteristics what would your attitude toward immigration policy be?

According to the results of the twelfth census, over one half of our white population consists of those immigrants who landed on our shores after the year 1835 and of their descendants. The native stock - that is, the descendants of those immigrants who settled in the United States before 1835 - was still a majority in 1890. It is now gradually becoming a small minority, not only as a consequence of the fact that every week brings thousands of newcomers from Europe, but also as a result of its decreasing natality, the recent immigrants being, on the contrary, prolific. What the newcomers are is thereby, in a large measure, what the nation will be. This makes it interesting to study the nature, extent, and probable influence of the radical change undergone, within the last decade, by the human current which constantly flows from the Old World to the New...

Modern ethnography recognizes in the Caucasian or white race at least three main subraces: the Baltic race...the Alpine race, and the Mediterranean or Ligurian race. These races are mixed to a considerable extent in some regions, yet, on the whole, they are still more frequently found isolated in well-defined areas...

We need every one of the qualities of the two alien races which are now peaceably invading our land; we want none of their defects; and a question now arises: Is it possible to sift our immigrants so as to get only the flower of them - that is, those who both mentally and physically stand above the average? Man nowadays practises everywhere, on a large scale, artificial selection upon animals, and obtains from that process well-nigh all that he wants in any direction. Artificial selection practised by man on man has, on the contrary, met with great practical difficulties, and the only way in which it is now applied is military selection *a rebours*, which kills the fittest, and leaves the undersized, the humpback, and the idiot at home for reproductive purposes. America, however, thanks to its peculiar position, can do better. We, and we alone, have a marvelous opportunity to practise on a large scale an effective system of artificial selection for the betterment of our race. Something is already being done in that direction. Convicts, prostitutes, and persons who, through bodily ailments or poverty, are likely to find them-

(From Century Magazine, March 1903.)

selves unable to earn a living, are not admitted. The Shattuck Bill, which includes an educational test, was favorably reported to the Senate. From the ethnologist's standpoint, these laws are good. They could, however, easily be made more effective without becoming thereby more difficult in their application. They are dictated by a short-sighted policy. Their makers had not so much in view the future as the present; their object was more to keep out of the country immigrants who might become a burden to the community than to improve the race. They ought to be revised in the light of a broader and more far-seeing spirit.

While embodying the same provisions for the exclusion of the physically unfit, they should also require a mental test in which an effort should be made to ascertain not so much the acquired knowledge of the individual as his mental capacity. Properly directed tests made for that special purpose always yield tolerably accurate results. To require the possession of a certain knowledge as a proof of mental vigor is not unlike asking men to caper* in order to prove their physical strength. Those who can are unmistakably strong, but many others are strong who cannot caper because they had no opportunity to cultivate that art. Anybody familiar with the nature and extent of the educational facilities in many parts of some of the European countries which deluge us with immigrants will not find the comparison altogether out of place.

Again, the immigration inspectors should not only be thoroughly conversant with the language, customs, geography, history, literature, and art of one of the European countries which sends us immigrants, but they should, moreover, perform their work in that particular country, and not in the United States. The more stringent our immigration laws become, the greater will be the necessity for such a change. How can our immigration officers now know much about the past of men and women who just arrive from a land thousands of miles away? How they can recognize...former convicts or prostitutes is a mystery to everyone. While the number of those who are forbidden to land for such reasons is ridiculously small (ten in 1901), the wonder is that any can be detected. Prospective immigrants ought to apply to immigration inspectors in their own respective countries for a license to enter the United States. Their application should be accompanied with suitable references, including the famous and useful *certificat de bonnes moeurs* delivered by the Continental police to all who have had no dealings with them. Finally, to be thoroughly efficient, the selective process should not be of an entirely negative character. Trusting in chance alone to prevent us from becoming a nation of honest nobodies is not a wise policy. Whenever a needy person, intending to emigrate, could make it clear to our inspectors in his country that he has somehow and somewhat distinguished himself in the field of science,

literature, or art, he should be given a free passage to this country. It costs something to get gold out of its gangue, yet on the whole, the process is a paying one. Intellectual families are more valuable than gold in any country. Poor or rich, they are the real wealth of a nation. To them we owe our greatest achievements and purest glories.

- . What does the following cartoon say about American attitudes toward immigrants and their ties with their former home lands? (See page 39.)
 - . How is Uncle Sam portrayed? Why?
 - . Why do the immigrants have their hands outstretched?
 - . Why is one immigrant portrayed looking back?
-
- . As an alternative strategy to develop these concepts and questions, have students read Madison Grant's "The Passing of the Great Race" and Ernest H. Crosby's "Defense of the New Immigrant" in Ideas in Conflict by Daniel Powell, Scott, Foresman and Company. 1967.
 - . Why does Grant believe the new immigration is inferior to the old?
 - . According to Grant, what has been the effect of the new immigration on the United States?
 - . Why does Crosby defend the new immigration? What does he mean by his statement, "We are the Goths and Vandals of the day?"
 - . Whose arguments regarding the desirability of the new immigration are more convincing, those of Grant or those of Crosby?
 - . From these readings are you able to judge whether the new immigration was less desirable than the old? Whether immigration brought benefits to the U.S.? What other facts might you need to know in order to form a conclusion.
-
- . For a description and discussion of the new law have students read the article by the British writers Paul and Veronica King which contrasts the earlier American immigration policy with that of the mid-1920's. (See Ideas in Conflict by Daniel Powell.)



STRINGS ACROSS THE SEA

By BOARDMAN ROBINSON

(Harper's Weekly, March 6, 1915.)

The Chinese on the West Coast of the United States were a case of an immigrant group which did not meet with ready acceptance in mid-19th century America. Americans were ambivalent about these aliens. Like the black American his immigration was not always voluntary; his experience once he arrived in America bears other similarities to the black experience. The basic question underlining the following strategies is:

- . What factors within the American culture made it difficult for certain ethnic groups to assimilate?

Strategies are based upon contemporary 19th century cartoons taken from Harper's Weekly and articles from periodicals. As students examine the materials they should consider the following questions:

- . Why did the Chinese immigrate to Western United States in such large numbers, in the mid-19th century?
- . What was life like for the Chinese immigrant in the California of the mid-19th century?
- . To what extent and in what ways did he differ from other immigrants to the United States?
- . To what extent and in what way can the Chinese experience be compared to the black experience in the pre-Civil War South? To what extent was opposition to the Chinese a race issue?
- . What groups of Californians favored Chinese immigration? Why?
- . What groups opposed Chinese immigration? Why?
- . What stereotypes concerning the Chinese do you perceive not only by those who opposed Chinese immigration but also by those who favored it?
- . What evidence is there that much of the reaction against Chinese immigration came from other recently arrived immigrant groups? Why?
- . What reasons can you propose for the violence which frequently erupted?
- . In the cartoons why are blacks and Indians frequently included?

Valuing Technique: Chinese Immigration Case Study

- . Have small groups of students examine the following written and visual evidence. (Original assignments should be made based upon students' interests and abilities. No one student should be expected to investigate all the material.)
 - identify the positions concerning Chinese immigration
 - select a recorder to jot down basic positions in order to report back to group(no attempt to evaluate these positions should be made at this point)
- . Large group activity: a composite list should be made and refined.
- . Consequences Search: positions should now be examined in terms of the time and place.
 - assign groups to each of the positions selected
 - list all possible consequences of position assigned from the point of view of those who held these positions; e.g., Republican politicians, factory owners, Irish laborers, etc.

