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The Gilded Age
1865–1900
The Gilded Age

Essential Word Log

As you go through the unit, note the people, events, ideas, and places that connect to these five concepts:

industrialization  gilded  urbanization  free enterprise  nativism

---

**industrialization**

The large-scale growth of manufacturing and industry

**Related words:** industrial development
The Gilded Age

**gilded**

Covered by a thin layer of gold

**Related words:** gold-plated, overlaid with gold (figurative: whitewashed or sugarcoated)

---

**urbanization**

The physical growth of cities and the movement of people from rural to urban areas

**Related words:** urban expansion, development
The Gilded Age

**free enterprise**
An economic system in which private businesses operate competitively for profit, with minimal government regulation

*Related words:* capitalism, free market, laissez-faire economy

**nativism**
A policy of favoring native-born citizens over immigrants

*Related words:* anti-immigration, nativist
industrialization

Consider the chart below describing Chinese sweatshop conditions in 1998. Then read the quote that follows about Apple in 2012.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Factory in China</th>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Wages Per Hour</th>
<th>Hours Worked</th>
<th>Conditions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wal-Mart</td>
<td>Liang Shi Handbag</td>
<td>Handbags</td>
<td>$0.13 to $0.23</td>
<td>60 to 70 hours per week</td>
<td>No factory fire exits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Factory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10-hour shifts</td>
<td>No benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 to 7 days per week</td>
<td>No legal work contract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nike</td>
<td>Wellco Factory</td>
<td>Athletic shoes</td>
<td>$0.16</td>
<td>77 to 84 hours per week</td>
<td>Workers fined for refusing to work overtime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11- to 12-hour shifts</td>
<td>No overtime pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 to 7 days per week</td>
<td>Humiliation, screaming, some corporal punishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fining of pregnant women and women older than 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fines for talking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


“Employees work excessive overtime, in some cases seven days a week, and live in crowded dorms. Some say they stand so long that their legs swell until they can hardly walk. Under-age workers have helped build Apple’s products, and the company’s suppliers have improperly disposed of hazardous waste and falsified records…”


Write two reasons why labor conditions such as those described above can occur in an industrialized society.

1. 

2. 

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Letter to Michael and Hugh

(1)

About the Author

Pauline Newman was born in Lithuania around 1890 and moved to the United States in 1901. As a young teenager, she became employed at the Triangle Factory. She was no longer employed there by the time of the fire, but she wrote the following description of working conditions at the factory and why workers endured the indignities. Factories like these were not uncommon during this time of industrialization. The letter is to her nephews.

(2)

Dear Boys:

It is the month of May, 1951 ... I am beginning to realize that time is passing swiftly and that ... I shall not be with you much longer ... I am therefore, going to try and tell you a story—my own story ... 

(3)

[A] relative of mine who was employed by the now infamous Triangle Shirt Waist Co. ... got me a job with that firm ... Since the day's work began at seven thirty it meant that I had to leave home at six forty ... The day's work was supposed to end at six in the afternoon. But, during most of the year we youngsters worked overtime until 9 p.m. every night except Fridays and Saturdays. No, we did not get additional pay for overtime. At this point it is worth recording the generocity (sic) of the Triangle Waist Co. by giving us a piece of apple pie for supper instead of additional pay! Working men and women of today who receive time and one half [or] double time for overtime will find it difficult to understand ... that the workers of those days were evidently willing to accept such conditions of labor without protest. However, the answer is quite simple—we were not organized and we knew that individual protest amounted to the loss of one's job. No one in those days could afford the luxury (sic) of changing jobs ... Therefore, we were, due to our ignorance and poverty, helpless against the power of the exploiters ... I will never forget the sign which on Saturday afternoons was posted on the wall near the elevator stating—"if you don't come in on Sunday you need not come in on Monday"! ... 

What's going on?
(4)

My job, like that of the other kids was not strenous (sic). It consisted of trimming off the threads left on the shirt waists by the operators … Hundreds of dozens of shirtwaists were carried from the machines to the “children’s corner” and put into huge cases … These cases were used for another purpose which served the employers very well indeed … [These] cases were high enough and deep enough for us kids to hide in, so that when a factory inspector came to inspect the factory he found no violation of the child labor law, because he did not see any children at work—we were all hidden in the cases and covered with shirt waists! Clever of them, was it not? Somehow the employers seemed to have known when the inspector would come and had time enough to arrange for our hiding place.

(5)

There were conditions of work which in our ignorance we so patiently tolerated such as deductions from your meager wages if and when you were five minutes late—so often due to transportation delays … there was the constant watching you lest you pause for a moment from your work … You were watched when you went to the lavatory and if you … stayed a minute or two longer than … you should have you were threatened with being fired … The deductions for being late was strictly (sic) enforced because deductions even for a few minutes from several hundred people must have meant quite a sum of money. And since it was money the Triangle Waist Co. employers were after this was an easy way to get it. That these deductions meant less food for the worker’s children bothered the employers not at all …

(6)

As I look back to those years of actual slavery I am quite certain that the conditions under which we worked … were the acme of exploitation perpetrated by humans upon defenceless (sic) men women and children—a sort of punishment for being poor and docile. Despite these inhuman working conditions the workers—including myself—continued to work for this firm. What good would it do to change jobs since similar conditions existed in all garment factories of that era? There were other reasons why we did not change jobs … One gets to know the people you work with … You have a feeling of belonging which helps to make life in a factory a bit easier to endure …

What’s going on?
How does this relate to what you have read already?

(7)
One evening I was walking home from a long day’s work ... The sights were familiar, the usual sights (sic) of poverty and all the resulting misery ... As I saw the little children playing in the gutter, the men and women looking tired and drab, the dark and filthy tenements I thought—dear God, will this ever be different? When I got home I sat down and wrote:

While at work I am thinking only of my own drab existence. I get discouraged and a bit low in my mind—every day the same foreman, the same forelady, the same shirt waists, shirt waists and more shirt waists. The same machines, the same surroundings. The day is long and the task tiresome. In despair I ask—“dear God will it ever be different?” And on my way home from work I see again those lonely men and women with hopeless faces, tired eyes; harrased (sic) by want and worry—I again ask “will it ever be different?” ... 