- reunite the class and discuss possible additional consequences using consequences grid:

position #1 position #2 position #3

- rank order the positions, in terms of consequences
- Debrief
 - have class examine a copy of the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) (See Commager, Henry Steele, Documents of American History, 5th ed., Vol. II, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., pp. 110-111.)
 - Which perceived set of consequences held the greatest weight in shaping this act? Why?
 - What specific sections reflect these views?
 - How do the precepts upon which this act was built compare with those which inspired the Bill of Rights?
 - What role did race prejudice play in this act?

(See Chinese cartoons on pages 51-56.)

THE CHINESE DEBATE

How much the Republican party will put up with from some of its leaders in the way of insincerity it is, of course, impossible as yet to say, but the debate and passage of the Chinese Immigration Bill must, we cannot help thinking, have brought the more honest and intelligent members of the party considerably nearer the last limits of their patience. The bill, no matter what one's opinion of its object may be, is absolutely indefensible. It constitutes the sudden breach, with every circumstance of discourtesy, of a treaty solemnly contracted with a great and friendly power, on our own motion...

If the task of putting a stop to Chinese immigration had been entrusted to a committee of drunken miners or "sand-lot" agitators, they could hardly have executed their task with greater disregard to the decencies of international intercourse. The effect of the whole proceeding, too, is heightened by the fact that it is in form the process of a very refined, very moral, very religious, and very civilized people against corrupting intercourse with ignorant and vicious barbarians.

In saying all this we are not disposed to pooh-pooh the arguments of Senator Sargent in support of the bill. It is not candid to say, as many of us do, that the hostility of the

(From The Nation. February 20, 1879. pp. 130-131.)

Californians to the influx of Chinese is due simply to dislike of cheap labor, any more than it is candid to say that the hostility of the Southerners to negro suffrage is due simply to race prejudice...

There is a distinction, too, between Chinese immigrants and other immigrants, and it is one which may be marked by American legislators without any repudiation of the theory on which foreigners have hitherto been invited to settle in the country. Foreigners have been invited and encouraged to come because it was expected that those who came would come to stay, and as a matter of fact this expectation has been realized. All but a handful of the millions who entered the United States since 1800 have rooted themselves in the soil, and their descendants are now Americans. It is not at all probable that the invitation would have stood very long in its unqualified form if it had brought simply a swarm of sojourners, intending to remain foreigners while here, and proposing to return home in a few years. Nor could the Government have stood the strain of the presence of a vast body of persons owing it no allegiance and feeling no interest in its safety or success. Some means would have been resorted to either to compel immigrants to cast in their lot with the country or to restrict their numbers.

The Chinese, too, are something more than foreigners who refuse to be naturalized. They are foreigners whose numbers are prodigious, and whose overflow into all the countries within easy reach of their own is exciting the hostility and alarm of all who find it impossible to enter into competition with them without seriously lowering their own standard of living. It is not the Californians alone who are hostile to them...

The debate on the bill was useful in one way. It forced some declaimers like Mr. Blaine, though to their own confusion, to approach the race question in a practical way. The Chinese problem in California has a very close resemblance to the negro problem in the South. The question which both cases present is, What is the best mode under our American system of government of enabling two different races of different degrees of civilization to live peaceably together on the same soil? The natural method of solving this is the business method. We are bound to find out what is reasonable and remediable in the demands and complaints of *both* sides, and try and provide a *modus vivendi*, not with the view of carrying out the glorious principles of the *Contrat Social*, but of giving everybody the largest attainable amount of security and comfort. It is not right in dealing with California to listen only to the demands of the "hoodlums," as Mr. Blaine does, any more than it is right in dealing the South to turn a deaf ear to the complaints of the whites... There is, however, a great deal in the complaints of both which merits the serious attention of statesmen, and which ought to be dealt with in a practical and conciliatory spirit, making due allowance for prejudice and for self-interest, but none for cruelty and greed, and keeping the public welfare and the interests of our own civilization steadily in mind.

SAND-LOT RATIOCINATION

Mr. Blaine has felt it to be necessary to defend his course on the Chinese Bill in a letter to the *Tribune*, which is marked by the same want of candor as his speech in the Senate. He says that there has been no "voluntary immigration" of Chinese to California, that the Chinese immigrants have all come "under contract"; but immigration "under contract" is voluntary immigration. Willingness is of the essence of contract. A man who contracts to go to a place goes voluntarily... The only objection we can in decency make to the mode in which the Chinese reach this country is that it provides for their return to China. It is the going back under contract, and not the coming, which constitutes, as far as this point is concerned, the difference between them and European emigrants. If Irishmen or Germans contracted for a passage to this country in return for certain payments to be made after their arrival, it would never enter any one's head to propose their expulsion on that ground, and if this were all the Chinese did it would be absurd to censure them. They do this, but they also stipulate that they shall be carried home. But if they generally go back, half of Mr. Blaine's objections to their coming fall to the ground.

His second objection is that they have brought only seven thousand women with them, and that these are "impure and lewd beyond the Anglo-Saxon conception of impurity and lewdness"... The usual and proper remedy for the evil Mr. Blaine complains of is a police regulation preventing the landing of this class of Chinese women....

Mr. Blaine's third objection is that the Chinese quarter in San Francisco, as described by the health officer of that city, is squalid, unhealthy, and a hiding-place for loathsome diseases, and that the Chinese live in it separate and apart from the rest of the community. But this is really a charge of neglect of duty against the municipal government. The poor quarters in New York are as foul and loathsome and pestilential as the police will permit. The fourth is that the Chinese laborer, owing to his low standard of living, will "crowd out" the free white laborer. This is an argument, however, in favor of legislation against all laborers who live poorly and are willing to work for low wages...

The point by which the Republicans of Mr. Blaine's school who supported the bill are most embarrassed, is the contrast offered by their attitude towards the Chinese to their attitude towards the negro at the South. Mr. Eustis, in the debate in the Senate, as we observed last week, drove him into a corner here, in which he in vain tried to defend himself. All he has to say now in reply to the charge of inconsistency is that the negro was born here, and we have, therefore, to put up with his presence. This is true, but when Mr. Blaine was asked why he used the "hoodlum" outrages on the Chinese, which are more

(From The Nation, February 27, 1879, page 145.)

shocking than anything which occurs at the South, as an argument for driving out the Chinese, while he used white Southern discontent under negro rule as an argument for martial law, he calmly replied that "we must take the state of things as we find it." This reply is really as applicable to the one case as the other. The misfortune of Mr. Blaine and his kind is that they are trying to ride two horses...

A BREACH OF NATIONAL FAITH

Congress has announced to the world that the United States intend to breach treaties at their pleasure. The peremptory abrogation of the Chinese treaty is a flagrant breach of public faith which sullies the good name of the country, and puts every other nation upon its guard in undertaking any dealings with us which depend upon our honor. It is not only the national honor, however, which is concerned, but a most important commercial interest. As we disregard the parts of the treaty that we do not like, China will do the same. The treaty is, therefore, at an end, if the bill be not vetoed. If it be vetoed, all other nations have, nevertheless, been notified that Congress holds all treaties subject to its discretion. It is true that a treaty has only the force of a law of the land, and that Congress may repeal any law. But a treaty in its nature is an honorable understanding between governments, made in a way which recognizes a certain method of withdrawal from the engagement. It is not contended that a nation is bound to adhere to a treaty when it proves to be seriously injurious to its welfare. But it is bound to deal with other nations as one honest man would deal with another in annulling a contract of honor. No treaty can be construed as holding us to submit passively while our civilization is overwhelmed by barbarism. But to argue that the presence of a hundred and ten or twenty thousand Chinese upon the Pacific coast is such an imminent peril to American society and civilization as to justify the peremptory abrogation of a treaty, without notice or attempted friendly modification, is insulting to common-sense. It was stated in the debate that the return of immigrants to China during the last year or two had been as great as the movement this way. Nothing whatever was said to show the need of urgency in the matter, even conceding the force of all that was said by Mr. Sargent. But such was the determination "to put it through" that even the very questionable amendment of Mr. Conkling, providing substantially for a delay of action until notice could be served on China, was rejected. There has been no debate in the Senate for a long time which was so earnest and so interesting...

The argument for the bill was a transparent pretense. It asserted that Chinese immigration was undesirable, and therefore

(From Harper's Weekly, March 8, 1879, page 182.)

that the treaty providing for it, and providing upon terms suggested by ourselves, should be summarily broken. But the argument does not hold together. Even if it be wise to restrain the immigration, it is neither wise nor honest to break faith. The general question of Asiatic immigration involves the most fundamental principles, and is not to be decided in a few hours' hot debate. There is no doubt that the Chinese and the Anglo-Saxon do not readily assimilate. But our own national and local laws make the assimilation still more difficult. Mr. Blaine said that he was opposed to the admission of great numbers of people whom we forbade to become citizens. Yet the treaty permitting the admission was made after the prohibition of naturalization. From Mr. Blaine's point of view his argument was a reason for urging the abrogation of the treaty in a fair and recognized manner, not for summarily breaking it without the pretense of reason for the indecent haste. Indeed, throughout the debate, there was no real reason whatever advanced for the action contemplated...

THE CHINESE QUESTION

[The following extracts are from a private letter bearing date San Francisco, April 16. The writer, not a native of the United States, though long resident on the Pacific Coast, is an impartial observer, whose views are entitled to entire respect. -Ed. Nation.]

"The articles in the *Nation* on the Chinese question shows that the writer has considered it in more than one of its phases, and is conscious that he is not in a position to settle the rights and wrongs of the matter authoritatively...

"I have now had to do with California, more or less, for fifteen years, and I have found it very hard to make up my mind about the Chinese. For a long time I held to the idea that the cry against them was an unreasonable one, and that either their presence was no evil or that the evil would correct itself in time. Gradually I have come round to the opinion that the country would be better without them- socially, if not industrially- and that under certain contingencies the presence of the Chinese might become a gigantic evil. No doubt there has been a great deal of nonsense talked by those who oppose the Chinese; there has been a great deal of false political economy, and the Chinese have been blamed for evils that are merely the result of the hard times that prevail throughout the civilized world. But, on the other hand, it is a very shallow view of the matter to say that because the Eastern States have never winced under the pressure of immigration from Europe, and because the Chinese in New York trouble nobody, therefore the movement here must be due to the wicked and stupid perversity of the people of California. There is no comparison whatever. The Eastern

(From The Nation, May 8, 1879.)

States have never been exposed to an immigration of masses of men of an alien and unassimilable race. The social and political institutions of the country have grown up under a system of free immigration of people of our own race who have come to stay, and who begin to assimilate from the day of their arrival. Nothing could be more absurd than to say, as has often been hinted, that the reason the Chinese do not assimilate is because they are persecuted.

"It seems an anomaly that whereas people are always complaining that the Chinese prevent the employment of white people, the wages of white labor are still higher than elsewhere throughout the country, while the prices of necessaries and the conditions of life are very little less favorable on the average. There seems to be no doubt that California is avoided by white laborers on account of the presence of the Chinese. I have sometimes thought whether a comparison might not be instituted between the state of things here and that which existed in the South under slavery. Then, if I am not mistaken, what white laborers and mechanics there were (at least in the cities) were better paid than in the North, and yet the South was avoided by white laborers. One of the strongest complaints against the Chinese is that they interfere with the employment of boys and girls, and their being trained up in habits of industry. It is difficult to know the full extent of the evil..."

THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA

We saw our first Chinaman, if we remember rightly, far up on the Sierra Nevada, on the eastern side. As we advanced, we noticed a sprinkling of Chinese among the lookers-on at the stations, and groups of them at work on the line of the road; and their little shops in the towns, and their small tent settlements, prepared us for what we were soon to see in San Francisco- a section of China inserted into that cosmopolitan mosaic.

The story of the Chinese immigration need not be repeated here, nor will we dwell on the important service performed by Chinese laborers in the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad. The number of these people who are now upon our Western shores, is variously estimated at from sixty to seventy thousand; and of these, fifteen or twenty thousand live in and around San Francisco. In the city they occupy mostly what is known as the Chinese quarter, but they are met at every turn in all the streets; they have their own shops, in which they can procure every thing they want for food or clothing, like that to which they have been accustomed in their native land; their own temples, their own places of amusement, and their own places

(From The Penn Monthly, April 1871, pages 181-185.)

of dissipation. They are employed to a considerable extent as house servants; they have almost a monopoly, as we should judge, of the washing and ironing of the city, and they are engaged in some of the factories, although the jealousy of the workmen of other nationalities has been successful in banishing them from many of the manufacturing establishments. We saw them in shops, in factories, in the street, on the railroad, and among the gold washings; and without exception they impressed us as quiet, well-behaved, intelligent and industrious. This was the character also which was given of them by all of whom we made inquiries. The proprietor of one establishment in which several hundred are employed, told us that he pays them a dollar a day, and that they serve him better than the men did to whom he used to pay three dollars and a half; they do not become intoxicated, or spend their employer's time in discussing political questions or the rights of labor, but they may be depended on, during working hours, for steady and faithful work. They are both anxious and quick to learn, and our language especially they acquire with facility. The streets and alleys in which they live, although confined and narrow, are much more wholesome than the more neglected portions of our eastern cities. In a word, they seemed to us to be a desirable element of population, an element the introduction of which, by proper methods, into our country should for every reason be encouraged. And yet we were pained to notice that these people, although they mind their own affairs, take care of themselves and ask no special favor, are hated, proscribed and persecuted, not by all the citizens indeed, but by those classes with which they are brought into the closest relations of contact and competition. They are subjected to the same hard and cruel lot, and are made victims to the same spirit of caste, as, until recently, were endured by the colored man everywhere in the northern States. Their trials begin at the moment of their landing on our shores. On the same day which witnessed the hospitable reception of the Boston party by one class of the citizens of San Francisco, a cargo of passengers from Hong Kong was very differently received by another and altogether different class. The details of the two appeared side by side in the paper of the following morning, and we could not help therefore being impressed by the contrast between them. The first has been described at length in many of our Eastern journals; let us see what was the character of the other:

"The Chinese passengers who arrived on board the British ship *Niagara* were landed yesterday. When the disembarkation commenced a large crowd of men and boys lined the Vallejo street wharf, and by their gestures and general demeanor it was apparent that they intended to give the new-comers a hot reception. The Harbor Police were stationed on the wharf, and on the different streets through which the Chinese would pass, to prevent the threatened outrage. This precaution had the effect of diminishing but not wholly preventing the abuse of the Chinamen by young scamps who infest the Barbary coast. As a

number of Chinamen were passing the corner of Broadway and Front streets, they were saluted with a shower of stones and other missiles, while one of the whites attempted to carry off bamboo canes from a wagon. He was caught by Officer Langan, who marched him to the City Prison. At the corner of Sansom and Pacific streets the roughs gave full swing to their barbarous proclivities. There were no policemen here, and the Chinese were entirely at the mercy of the mob. As they approached, whether on foot or in wagons, they were pelted with stones, pieces of wood, filth taken from the gutters, or any thing upon which hands could be laid. When a Chinaman singled himself from the rest to retaliate, he was certain to be cruelly kicked and bruised, and rolled in the streets. Several were severely injured, and a little China boy, about ten years old, was so unmercifully abused that even the roughs themselves felt startled at their own acts. Before the police arrived the cowardly wretches sneaked away, and made their escape. Such conduct is not only revolting and inhuman, but it calls for some prompt action by which the barbarous wretches who perpetrated the outrages can be arrested and made an example of, and thus teach others that here there is equal protection for all under the laws."