(8)
[When] it was done I decided to send it to the Forward. Of course I did not expect it to be accepted or published ... But, I did want to express my feelings and get them down on paper. There was satisfaction in doing just that. I posted the article and did not give it another thought.

(9)
A few days later ... as I was approaching the Triangle factory I noticed a number of my fellow workers holding the Forward and pointing to something, and when they saw me they all shouted congratulations ... for my piece was published! I could hardly believe it! But there it was, my name and all. This I believe was one of the highlights in my life ... Encouraged by the success of my first attempt to give expression to my thoughts and feelings I tried again and again and each time my articles and stories were ... published ... In a small way I became the voice of the less articulate young men and women with whom I worked and with whom later I was to join in the fight for improved working conditions and a better life for us all ...

(10)
Newman became an activist and organizer for the union, serving in several public offices. She led a long, productive life working to provide a positive answer to her question, “Will it ever be different?”
What’s going on?

How does this relate to what you have read already?

What is the overall message of the passage?

What questions do you have?
gilded

Read the excerpt below.

There are some roomy and cheerful shops in the city. But there are hundreds that are not roomy and cheerful. The worst of these are owned and conducted by women. Look into this establishment, where Madame Fripperie, the fashionable dressmaker, holds her court. It is a handsome building … Hour after hour, throughout the day, the carriages of Fifth-avenue ladies drive up before her door … to consult with her about silk …

While the question is being discussed, let us slip down these stairs into the basement. This is the workroom … how it smells! There is no attempt at ventilation. The room is crowded with girls and women, most of whom are pale … and are being robbed of life slowly and surely. The rose which should bloom in their cheeks has vanished long ago. The sparkle has gone out of their eyes. They bend over their work with aching backs and throbbing brows; sharp pains dart through their eyeballs; they breathe an atmosphere of death.

Madame pays her girls four dollars a week. She herself lives in as fine a style as the richest lady she serves.


Write two or three sentences that explain how the above excerpt is an example of the word *gilded*.
Political Machines

(1)

Between 1865 and 1900, cities grew rapidly with the arrival of a large number of immigrants. At the same time, the middle and upper classes were moving to the suburbs, resulting in a changing urban and political landscape. Politicians and city officials were faced with responding to the pressures of urbanization by providing improved services in the areas of electricity, sewage disposal, police and fire protection, and transportation. Many cities grew to be supported—and often manipulated—by political machines, which were unofficial organizations associated with a particular political party. The political machine had control over party nominations, money and votes. Secret ballots weren’t widely used in elections, so machine leaders possessed enormous influence over elected officials, leading to tremendous opportunities for the abuse of power.

(2)

Perhaps the most well known example of machine politics was Tammany Hall, headquarters of the Democratic Party in New York City. The head of Tammany Hall in the 1860s and 1870s, William “Boss” Tweed, exemplified the corruption of machine politics by using graft, bribery, and rigged elections to defraud the city of hundreds of millions of dollars. Although some of this money was used to create public jobs that helped people and supported the local economy, most went into construction projects that were based on greatly inflated expenses. Construction contractors and most others doing business in the city were forced to give kickbacks to Boss Tweed in order to stay in business. Boss Tweed, like many political bosses, amassed a huge fortune as a result of such kickbacks and bribes. Political machines also wielded power by controlling government patronage jobs that were used to reward loyal party workers.

What’s going on?

(3)

Some would argue that machine politicians were corrupt, while others would say that they provided a needed service by helping new immigrants with jobs, housing, and naturalization. Urban immigrants, who were likely to be poorly educated and unfamiliar with the political process, tended to support these politicians in elections because they provided such vital services. The following excerpt from an 1889 talk given by one of Tweed’s politicians illustrates how followers were recruited:
What tells in holdin’ your grip on your district is to go right down among the poor families and help them in the different ways they need help. I’ve got a regular system for this. If there’s a fire in Ninth or Tenth or Eleventh Avenue, for example, any hour of the day or night, I’m usually there with some of my election district captains as soon as the fire-engines. If a family is burned out I don’t ask them if they are Republicans or Democrats, and I don’t refer them to the Charity Organization Society, which would investigate their case in a month or two and decide if they are worthy of help about the time they are dead from starvation. I just get [housing] for them, buy clothes for them if their clothes were all burned up, and fix them up until they get things runnin’ again. It’s philanthropy, but it’s politics too—mighty good politics. Who can tell me how many votes one of those fires brings me? The poor are the most grateful people in the world, and, let me tell you, they have more friends in their neighborhoods than the rich have in theirs ...

Another thing, I can always get a job for a deservin’ man. I make it a point to keep on the track of jobs, and it seldom happens that I don’t have a few up my sleeve ready for use. I know every big employer in the district and in the whole city, for that matter, and they ain’t in the habit of sayin’ no to me when I ask them for a job.


What’s going on?

How does this relate to what you have read already?

(4)

While many blamed the rise of corrupt political machines on the influx of urban immigrants, muckraking journalist Lincoln Steffens made the argument that businessmen kept political machines functioning. It was their greed and hunger for government contracts and special privileges, he believed, that corrupted urban politics:

He is a self-righteous fraud, this big business man. He is the chief source of corruption, and it would be a boon if he would neglect politics ... The business man has failed in politics as he has in citizenship. Why? Because politics is business ... The commercial spirit is the spirit of profit, not
patriotism; of credit, not honor; of individual gain, not national prosperity; of trade and [bargaining], not principle.


(5)

Tweed's corruption was exposed by articles in The New York Times, Harper's Weekly magazine, and most memorably by Thomas Nast's editorial cartoons. Tweed was convicted for stealing between $25 million and $45 million from New York City taxpayers and eventually died in prison.

What's going on?

How does this relate to what you have read already?

What is the overall message of the passage?

What questions do you have?
urbanization

Consider the photograph below.

Write one challenge that urbanization might cause in each of the following areas:

Environment:

Public health:

Housing:

Transportation:

Employment:
Restriction of Immigration

(1)

About the Author

Francis Amasa Walker, born in 1840, lived only 56 years. In this short span, he was a Civil War general, economist, advocate of the free-enterprise system and statistician. During the 1880s, Walker “grew more conservative” as he reacted to changes that threatened the position of old-line Americans, specifically outbreaks of labor unrest and the arrival of large numbers of eastern and southern Europeans.

Published in 1896, the article below focuses on a theory Walker developed during his later years. This theory showed feelings of racial nativism.

(2)

From the beginning, it has been the policy of the United States … to tolerate, to welcome, and to encourage immigration … For generations, it was the settled opinion of our people, which found no challenge anywhere, that immigration was a source of both strength and wealth … It is, therefore, natural to ask, Is it possible that our fathers and our grandfathers were so far wrong in this matter? … Does it not sometimes happen, in the course of national development, that great and permanent changes in condition require corresponding changes of opinion and of policy? …

(3)

Foreign immigration prior to 1860 was necessary in order to supply the country with a laboring class which should be able and willing to perform the lowest kind of work required in the building up of our industrial and social structure, especially the making of railroads and canals … But when the country was flooded with ignorant and unskilled foreigners, who could do nothing but the lowest kind of labor; Americans instinctively shrank from the contact and the competition thus offered to them. So long as manual labor, in whatever field, was to be done by all, each in his place, there was no revolt at it; but when working on railroads and canals became the sign of a want of education and of a low social condition, our own people gave it up, and left it to those who were able to do that, and nothing better …

What’s going on?
Fifty, even thirty years ago, there was a rightful presumption regarding the average immigrant that he was among the most enterprising, thrifty, alert, adventurous, and courageous of the community from which he came ... Today the presumption is completely reversed. So thoroughly has the continent of Europe been crossed by railways, so effectively has the business of emigration been exploited, so much have the rates of railroad fares and ocean passage been reduced, that it is now among the least thrifty and prosperous members of any European community that the emigration agent finds his best recruiting-ground ... 

Their habits of life, again, are of the most revolting kind. Read the description ... of the police driving from the garbage dumps the miserable beings who try to burrow in those depths of unutterable filth and slime in order that they may eat and sleep there! ... What effects must be produced upon our social standards, and upon the ambitions and aspirations of our people, by a contact so foul and loathsome? The influence upon the American rate of wages ... cannot fail to be ... disastrous ...

What’s going on?

How does this relate to what you have read already?

Charity begins at home; and while the people of the United States have gladly offered an asylum to millions upon millions of the distressed and unfortunate of other lands and climes, they have no right to carry their hospitality one step beyond the line where American institutions, the American rate of wages, the American standard of living, are brought into serious peril ... For one, I believe it is time that we should take a rest, and give our social, political, and industrial system some chance to recuperate. The problems which so sternly confront us to-day are serious
enough without being complicated and aggravated by the addition of some millions of Hungarians, Bohemians, Poles, south Italians, and Russian Jews.


**What’s going on?**

**How does this relate to what you have read already?**

**What is the overall message of the passage?**

**What questions do you have?**
free enterprise

Consider the illustration and quote below.

“There is no alternative way, so far discovered, of improving the lot of the ordinary people that can hold a candle to the productive activities that are unleashed by a free enterprise system.” — Milton Friedman

In writing, explain how the picture above is an example of the free enterprise system.

The quote by Friedman states that free enterprise increases productivity. Write one reason why this might be the case.
Additional Texts
The Unwanted Immigrants: The Chinese (1878)

(1)

Many Chinese immigrants went to California during the Gold Rush and then built the western railroads, making millionaires of railroad barons. Many of these immigrants were willing to work long hours for little pay and became known as “coolies.” When the railroad industry declined, they became manual laborers. White workers began to resent these immigrants due to their hard work ethic, different customs, and lifestyles. This situation is but one example of why Mark Twain referred to the time period as “gilded.”

The document below is an extract from the California legislature report on the perceived “evils” of the Chinese and the racism toward them. Four years later, in 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which suspended Chinese immigration for 10 years.

(2)

The Chinese have now lived among us, in considerable numbers, for a quarter of a century, and yet they remain separate, distinct from, and antagonistic to our people in thinking, mode of life, in tastes and principles, and are as far from assimilation as when they first arrived. They fail to comprehend our system of government; they perform no duties of citizenship; they are not available as jurymen; cannot be called upon as posse comitatus (sheriff’s deputies) to preserve order; nor be relied upon as soldiers. They do not comprehend or appreciate our social ideas, and they contribute but little to support of any of our institutions, public or private.

What’s going on?

(3)

They bring no children with them, and there is, therefore, no possibility of influencing them through our ordinary educational appliances. There is, indeed, no point of contact between the Chinese and our people through which we can Americanize them. The rigidity, which characterizes these people, forbids the hope of essential change in their relations to our people or our government.

(4)

We respectfully submit the admitted proposition that no nation, much less a republic, can safely permit the presence of a large and increasing element among its people which cannot be as-
similated or made to comprehend the responsibilities of citizenship. They do not recognize the sanctity of an oath, and utterly fail to comprehend the crime of perjury. Bribery, intimidation, and other methods of baffling judicial action are considered by them as perfectly legitimate. It is an established fact that the administration of justice among the Chinese is almost impossible ...

**What’s going on?**

**How does this relate to what you have read already?**

(5)

We now come to an aspect of the question more revolting still. We would shrink from the disgusting details did not a sense of duty demand that they be presented. Their lewd women induce, by the cheapness of their offers, thousands of boys and young men to enter their dens, very many of whom are inoculated with venereal diseases of the worst type. Boys of eight and ten years of age have been found with this disease, and some of our physicians treat a half dozen cases daily. The fact that these diseases have their origin chiefly among the Chinese is well established ...