No wonder that the Chinese merchants of San Francisco have joined in a circular to their fellow-countrymen at home, urging them to abandon any plans which they may be forming for coming to the United States, until public opinion shall be somewhat modified respecting them, and the officers of the law shall find it possible to protect them...

CELESTIALS UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES

...The system of Chinese emigration to the United States is a perfect system of slavery. It is conducted by six companies as wealthy as they are powerful. Each company is protected by the Chinese Government. Their home agencies are in Canton and Hong Kong. They are represented all through the interior of China by coolie traders. These agents, as the Hon. C. E. De Long, late Minister to China, recently reported to his Government, find, for example, a family of old people with sons and daughters. As is common enough, the poor creatures have had a constant struggle to keep body and soul together. The trader offers to buy the services of a son or a daughter, agreeing to give the old people a sum of money down, and stipulating to feed and clothe the boy or girl, and to return him or her, dead or alive, to the parents in China after the term of service has expired. In consideration for this, the young man or woman signs a contract which is absolutely frightful in its conditions. He or she agrees to give faithful service

(From Belgravia, 1877, pages 221-226.)

to his or her master for a term of six, eight, or ten years, as the case may be, and for a guarantee of faithful service, father, brother, mother, sisters are mortgaged with a thousand penalties in case the service is not properly performed. The result is that the coolie is bound body and soul, and hence, when the inspector asks, 'Are you leaving China of your own free will?' the answer is, 'I am;" and when called upon to testify on the spot he answers just as may please his master. The men toiling day after day in a strange land are simply paying a debt to keep their fathers and mothers from starving...

JOHN

Should *he be encouraged to come?* The Irish of California -in 1860 one tenth of the entire population- think not. So does Senator Casserly, himself of Irish blood; and the fact that he is a man of thoughtfulness, culture, and generally liberal views makes his intense feeling on this subject all the more striking and illustrative. Last summer the merchants of San Francisco welcomed a large number of representative men from Chicago in a banquet at which the Governor of California, several United States Senators, and two hundred gentlemen prominent in the professions and in business, were present. But when six leading Chinese merchants entered the hall, habited in rich, elaborately ornamented native costumes, and Mr. Casserly saw that they were to participate in the festivities, he seized his hat and abruptly disappeared!

The contractor or manufacturer who wants ten, or ten hundred, or ten thousand Chinese laborers, orders them through a San Francisco firm exactly as he would order an invoice of cotton or sugar. If the number is too large to be obtained in California, the firm in turn makes a requisition for them upon its agents in China, and in due time they are delivered. The firm pays their passage, taking a lien upon their labor to reimburse itself. When set to work on railroads or kindred enterprises, they organize into gangs of about thirty, each of which selects a head man. He purchases supplies for them from the house which brought them into the country, and through these sales the house obtains its profits. Mr. Casserly denounces this system as importation, not immigration, and as ruinous to the interests of white workmen. "John Chinaman," argues the senator, in effect, "is a most frugal man, a most patient laborer, often a most cunningly skilled mechanic, and therefore-we do not want him!" This, too, in a country whose supreme need is labor, both skilled and unskilled, -a country with only half a million of inhabitants now, but with resources waiting to be developed which would easily support fifty millions. Indeed, it must contain eighty-three millions before its population to the square mile will equal that of little Belgium.

(From Atlantic Monthly, November 1869, pages 740-751.)

Encountering Mr. Casserly on a Pacific Railway train last summer, I asked him, "How can you stop the Chinese immigration?" He replied, "By legal prohibition." In spite of the great difficulties which have hitherto existed in the way of leaving China, and in spite of the gross and cruel abuse encountered after reaching California, more than a hundred thousand of these people have already come; but not even this glaring fact seems to have suggested to the senator that the inexorable law of demand and supply has something to do with the matter! He is a melancholy example of the effect of even a short residence in the official atmosphere of Washington. The average congressional mind entertains no doubt that if an act requiring the Mississippi to turn and run up hill were passed by both Houses and signed by the President, the Mississippi would do it. Legislation against this immigration would be like making it a penal offence for the winds to blow on Telegraph Hill, or the tides to rise and fall at the Golden Gate, and it would be quite as effective as such an enactment.

The thing lies in a nutshell. Yonder stretches a vast country which has men and doesn't want them; here lies a vast country which wants men and has not got them. Twenty-nine days and forty dollars will bring an immigrant from one to the other; and capitalists always stand ready to pay his passage and take the chances of getting their money back. Already the monthly ships of the Pacific Mail Company ordinarily bring one thousand two hundred Chinamen, and single sailing-vessels often half as many more. It only remains for us to accept John as destiny and make the best of him...

Throughout this segment, the student has investigated the ways in which white America reacted to Chinese immigration. This topic should also be examined from the perspective of the Chinese who were immigrating to the United States.

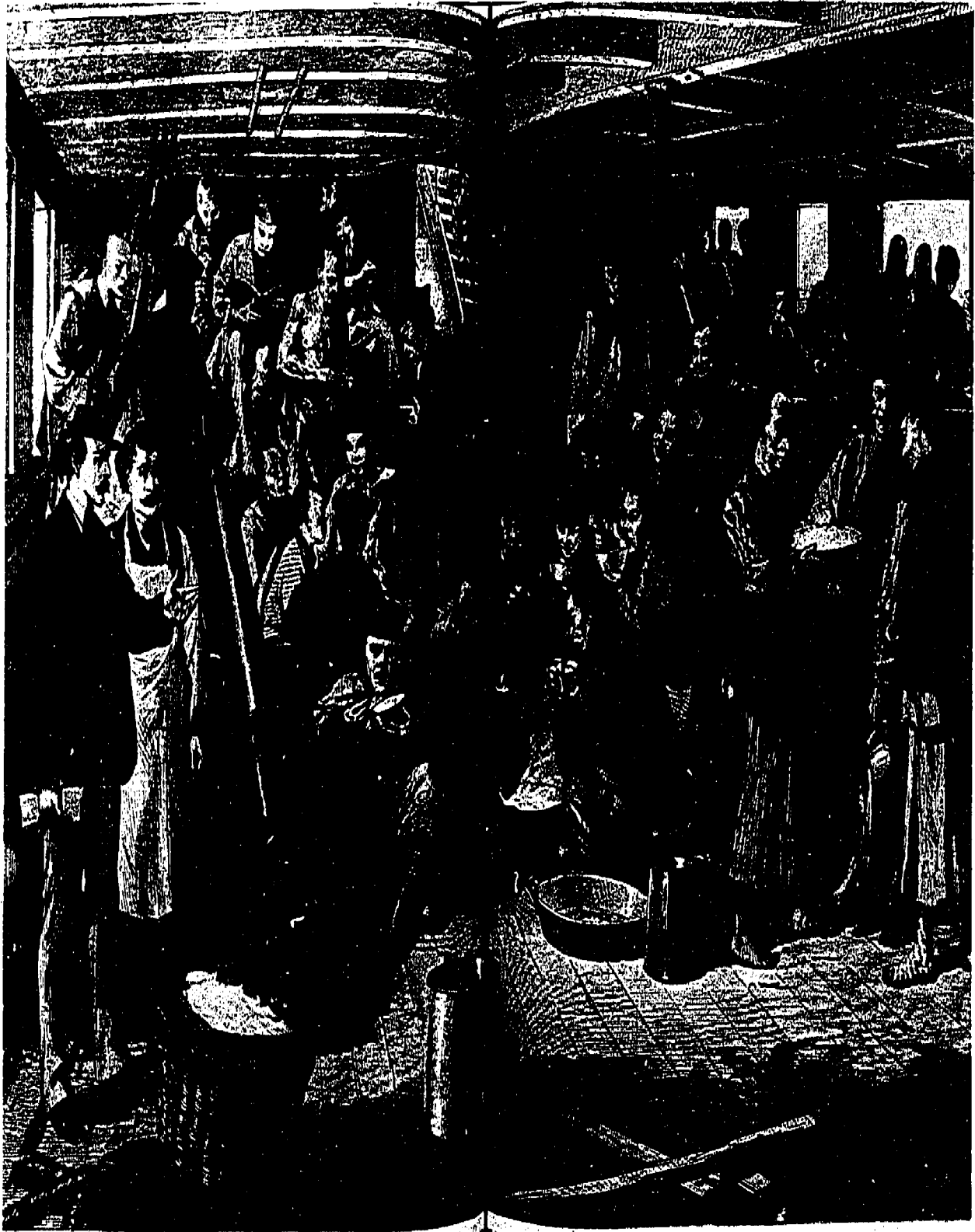
Have students jot down their impressions of the Chinese experience either in a series of phrases or single sentences. Emphasis should be placed upon what it must have been like for the Chinese to come and live in the United States. Students should reexamine the cartoons and re-read the articles from pages 41 to 49 from the Chinese perspective.

- . To what extent was this immigration voluntary or involuntary?
- . To what extent did the Chinese live in separate communities? Why?
- . How well received were the Chinese by white Americans? Why?
- . What were living conditions like for the Chinese?
- . To what extent did government agencies (including police forces) try to protect Chinese immigrants?
- . Why did the Chinese immigrate to America?
- . What evidence can you give to support the supposition that many of the Chinese who immigrated to the United States were more "civilized" and "cultured" than their white critics?



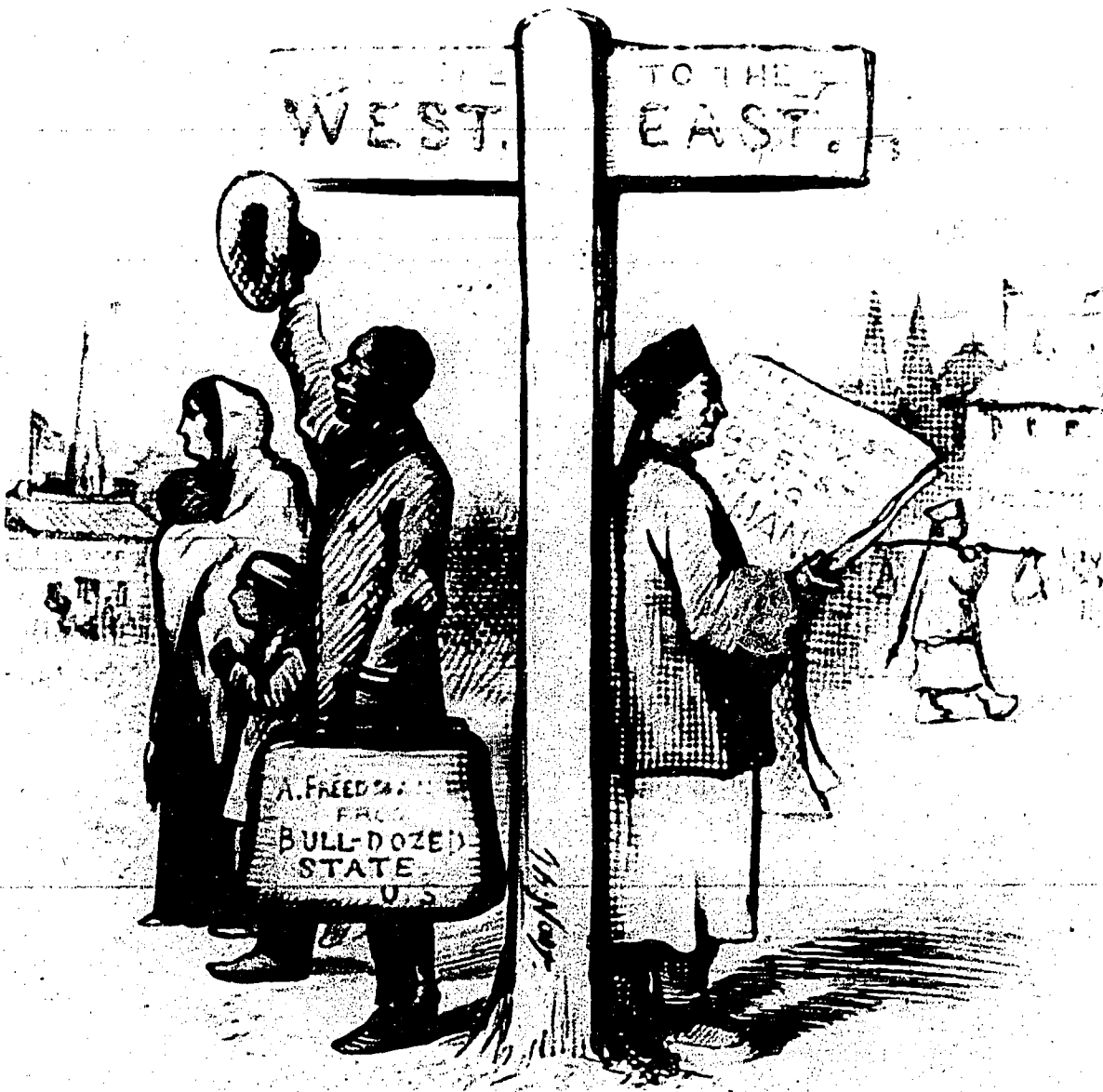
AS THE HEATHEN SEE US. A MEETING OF THE CHINESE FOREIGN MISSIONS SOCIETY

(Puck, November 21, 1900.)



CHINESE EMIGRATION TO AMERICA—SKETCH OF THE DECK OF THE PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP "ALASKA"—(See Page 411.)

(Harper's Weekly, pages 408-409.)



DIFFICULT PROBLEMS SOLVING THEMSELVES.

(Harper's Weekly, March 29, 1879, page 256.)

"The Chinamen were terribly taxed by the county authorities; but they always came up promptly, and without a word of complaint paid what was demanded of them...Let me here say that I never during all my years of intercourse with this people, saw a single drunken Chinaman. I never saw a Chinese beggar. I never saw a lazy Chinaman."
—JOAQUIN MILLER.