(6)

The Chinese herd together in one spot, whether in city or village, until they transform the vicinage (area) into a perfect hive—there they live packed together, a hundred living in a space that would be insufficient for an average American family. Their place of domicile is filthy in the extreme, and to a degree that cleansing is impossible except for the absolute destruction of the dwellings they occupy. In almost every house is found a room devoted to opium smoking, and these places are visited by white boys and women, so that the deadly opium habit is being introduced among our people ...

(7)

Our laborers require meat and bread, which have been considered by us as necessary to mental and bodily strength. The Chinese require only rice, dried fish, tea, and a few simple vegetables. The cost of sustenance to the whites is four-fold greater than that of the Chinese and the wages
of the whites must of necessity be greater than the wages required by the Chinese. The Chinese are, therefore, able to underbid the whites in every kind of labor. They can be hired in masses; they can be managed and controlled like unthinking slaves.


**What’s going on?**

**How does this relate to what you have read already?**

**What is the overall message of the passage?**

**What questions do you have?**
A Mother Protests Against the Denial of Equal Education for Her Daughter

(1)

In 1884, the 8-year-old daughter of immigrants Joseph and Mary Tape was denied admission to the Spring Valley Primary School in San Francisco because of her Chinese ancestry. Her parents sued the school board and won the case. As a result, the San Francisco School Board lobbied for a segregated school system for Chinese children. In 1885, a law was passed giving the board the authority to establish separate schools and stating that “when such separate schools are established Chinese children must not be admitted into any other schools.”

In the following excerpt, Mary Tape protests the refusal of San Francisco to admit her daughter Mamie to a school nearer her home.

What’s going on?

(2)

To the Board of Education—

Dear Sirs: I see that you are going to make all sorts of excuses to keep my child out off the Public schools. Dear sirs, Will you please to tell me! Is it a disgrace to be Born a Chinese? Didn’t God make us all!!! What right have you to bar my children out of the schools because she is a Chinese Descend … Do you call that a Christian act to compel my little children to go so far to a school that is made in purpose for them. My children don’t dress like the other Chinese … Her playmates is all Caucasians ever since she could toddle around. If she is good enough to play with them! Then is she not good enough to be in the same room and study with them? … It seems no matter how a Chinese may live and dress so long as you know they Chinese. Then they are hated as one. There is not any right or justice for them.

Alta, April 16, 1885
What’s going on?

How does this relate to what you have read already?

What is the overall message of the passage?

What questions do you have?
Imperialism and World War I
1890–1920
Lyrics to “The Spanish-American War”

Turn of the century
America’s foreign diplomacy
Turned its gaze south
Where they saw opportunities abound
Spain ruled Cuba
One of our closest of neighbors
For hundreds of years
But a Cuban rebellion Spain feared
This unrest concerned us
We had Cuban investments, which earned us
Many millions of dollars
So for war some Americans hollered
Channeling war fever
Were many American newspapers
With biased sensationalism
And the untruths of yellow journalism
South of our borders—possibilities for us
Cuba, Puerto Rico in the Caribbean
And in the Pacific, the Philippines and Guam
In 1898
The United States sent the battleship Maine
To the shores of Havana
To protect all interests American
It sunk in an explosion
That was most likely an accident
But the papers claimed the Maine
Was done in by an enemy called Spain
South of our borders—possibilities for us
Cuba, Puerto Rico in the Caribbean
And in the Pacific, the Philippines and Guam
“Remember the Maine!”
Newspapers vehemently exclaimed
And Americans demanded blood
So the Spanish-American War was begun
South of our borders—possibilities for us
Cuba, Puerto Rico in the Caribbean
And in the Pacific the Philippines and Guam…Remember the Maine!

Imperialism and World War I

**Essential Word Log**

As you go through the unit, note the people, events, ideas, and places that connect to these five concepts:

- isolationism
- imperialism
- nationalism
- diplomacy
- globalization

**isolationism**

Foreign policy of refusing to enter alliances or trade commitments with other countries

**Related words:** separation, detachment, disinterest
Imperialism and World War I

**imperialism**
A stronger nation dominating a weaker nation politically, economically, militarily, or culturally
*Related word: expansion*

**nationalism**
Loyalty and devotion to one's nation or group above loyalty to other groups or to individual interests
*Related word: allegiance*
Imperialism and World War I

diplomacy
The practice of conducting relationships between groups, nations, or states for gain without conflict
Related words: negotiation, compromise, bargaining

globalization
The process of people in different nations being increasingly connected and dependent on one another; the process of increasing worldwide interconnection and interdependence
Related words: relationships between nations
isolationism

Consider the pie chart below, which shows the results of a question from a May 2011 poll about America’s place in the world. Respondents were asked whether they agree that the U.S. should “mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own.” Then read the quote that follows from George Washington.

Don’t Know/Refused to Answer
4%

Agree 46%

Disagree 50%


“I am for free commerce with all nations, political connection with none, and little or no diplomatic establishment.” — George Washington

The chart and the quote reflect views on isolationism from two points in history. Given Washington’s quote, how do you think he would respond to the poll question? Why?
The United States Looking Outward

(1)

About the Author

Alfred Thayer Mahan was a U.S. Navy officer and author of “The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660–1783.” This article was first published in “The Atlantic Monthly” in 1890, about 14 years before the Panama Canal was completed. In it, Mahan presents his view on the importance of globalization.

(2)

For the past 25 years, the predominant idea has been to preserve the home market for the home industries. The employer and the workman regard with hostility anything that favors a foreign producer in the home market. Although the abundant resources of our country have maintained exports at a high rate, this is due more to the bounty of nature than to the demand of other nations. Within our borders the home market is secured, but outside our borders there are markets of the world that can be entered and controlled only by a vigorous contest. To affirm the importance of distant markets and of our own powers of production, we must recognize the shipping trade as the link that joins products and markets.

What’s going on?