"The Chinamen. They are not strikers, rioters, and burners of cities...No; the Creator of us all opened the Golden Gate to the whole wide world, let no man attempt to shut it in the face of our fellow man."
—JOAQUIN MILLER.

"The Chinamen were terribly taxed by the county authorities, but they always came up promptly, and without a word of complaint paid what was demanded of them. Let me here say that I never, during all my years of intercourse with this people, saw a single drunken Chinaman. I never saw a Chinese beggar. I never saw a lazy Chinaman."
—JOAQUIN MILLER.

"The Chinamen. They are not strikers, rioters, and burners of cities...No; the Creator of us all opened the Golden Gate to the whole wide world, let no man attempt to shut it in the face of our fellow man."
—JOAQUIN MILLER.



BLAINE LANGUAGE.

TRAMP NYE. "Can this be? We are ruined by Chinese labor."
TRUTHFUL JAMES (G. BLAINE). "Which is why I remark,
And my language is plain,
That for ways that are dark
And tricks that are vain,
The heathen Chinees is peculiar.
Which the same I am free to maintain."

(Harper's Weekly, March 15, 1879, page 216.)

66



THE CIVILIZATION OF BLAINE.

JOHN CONFUCIUS. "Am I not a Man and a Brother?"

(Harper's Weekly, March 8, 1879, Vol. XXIII—No. 1158.)



"EVERY DOG" (NO DISTINCTION OF COLOR) "HAS HIS DAY."
RED GENTLEMAN TO YELLOW GENTLEMAN. "Pale face 'traid you crowd him out, as he did me."

(Harper's Weekly, February 8, 1879, Vol. XXIII—No. 1154.)



RESISTANCE TO IMMIGRANTS PRODUCED NATIVIST OPPOSITION TO NEWCOMERS AND EVENTUALLY RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION.

Although, by the mid-19th century, most blacks had lived in the United States for several generations, they still faced widespread resistance to any real incorporation into the mainstream of American life. A good source of primary material dealing with this period can be found in the publication, UNITED STATES HISTORY: THE BLACK PERSPECTIVE, The University of The State of New York, the State Education Department, Bureau of Secondary Curriculum Development, Albany, N.Y., 1970. Particular attention should be paid to the section entitled "Re-evaluation of Reconstruction," pp. 64-121. In addition to primary sources, such as cartoons reprinted from Harper's Weekly, strategies for using the materials are also included.

The years preceding America's entry into World War I were filled with sorrow for American blacks. The year 1915, which marked the 50th anniversary of emancipation witnessed:

- . the lynching of 69 blacks
- . the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan
- . the showing of a film, The Birth of A Nation, based upon the violently anti-black writings of Thomas Dixon

From a technical standpoint The Birth of A Nation was a cinematic breakthrough, but from the black perspective it was a tremendous step backward, for it was based upon Thomas Dixon's novel, The Clansman, a pro-Ku Klux Klan, anti-Negro interpretation of the Civil War and Reconstruction period.

- . Have students read excerpts from Dixon's novel and examine illustrations from the book; as they do so, have them consider the following questions:
 - What was the author's view of the Reconstruction period? Upon what specific statements and word usage do you base your opinion?
 - How does Dixon's judgment of the Ku Klux Klan compare with current historical thinking concerning this organization and its actions?
 - What is the author saying when he talks about Race Conflict?
 - How does Dixon characterize Negroes and Aryans in his book? How widely held was Dixon's position?

(See pictures on pages 58 and 64.)

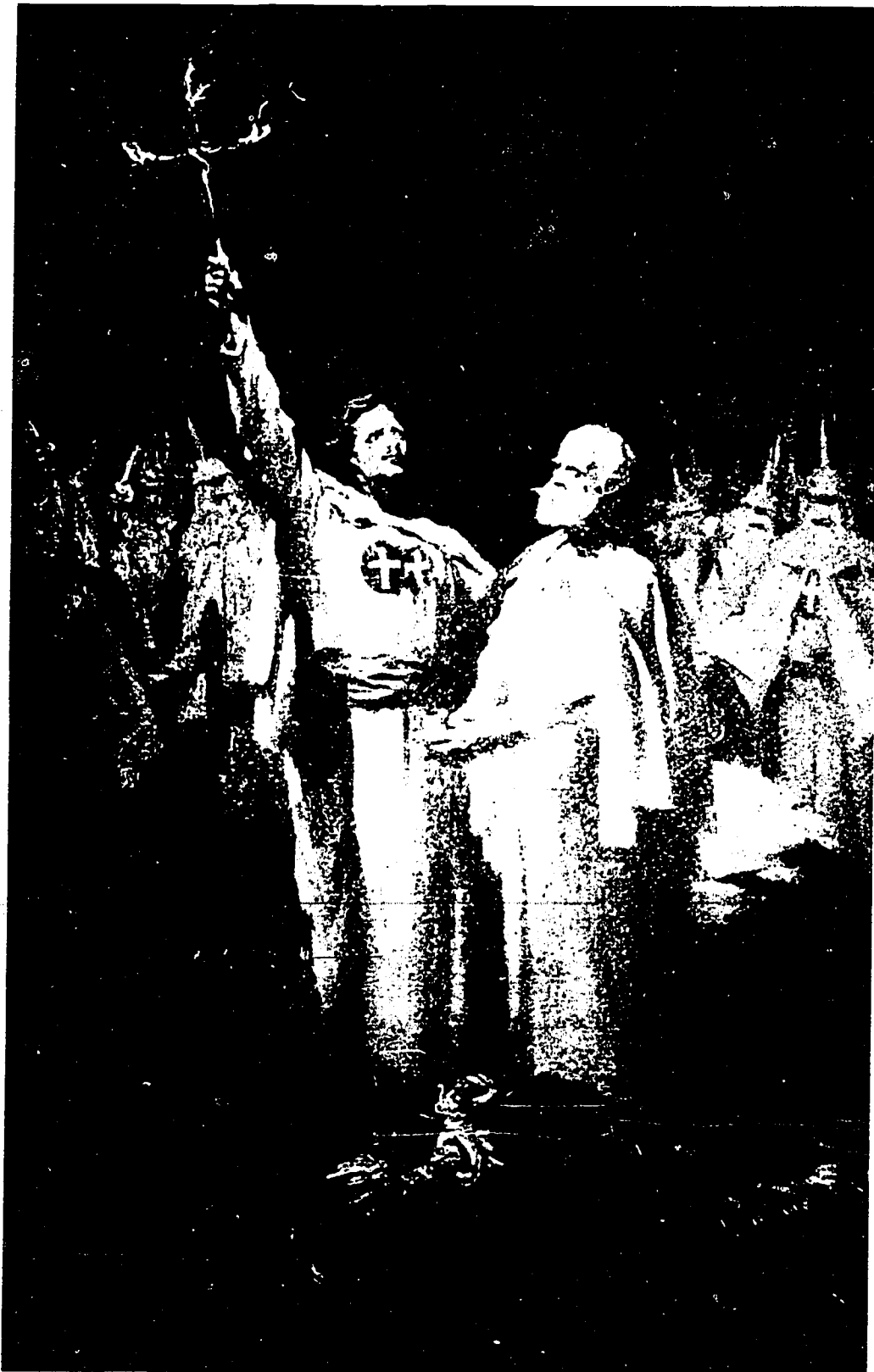
TO THE READER

"The Clansman" is the second book of a series of historical novels planned on the Race Conflict. "The Leopard's Spots" was the statement in historical outline of the conditions from the enfranchisement of the Negro to his disfranchisement.