(3)

It is evident that the Panama Canal, by modifying the direction of trade routes, will produce a great increase of commercial and shipping activity throughout the Caribbean Sea. This now deserted nook of the ocean will become a great thoroughfare of shipping and attract the interest and ambition of maritime nations. Every position in that sea will have enhanced commercial and military value, and the canal itself will become a strategic center of vital importance.

(4)

Our self-imposed isolation in the matter of markets has coincided with a remoteness from the life of the rest of the world. When the canal is built this isolation will pass away, and with it the indifference of foreign nations. From wherever they come and wherever they go, all ships that use the canal will pass through the Caribbean. Large commercial and political interests will center around this focus of trade.
Along with the signs of change in commercial activity, there is a restlessness in the world which is deeply significant. Unsettled political conditions exist in Haiti, Central America, and many of the Pacific islands, especially Hawaii. It is wise for us to be prepared for great military or commercial changes in those regions.

Americans must now begin to look outward. The growing production of the country demands it. An increasing volume of public sentiment demands it. The position of the United States, between the two Old Worlds and the two great oceans, makes the same claim, which will soon be strengthened by the creation of the new canal joining the Atlantic and Pacific.

How does this relate to what you have read already?

What is the overall message of the passage?

What questions do you have?
imperialism

Consider the following items, which represent views on the annexation, or addition, of Hawaii to the United States in the late 1890s.

“We need Hawaii just as much and a good deal more than we did California. It is Manifest Destiny.”
—William McKinley

Petition Against Annexation

To His Excellency WILLIAM McGINLEY, President, and the Senate, of the United States of America

Greetings: --

Whereas there has been submitted to the Senate of the United States of America a Treaty for the Annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the said United States of America for consideration at its regular session in December, A.D., 1897; therefore, We, the undersigned, native Hawaiian citizens and residents of the District of Honolulu, Kona, Island of Oahu, who are members of the Hawaiian Patriotic League of the Hawaiian Islands, and others who are in sympathy with the said League, earnestly protest against the annexation of the said Hawaiian Islands to the said United States of America in any form or shape.

About 21,000 signatures were collected.

Write two or three sentences that explain how the above sources represent the word imperialism.
The Strenuous Life

(1)

Teddy Roosevelt fought in the Spanish-American War of 1898 and became a leading advocate of American imperialism. He delivered this speech a couple of months after the Senate had ratified the treaty with Spain that established the Philippines as a colony of the United States.

(2)

In speaking to you, I wish to preach the doctrine of the strenuous life, the life of effort, of labor and strife. I wish to preach the form of success that comes not to the man who desires easy peace, but to the man who does not shrink from danger or hardship. To such a man comes the splendid ultimate triumph.

(3)

We of this generation have our tasks, and woe to us if we fail to perform them! We cannot be content to take no interest in what goes on beyond our borders until suddenly we find that we, the nation that has trained itself to a career of unwarlike and isolated ease is to fall before other nations which have not lost the manly and adventurous qualities. If we are to be a really great people, we must strive in good faith to play a great part in the world. We cannot avoid meeting great issues. In 1898 we could not help being brought face to face with the problem of war with Spain. All we could decide was whether we should shrink like cowards from the war, or enter into it as a brave people; and once in, whether failure or success should crown our banners.

What’s going on?

(4)

So it is now. We have a given problem to solve. We cannot avoid the responsibilities that confront us in Hawaii, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. All we can decide is whether we shall meet them in a way that will reflect well on our nation. To refuse to deal with them at all merely amounts to dealing with them badly. We cannot sit huddled within our own borders and declare ourselves a group who cares nothing for what happens beyond. Such a policy would defeat its own end. As nations grow to have wider and wider interests, and are brought into closer and closer contact, if we are to hold our own in the struggle for naval and commercial supremacy, we must build up our power beyond our own borders. We must build the isthmian (Panama) canal,
and we must grasp the advantage that will enable us to have our say in deciding the destiny of
the oceans of the East and the West.

**What’s going on?**

**How does this relate to what you have read already?**

(5)

From the standpoint of international honor the argument is even stronger. The guns that thun-
dered off Manila and Santiago left us echoes of glory, but they also left us a legacy of duty. The
army and the navy are the sword and the shield that this nation must carry if she is to do her duty
among the nations of the earth. Our proper conduct toward the tropic islands we have wrested
from Spain is our duty at the moment. In the West Indies and the Philippines alike we are con-
fronted by most difficult problems. It is cowardly to shrink from solving them in the proper way.
Personally, I am far too firm a believer in the greatness of my country and the power of my coun-
trymen to admit for one moment that we shall ever be driven to the dishonorable alternative.

(6)

The problems are different for the different islands. Puerto Rico is not large enough to stand
alone. We must govern it wisely and well, primarily in the interest of its own people. Cuba is, in
my judgment, entitled ultimately to settle for itself whether it shall be an independent state or
an essential part of the mightiest of republics. But until order and liberty are secured, we must
remain on the island to protect all, showing proper respect to the men who have fought for
Cuban liberty.

(7)

The Philippines offer a yet graver problem. Their population includes half-caste and native Chris-
tians, warlike Moslems, and wild pagans. Many of their people are utterly unfit for self-govern-
ment, and show no signs of becoming fit. Others may in time become fit but at present can only
take part in self-government under a wise supervision. I have scant patience with those who fear
to undertake the task of governing the Philippines, with **anti-imperialists** who make a pre-tense of humanitarianism to hide and cover their timidity, and who carry on about “liberty” and the “consent of the governed,” in order to excuse themselves for their unwillingness to play the part of men.

**What’s going on?**

**How does this relate to what you have read already?**

---

(8)

The twentieth century looms before us, along with the fate of many nations. If we shrink from the hard contests where men must risk their lives and risk all they hold dear, then the bolder and stronger peoples will win for themselves the domination of the world. Let us shrink from no strife, moral or physical, within or without the nation, provided we are certain that the strife is justified. It is only through strife, through hard and dangerous endeavor, that we shall ultimately win the goal of true national greatness.


**What’s going on?**
How does this relate to what you have read already?

What is the overall message of the passage?