"The Clansman" develops the true story of the "Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy," which overturned the Reconstruction regime.

The organization was governed by the Grand Wizard Commander-in-Chief, who lived at Memphis, Tennessee. The Grand

(From the last chapter, entitled "Vengeance Is Mine.")



“The Fiery Cross of old Scotland's hills!”

(From *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan* by Thomas Dixon, Jr. New York. Doubleday. 1905. page 326.)

70

Dragon commanded a State, the Grand Titan a Congressional District, and the Grand Cyclops a Township Den. The twelve volumes of Government reports on the famous Klan refer chiefly to events which occurred after 1870, the date of its dissolution.

The chaos of blind passion that followed Lincoln's assassination is inconceivable to-day. The Revolution it produced in our Government, and the bold attempt of Thaddeus Stevens to Africanise ten great states of the American Union, read now like tales from "The Arabian Nights."

I have sought to preserve in this romance both the letter and the spirit of this remarkable period. The men who enact the drama of fierce revenge into which I have woven a double love-story are historical figures. I have merely changed their names without taking a liberty with any essential historic fact.

In the darkest hour of the life of the South, when her wounded people lay helpless amid rags and ashes under the beak and talon of the Vulture; suddenly from the mists of the mountains appeared a white cloud the size of a man's hand. It grew until its mantle of mystery enfolded the stricken earth and sky. An "Invisible Empire" had risen from the field of Death and challenged the Visible to mortal combat.

How the young South, led by the reincarnated souls of the Clansmen of Old Scotland, went forth under this cover and against overwhelming odds, daring exile, imprisonment, and a felon's death, and saved the life of a people, forms one of the most dramatic chapters in the history of the Aryan race.

THOMAS DIXON, jr.

DIXONDALE, Va., December 14, 1904.

At twelve o'clock, Ben stood at the gate with Elsie. "Your fate hangs in the balance of this election tonight," she said. "I'll share it with you, success or failure, life or death."

"Success, not failure," he answered, firmly. "The Grand Dragons of six states have already wired victory. Look at our lights on the mountains! They are ablaze- range on range our signals gleam until the Fiery Cross is lost among the stars!"

"What does it mean?" she whispered.

"That I am a successful revolutionist- that Civilisation has been saved, and the South redeemed from shame."

THE END

(From The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan by Thomas Dixon, Jr. New York. Doubleday. 1905. page 2.)

The following excerpts come from reviews of the film Birth Of A Nation.

- . According to reviewers, how historically accurate is the film?
- . What was the critical reaction to the film? Why?
- . How well was the film received by the public at large? Why?
- . What harm can a movie supporting such a racist interpretation of history do? How are Negroes portrayed? The Ku Klux Klan?

"THE BIRTH OF A NATION"

Criticism of moving pictures comes perhaps more properly within the field of a weekly journal than criticism of the "legitimate stage."...The "movie" drama, whatever its defects, will not improbably reach every city, if not every town, in the country. Of the great feature films costing thousands of dollars, advertised more extensively than any all-star play of the past, this is particularly true.

Such a film is "The Birth of a Nation," a drama of the Reconstruction period based upon the writings of the Rev. Thomas Dixon. In interest and technical mastery of the moving-picture art this film is one of the best yet produced by a modern director. Apparently neither expense nor time has been spared in preparing for the screen the story of the Civil War and the unhappy period which followed. The opportunity, indeed, was one that would have been the delight of any great and careful novelist, and one which would have taxed the knowledge of a great historian. Unhappily for the value of "The Birth of a Nation," Mr. Dixon is neither...

The difficulty with Mr. Dixon as a purveyor of history is that he is not a historian. A historian not only presents true incidents from the past, but, if he is fair-minded and impartial, takes care that the incidents are representative and typical. Many of the most effective and most misleading scenes in "The Birth of a Nation" doubtless occurred some time, somewhere, in the South. Chosen as the whole picture of the Reconstruction period, however, they are unfair and vicious. Mr. Dixon has "a single-track mind," and the track leads only through a very unpleasant country. He is a partisan, and a dangerous one. He can see questions only in broad splotches of black and white. He knows but one side of Southern life, the sex problem of "Aryan and African."

As Mr. Dixon rightly believes and dramatically shows, the American Nation was born from the travail of civil war and the injustice of the Reconstruction period, and therefore his photo drama threatens no reopening of the wounds of the white North and the white South. The evil in "The Birth of a Nation" lies in the fact that the play is both a denial of the power of development within the free Negro and an exaltation of race war.

It would be difficult, indeed, to paint in colors dark enough the shame of the Reconstruction period. To say this is not to excuse the offense of a writer who distorts this shame and labels the blurred picture- "history."

(From The Outlook, April 14, 1915, page 854.)

BROTHERLY LOVE

The Birth of a Nation, a motion picture drama in two acts, founded on Thomas Dixon's story, The Clansman. Presented at the Liberty Theatre, New York.

If history bore no relation to life, this motion picture drama could well be reviewed and applauded as a spectacle. As a spectacle it is stupendous. It lasts three hours, represents a staggering investment of time and money, reproduces entire battle scenes and complex historic events, amazes even when it wearies by its attempt to encompass the Civil War. But since history does bear on social behavior, "The Birth of a Nation" cannot be reviewed simply as a spectacle. It is more than a spectacle. It is an interpretation, the Rev. Thomas Dixon's interpretation, of the relations of the North and South and their bearing on the negro.

Were the Rev. Thomas Dixon a representative white Southerner, no one could criticize him for giving his own version of the Civil War and the Reconstruction period that followed. If he possessed the typical Southern attitude, the paternalistic, it would be futile to read a lecture on it...

So far as I can judge from this film, as well as from my recollection of Mr. Dixon's books, his is the sort of disposition that foments a great deal of the trouble in civilization...

At a remote period of his existence it is possible that he possessed a rudimentary faculty of self-analysis. But before that faculty developed he crystallized in his prejudices, and forever it was stunted. Since that time, whenever he has been stimulated by any of the ordinary emotions, by religion or by patriotism or by sex, he has responded with a frantic intensity. Energetic by nature, the forces that impel him are doubly violent because of this lack of inhibition. Aware as a clergyman that such violence is excessive, he has learned in all his melodramas to give them a highly moral twang. If one of his heroes is about to do something peculiarly loathsome, Mr. Dixon thrusts a crucifix in his hand and has him roll his eyes to heaven. In this way the very basest impulses are given the sanction of godliness, and Mr. Dixon preserves his own respect and the respect of such people as go by the label and not by the rot-gut they consume.

In "The Birth of a Nation" Mr. Dixon protests sanctimoniously that his "is not meant to reflect in any way on any race or people of to-day." And then he proceeds to give to the negro a kind of malignity that is really a revelation of his own malignity...

Having painted this insanely apprehensive picture of an unbridled, bestial, horrible race, relieved only by a few touches of low comedy, "the grim reaping begins." We see the operations of the Ku Klux Klan, "the organization that saved the South from anarchy of black rule." We see Federals and Confederates uniting in a Holy War "in defence of their Aryan birth-

(From The New Republic, March 20, 1915, page 185.)

right," whatever that is. We see the negroes driven back, beaten, killed. The drama winds up with a suggestion of "Lincoln's solution" -back to Liberia- and then, if you please, with a film representing Jesus Christ in "the halls of brotherly love."

My objection to this drama is based partly on the tendency of the pictures but mainly on the animus of the printed lines I have quoted. The effect of these lines, reinforced by adroit quotations from Woodrow Wilson and repeated assurances of impartiality and goodwill, is to arouse in the audience a strong sense of the evil possibilities of the negro and the extreme propriety and godliness of the Ku Klux Klan. So strong is this impression that the audience invariably applauds the refusal of the white hero to shake hands with a negro, and under the circumstances it cannot be blamed. Mr. Dixon has identified the negro with cruelty, superstition, insolence and lust.

We know what a yellow journalist is. He is not yellow because he reports crimes of violence. He is yellow because he distorts them. In the region of history the Rev. Thomas Dixon corresponds to the yellow journalist. He is a clergyman, but he is a yellow clergyman. He is yellow because he recklessly distorts negro crimes, gives them a disproportionate place in life, and colors them dishonestly to inflame the ignorant and the credulous. And he is especially yellow, and quite disgustingly and contemptibly yellow, because his perversions are cunningly calculated to flatter the white man and provoke hatred and contempt for the negro.

Whatever happened during Reconstruction, this film is aggressively vicious and defamatory. It is spiritual assassination. It degrades the censors that passed it and the white race that endures it.

FRANCIS HACKETT.

The second part of the film, based upon a novel of Mr. Thomas Dixon called "The Clansman," is viewed by the *New York Evening Post* as "an appeal to race prejudice as subtle and malicious as any that has been made in New York." We are given the observations of its reviewer in these terms:

"People were moved to cheers, hisses, laughter, and tears, apparently unconscious, and subdued by tense interest in the play; they clapped when the masked riders took vengeance on negroes, and they clapped when the hero refused to shake the hand of a mulatto who has risen by political intrigue to become lieutenant-governor. This remark, made by a typical New Yorker leaving the theater, characterizes the sentiment which was expressed in much of the comment: 'That show certainly does make you hate those blacks. And if it gets that effect on me, when I don't care anything about it, imagine what it would be in the South, with a man whose family was mixed up in it. It makes you feel as if you'd do the same thing.'

(From The Literary Digest, March 20, 1915, pages 608-609.)

"That is the element which mars one of the most ambitious and successful picture-dramas which has yet been attempted; and it is an element which does not seem necessary to the effectiveness of the film. To show the fact that there were individual outrages which roused the Southern whites of the 60's to organized violence it does not appear necessary to characterize a race as either so vicious or so simple-minded that extermination or feudal control was the only method of managing them; and this is the conclusion of 'The Birth of a Nation.' The blame for much of the trouble is shown to have lain upon the unscrupulous or misguided white political leaders of the North, who went to excess in their power to institute radical measures for negro freedom and equality of right. Stoneman, known really under another name, the Congressional leader, who held the reins of influence after the assassination of Lincoln, is represented as the cause of reconstruction turbulence.

"The war-scenes in the first half of the play have been photographed with striking realism. Troops charging, artillery-trains galloping, flags waving, shells bursting over barricades, the flow of battle over a field miles in length, are shown in full detail; and immediately after the excitement of the charge there is the sight of trenches full of torn and tangled bodies. The truth of the horror of war is not forgotten in presenting its fascination. The assassination of Lincoln has also been well reproduced. The scene in the theater, with the play, 'Our American Cousin,' going forward on the stage, is shown in careful accordance with the historical accounts of it."

The Rev. Thomas B. Gregory writes in the *New York American* a certificate of the verity of the scenes presented in this film-play. "As an educator," he says, "its value is well-nigh inconceivable, and its chief value in this direction lies in its truthfulness." He declares:

"That the story as told by the picture is true I am ready to swear on the Bible, the Koran, the Zend, and all the other 'Holy Scriptures' put together.

"I know it is true, because I lived through the actual realities themselves. I saw the real carpet-baggers, the real 'New Voters,' the real reconstruction 'Statesmen,' the real Kuklux Klanners. I knew the real Stoneman, the real Lynch, the real Camerons, and was a living part of the stupendous tragedy, watching it with wondering eyes and bated breath from its inception under the Stonemans and Lynches to its cessation under the invisible blows of the Kuklux Klan.

"I am prepared to say that not one of the more than five thousand pictures that go to make up the wonderful drama is in any essential way an exaggeration. They are one and all faithful to historic fact, so that, looking upon them, you may feel that you are beholding that which actually happened."



"The South is conquered soil. I mean to blot it from the map."

(From *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan* by Thomas Dixon, Jr. New York. Doubleday. 1905. page 50.)

76

64

PUTTING A NEW MOVE IN THE MOVIES

by

James Shelley Hamilton

THE LATEST WORD IN MOVIE PRODUCTION

"The Birth of a Nation" definitely marks the latest leap in the forward movement of movies. Some of the foreign films, like "Quo Vadis?" and "Les Miserables," took the run; "Cabiria" made the jump; "The Birth of a Nation" lands squarely on the line that sets the new record.

It belongs in the class of big spectacles- it cost half a million dollars to make, it employed thousands of men and horses for its action and hundreds of acres for its setting. One can get some idea of the work done on it from the fact that Mr. Griffith used 200,000 feet of film in taking the pictures, which, in order to go into an evening's entertainment of respectable length, had to be cut down to less than 12,000 feet. The film of the first picture-plays, made barely fifteen years ago, was only forty feet long!...

"THE BIRTH OF A NATION" TOUCHES THE COLOR-LINE

The subject-matter of the play happens to be full of controversial possibilities. Perhaps it is as well to have done with those first, and clear the ground for the way in which the subject-matter is handled. It is founded on "The Clansman," a novel by Thomas Dixon that had a somewhat sensational vogue a few years ago. It was a lurid story, and was later put on the stage in a lurid dramatic form, presenting the Dixon interpretation of the Southern side in the early Reconstruction period, with all the violence that Mr. Dixon's emotions could evoke. "The Birth of a Nation" took its main characters and part of its plot from this novel, adding enough to include the Civil War and to round out the conception that our nation was not really born until it had proved its unity by a hideous time of bloodshed and rebuilding.

It is frankly an attempt to show what the South suffered during the war and after Lincoln's death, when the carpetbaggers descended like another army and worked such harm through their manipulation of the newly enfranchised negroes. Such an attempt is entirely comparable with what Mrs. Stowe did in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and just as worth lending an ear to. Only it courts the danger of running away with itself- of emphasizing for dramatic effect so that the particular comes to seem the general. All the whites who tried to put the negro into responsible citizenship are represented as criminally mistaken or, more often, deliberately villainous, and all the Ku-Klux Klansmen would seem to have been spotless heroes.

(From Everybody's Magazine, June 1915, pages 677-682.)

That is what the controversial people object to in this picture- that instances of negro depravity and white virtue are magnified into racial characteristics, and therefore, as a whole, give a false impression not only of historical facts but of people.

The play is not false, any more than any recital of one side of a story is false. It is merely incomplete, taking it as a picture of a national phase. It is complete enough- as complete as it could be, in fact- as a story, and there is very little sense in finding fault with a story because it confines itself to its own characters and does not epitomize all the events and people of the period in which it is laid.

The picture is singularly free from the bitterness and one-sidedness of the novel on which it was founded, and individuals who see a malicious attack on the negro in it are reading into it preconceptions and prejudgements of their own...