What questions do you have?
Imperialism and World War I

Warm-Up

nationalism

During World War I, the U.S. government created a series of advertisements, such as the poster below.

Analyze the poster and describe two or three of its elements that promote nationalism.
Declaration of War

(1)

On February 3, 1917, President Wilson addressed Congress to announce that diplomatic relations with Germany were severed. In a special session of Congress held on April 2, 1917, President Wilson delivered this message. Four days later, Congress overwhelmingly passed the War Resolution, which brought the United States into the Great War.

(2)

Gentlemen of the Congress,

I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made. On the 3rd of February I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the **Imperial** German Government that it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach Great Britain or the western coasts of Europe. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board.

(3)

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the strength of the nation, but only the vindication of right.

---

**What's going on?**

---

(4)

I had thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, and our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence.
Imperialism and World War I

“Declaration of War” • 2 of 3

Armed neutrality, it now appears, is impractical. It is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent: It is practically certain to draw us into the war without the rights or effectiveness of the aggressors. There is one choice we cannot make: We will not choose the path of submission and allow our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. I advise that Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States and that the Congress exerts all its power and resources to bring the government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What’s going on?

How does this relate to what you have read already?

(5)

There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for that which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

Adapted from Wilson, W. (1917, April 2). President Wilson’s declaration of war message to Congress. Records of the U.S. Senate (Record group 46). National Archives, Washington, DC.

What’s going on?
How does this relate to what you have read already?

What is the overall message of the passage?

What questions do you have?
Imperialism and World War I

Warm-Up

diplomacy

Read the quotations and definitions below. Write one point about each quotation, explaining its connection with diplomacy.

Thoughts on Ending a War

“It must be a peace without victory … Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor’s terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a … resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last.”

— Woodrow Wilson, January 1917

the vanquished: the side that was defeated
duress: pressure, demand

“The deeper we penetrated into the spirit of this treaty, the more we became convinced of its impracticability. The demands raised go beyond the power of the German Nation … We know the impact of the hate we are encountering here, and we have heard the demand of the victors, who require us, the defeated, to pay the bill and plan to punish us as the guilty party. We are asked to confess ourselves the sole culprits; in my view, such a confession would be a lie …”

— Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, German foreign secretary and leader of the delegation to Versailles, May 1919

impracticability: difficulty, unworkability
Additional Texts
Declaration of Neutrality

(1) After Britain’s entry into the war on August 4, 1914, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson addressed Congress and made public the U.S. policy of neutrality. During his address, he made an appeal to American nationalism and warned U.S. citizens against taking sides in the war.

(2) The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned.

(3) The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to ease it. Americans may be divided in camps of hostile opinion, hot against each other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion, if not in action.

(4) Such divisions amongst us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation.

What’s going on?

(5) I venture, therefore, my fellow countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against that breach of neutrality, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men’s souls. We must be impartial in thought, as well as action, must put a curb upon our sentiments, as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle over another.
My thought is of America. This great country of ours should show herself to be a nation fit beyond others to exhibit the poise of undisturbed judgment and the dignity of self-control; a nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.


What’s going on?

How does this relate to what you have read already?

What is the overall message of the passage?

What questions do you have?
Armistice – The End of World War I, 1918

(1)

The terms of the agreement called for the cessation of fighting along the entire Western Front to begin at precisely 11 a.m. that morning. After more than 4 years of bloody conflict, the Great War was at an end. Colonel Thomas Gowenlock served as an intelligence officer in the American 1st Division. He was on the front line that November morning and wrote of his experience a few years later.

(2)

On the morning of November 11, I sat in my dugout, which was our division headquarters, talking to our Chief of Staff, Colonel John Greely, and Lieutenant Colonel Paul Peabody. A signal corps officer entered and handed us the following message:

Official Radio from Paris - 6:01 A.M., Nov. 11, 1918. Marshal Foch to the Commander-in-Chief.

1. Hostilities will be stopped on the entire front beginning at 11 o’clock, November 11th (French hour).

2. The Allied troops will not go beyond the line reached at that hour on that date until further orders.

[signed]
MARSHAL FOCH
5:45 A.M.

(3)

My watch said nine o’clock. With only two hours to go, I drove over to the bank of the Meuse River to see the finish. The shelling was heavy and as I walked down the road, it grew steadily worse. It seemed to me that every battery in the world was trying to burn up its guns. At last eleven o’clock came—but the firing continued. The men on both sides had decided to give each other all they had—their farewell to arms. It was a very natural impulse after their years of war, but unfortunately many fell after eleven o’clock that day.

What’s going on?
All over the world on November 11, 1918, people were celebrating, dancing in the streets, drinking champagne, hailing the armistice that meant the end of the war. But at the front there was no celebration. Many soldiers believed the Armistice was only a temporary measure and that the war would soon go on. As night came, the quietness, unearthly in its penetration, began to eat into their souls. The men sat around log fires, the first they had ever had at the front. They were trying to reassure themselves that there were no enemies spying on them from the next hill and no German bombing planes approaching to blast them out of existence. They talked in low tones. They were nervous.

After the long months of intense strain, of keying themselves up to the daily mortal danger, of thinking always in terms of war and the enemy, the abrupt release from it all was physical and psychological agony. Some suffered a total nervous collapse. Some, of a steadier temperament, began to hope they would someday return to home and the embrace of loved ones. Some could think only of the crude little crosses that marked the graves of their comrades. Some fell into an exhausted sleep. All were bewildered by the sudden meaninglessness of their existence as soldiers. What was to come next? They did not know—and hardly cared. Their minds were numbed by the shock of peace. The past consumed their whole consciousness. The present did not exist—and the future was inconceivable.


What’s going on?

How does this relate to what you have read already?
What is the overall message of the passage?

What questions do you have?
Twenties
1920–1929
Essential Word Log

As you go through the unit, note the people, events, ideas, and places that connect to these five concepts:

1. Consumer economy
2. Prosperity
3. Mass media
4. Demographics
5. Social revolution

**Consumer economy**
An economy that depends on a large amount of spending by individuals

*Related words:* purchaser-driven economic system
prosperity
Financial success or wealth
Related words: richness, fortune, affluence

mass media
Types of communication that reach large numbers of people in a short time, such as television, radio, movies, newspapers, and the internet
Related words: broadcasting, electronic media, information technology
Twenties

demographics
The characteristics of a human population, including gender, age, race, income, geographic location, education level, and employment

Related words: population statistics

social revolution
A change in the way a large number of members of a society live

Related words: upheaval of social norms, massive change
consumer economy

List the last three items that you purchased and whether each one was a “need” or a “want.”

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Need or want?</th>
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Why do you think that expanding a consumer economy depends on increasing consumers’ desire for “wants,” rather than “needs”?
Return to Normalcy

(1) During his presidential campaign, Warren Harding accurately sensed the mood of the American public and proposed a return to life as it was, leaving behind the war and all that went with it to go back to a time of “normal” life. Harding’s presidency, which saw unemployment in America reaching 12% in 1921, began one of the greatest periods of economic prosperity in U.S. history, with unemployment dropping to less than 3% by the time he died in 1923. He delivered the following speech on May 14, 1920.

(2) There isn’t anything the matter with world civilization, except that humanity is viewing it through a vision impaired in a horrible war. Poise has been disturbed, and nerves have been racked, and fever has rendered men irrational … but the human procession still marches in the right direction.

(3) America’s present need is not heroics, but healing … not revolution, but restoration; not agitation, but adjustment; not surgery, but serenity; not the dramatic, but the dispassionate; not … internationality, but … triumphant nationality.

(4) It is one thing to battle successfully against world domination by military dictators, because the infinite God never intended such a program, but it is quite another thing to revise human nature and suspend the fundamental laws of life and all of life’s acquirements …

What’s going on?

(5) This republic has its ample tasks. If we put an end to false economics which lure humanity to utter chaos, ours will be the commanding example of world leadership today. If we can prove a representative popular government under which a citizenship seeks what it may do for the government rather than what the government may do for individuals, we shall do more to make democracy safe for the world than all armed conflict ever recorded.
The world needs to be reminded that all human ills are not curable by legislation, and that quantity of laws and excess of government offer no substitute for quality of citizenship.

The problems of maintained civilization are not to be solved by a transfer of responsibility from citizenship to government, and no important page in history was ever drafted by the standards of mediocrity. More, no government is worthy of the name which is directed by influence on the one hand, or moved by intimidation on the other…

What’s going on?

How does this relate to what you have read already?

My best judgment of America’s needs is to steady down, to get squarely on our feet, to make sure of the right path. Let’s get out of the fevered delirium of war, with the delusion that all the money in the world is to be made in the madness of war and the wildness of its aftermath. Let us stop to consider that peace at home is more precious than peace abroad, and that both our good fortune and our eminence are dependent on the normal forward stride of all the American people …


What’s going on?
How does this relate to what you have read already?

What is the overall message of the passage?

What questions do you have?
prosperity

Look at the examples below of things one can buy through prosperity.

Briefly explain three examples of what prosperity means to you.

1.

2.

3.
Record Prosperity Predicted for 1928

(1) The following article, which appeared in “The New York Times” on November 18, 1927, quotes the chairman of the General Motors Corporation and a Columbia University economist praising the power of “installment plan” selling and consumer credit as the leading forces in the consumer economy of the 1920s.

(2) The greatest prosperity the nation has ever known will come in 1928, according to John J. Raskob, Chairman of the Finance Committee of General Motors Corporation. He spoke last night to more than 500 leaders in industry who attended a dinner to honor Professor Edwin R.A. Seligman of Columbia University, held in the Ritz-Carlton.

(3) He estimated that production this year of automobiles, passenger cars and trucks, would total 3,500,000 in the United States and Canada, and then predicted that in the coming year, with the Ford Motor Company joining in, the production would reach 5,000,000 cars, a gain of about 40 per cent.

(4) The remarks of Mr. Raskob led up to the introduction of the guest of the evening, Professor Seligman, who completed recently a study of installment selling which occupied him and a corps of twenty economists for fifteen months. Installment selling, he said, had been a potent force in American industrial progress. He said that its development had been one of the leading progressive manifestations in the last century of business.

What’s going on?

(5) Professor Seligman said that his studies of the deferred payment plan had taken him down to the end of 1926. He disclosed that of the total of retail sales in 1926, which amounted to $48,000,000,000, approximately 12 per cent, or about $4,500,000,000, had been on the installment plan. He cited the figures as evidence of the big role being played by this form of purchase.
Mr. Raskob said that “We in the industry estimate that say 60 per cent of all automobiles produced are sold on credit through installment payments. If this credit was not available we would have no motor industry as we know it in this country today. Today it is the greatest industry in the world and can be credited largely if not wholly with the prosperity our country and its people are enjoying.

“In 1926 the retail value of automobiles, trucks and parts produced is estimated at six billion dollars. If to this we add the cost of building and maintaining garages all over the country, the cost of new roads built and old roads maintained to meet automobile demands, we quickly reach a total of ten billion dollars of wealth created. By what? By the ability of our people through consumer’s credit to buy automobiles and thus satisfy their desire to go on wheels and go fast.

“This ten billion dollars of goods and services annually attributable to the automobile industry is wealth created almost entirely within the United States, practically the only material imported being rubber for automobile tires.

“The purpose of my remarks is not to sell the automobile industry, but to indicate what can be accomplished in industry generally through the proper development of a latent power existing in man known as credit. During the past hundred years we have developed thoroughly safe rules to govern the extension of credit to producers, and we now are evolving rules to govern the safe extension of credit to consumers.”
“Installment selling has increased production, stabilized output, reduced production costs and increased purchasing power,” said Professor Seligman. “The installment plan induces the consumer to look ahead with greater care and to plan his economic program with a higher degree of intelligence. It not only tends to strengthen the motives which induce an individual to pay but also influences his capacity to do so.”

What’s going on?

How does this relate to what you have read already?

What is the overall message of the passage?

What questions do you have?
mass media, demographics

Below are the results of a poll of 300 high school students, measuring their use of mass media.

Circle the section that displays the students’ demographics.

List two conclusions you can draw from the graph regarding the students’ use of mass media.

1. 

2.
A Flapper’s Appeal to Parents

(1)

In the 1920s, young women known as flappers rebelled against traditional ways of thinking and acting. Many older Americans were shocked by the behavior of flappers. In the following selection, published in “The Outlook” in 1922, flapper Ellen Welles Page asks older Americans to try to understand the social revolution that the young people of the 1920s were experiencing.

(2)

If one judges by appearances, I suppose I am a flapper. I am within the age limit. I wear bobbed hair, the badge of flapperhood. (And, oh, what a comfort it is!) I powder my nose. I wear fringed skirts and bright-colored sweaters, and scarfs, and waists with Peter Pan collars, and low-heeled shoes. I adore dancing. I spend a large amount of time in automobiles. I attend hops, and proms, and ball-games, and crew races, and other affairs at men’s colleges. But some of the most thoroughbred superflappers might blush to claim sistership or even remote relationship with such as I. I don’t use rouge, or lipstick, or pluck my eyebrows. I don’t smoke (I’ve tried it, and don’t like it), or drink.

(3)

I want to beg all you parents, and grandparents, and friends, and teachers, and preachers—you who constitute the “older generation”—to overlook our shortcomings, at least for the present, and to appreciate our virtues. I wonder if it ever occurred to any of you that it required brains to become and remain a successful flapper? Indeed it does! It requires an enormous amount of cleverness and energy to keep going at the proper pace. It requires self-knowledge and self-analysis. We must know our capabilities and limitations. We must be constantly on the alert. Attainment of flapperhood is a big and serious undertaking!

What’s going on?

(4)

“Brains?” you repeat, skeptically. “Then why aren’t they used to better advantage?” That is exactly it! “The war!” you cry. “It is the effect of the war!” And then you blame prohibition. But this is my point: Instead of helping us work out our problems with constructive, sympathetic thinking and acting, you have muddled them for us more hopelessly with destructive public condemnation.
(5)

Think back to the time when you were struggling through the teens. Remember how spontaneous and deep were the joys, how serious and penetrating the sorrows. Most of us, under the present system of modern education, are further advanced and more thoroughly developed mentally, physically, and vocationally than were our parents at our age. We hold the infinite possibilities of new inventions within our grasp. We have learned to take for granted conveniences, and many luxuries, which not so many years ago were as yet undreamed of. We are in touch with the whole universe. We have a tremendous problem on our hands. You must help us. Give us confidence—not distrust. Give us practical aid and advice—not criticism. Praise us when praise is merited. Be patient and understanding when we make mistakes.

What’s going on?

How does this relate to what you have read already?

(6)

We are the Younger Generation. The war tore away our spiritual foundations and challenged our faith. The times have made us older and more experienced than you were at our age. It must be so with each succeeding generation if it is to keep pace with the rapidly advancing and mighty tide of civilization. Help us to put our knowledge to the best advantage. Work with us! That is the way! Outlets for this surplus knowledge and energy must be opened. Give us a helping hand.

(7)

Parents, study your children. Talk to them more intimately. Respect their right to a point of view. Remember that we are the parents of the future. Help us to be worthy of the sacred trust that will be ours. Make your lives such an inspiration to us that we in our turn will strive to become an inspiration to our children and to the ages! Is it too much to ask?

What’s going on?

How does this relate to what you have read already?

What is the overall message of the passage?

What questions do you have?
social revolution

Originally from rural Florida, Zora Neale Hurston became one of the most successful and important black women writers of the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s. The following excerpt is from her autobiography, *Dust Tracks on a Road*.

On account of a short story which I wrote for *The Stylus*, Charles S. Johnson, who was just then founding *Opportunity Magazine*, wrote to me for material. He explained that he was writing to all of the Negro colleges with the idea of introducing new writers and new material to the public.

Being out of school for lack of funds, and wanting to be in New York, I decided to go there and try to get back in school in that city. So the first week of January, 1925, found me in New York with $1.50, no job, no friends, and a lot of hope … I won a prize for a short story at the first Award dinner, May 1, 1925, and [I was offered a job and a scholarship] … to Barnard (an all-white college) … graduating in 1928.

Based on the excerpt, list two ways that Hurston’s life is an example of the social revolution of the 1920s.

1.

2.
Additional Text
Address Before the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York

(1) Calvin Coolidge became the 30th president of the United States after the death in office of Warren G. Harding in 1923. Elected in his own right in 1924, Coolidge gained a reputation as a small-government conservative who said very little, earning him the nickname “Silent Cal.” He delivered the following address on November 19, 1925.

(2) This time and place naturally suggest some consideration of commerce in its relation to government and society. We are finishing a year which can justly be said to surpass all others in the overwhelming success of general business. We are meeting not only in the greatest American metropolis, but in the greatest center of population and business that the world has ever known.

(3) The foundation of this enormous development rests upon commerce. New York is an imperial city, but it is not a seat of government. The empire over which it rules is not political, but commercial … Political life and industrial life flow on side by side, but practically separated from each other.

What’s going on?

(4) I should put an even stronger emphasis on the desirability of the largest possible independence between government and business. Each ought to be sovereign in its own sphere. When government comes unduly under the influence of business, the tendency is to develop an administration which closes the door of opportunity, becomes narrow and selfish in its outlook, and results in an oligarchy. When government enters the field of business with its great resources, it has a tendency to extravagance and inefficiency, but, having the power to crush all competitors, likewise closes the door of opportunity and results in monopoly … The general results in our country, our freedom and prosperity, warrant the assertion that our system of institutions has been advancing in the right direction in the attempt to solve these problems. We have order, opportunity, wealth, and progress.

What’s going on?

How does this relate to what you have read already?

What is the overall message of the passage?

What questions do you have?