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Common Core Teaching and Learning Strategies

*English & Language Arts
Reading Informational Text
Grades 6-12*

Draft
May, 2012



Illinois State Board of Education

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**Common Core Teaching and Learning Strategies
English & Language Arts
Reading Informational Text
Grades 6-12**

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Introduction

When implementing Common Core Standards in English language arts educators must be mindful of literacy research and continue to use those evidence-based practices within the framework of Common Core. For example, a primary grade teacher would continue to focus on areas of phonics, phonemic awareness, comprehension, fluency, vocabulary, writing and motivation within the context of the standards.

The following strategies have been compiled to connect the Common Core State Standards to best practices. All efforts have been made to align with research outlined in Appendix A of the Common Core State Standards for English and Language Arts and Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects.

This document has placed special emphasis on student interaction with increasingly complex text. Emphasis has also been placed on developing the skill of close analytic reading and increasing competency in the comparison and synthesis of ideas. In addition, the templates that follow have been designed to help students grapple with more complex vocabulary in preparation for college and careers. Common Core Standards for Writing, Speaking and Listening, and Language are layered within strategy suggestions to model the use of standards as vehicles for enhancing and assessing reading comprehension.

These strategies have been constructed with a vision of student success on the upcoming PARCC assessments. Formative assessment suggestions have also been embedded within each template in an effort to continually move learning forward toward skill mastery.

The suggestions included in this document combine familiar methods and tools with ideas for enhancement aligned to the Common Core State Standards. What follows is a framework to use as guidance when preparing the students of Illinois for success in college and careers. The strategies contained within this document are not intended to be used as a model curriculum. Rather, the strategy suggestions were designed to be used as a framework for generating ideas and inspiring collaborative dialog when implementing the Common Core Standards. It should be noted that specific texts mentioned within this document are targeted based upon their inclusion as text exemplars within the Common Core State Standards. Their presence is designed to generate similar ideas and discussions of appropriately complex texts. This version is a product of many perspectives and will continue to evolve.

The Common Core Standards implementation works in tandem with other agency initiatives. The Statewide System of Support and Response to Intervention processes, for example, are to be infused into Common Core implementation. Throughout all agency communication we hope to use the same language and definitions so the transition to implementing Common Core Standards will be seamless.

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RI.6.1

Cite textual evidence to support analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Two-Column Notes. T-notes provide students with the opportunity to use to cite evidence/take notes while listening or reading. Generally, students divide a sheet of notebook paper in half. While listening or reading, students record evidence (e.g., record the evidence from the text that tells you the author is biased) in the right column. In the left column, students can make inferences, ask questions, or draw pictures to clarify their evidence. See [freeology](#) and [reading lady](#) graphic organizers (Sanda, Havens, & Maycumber, 1988).

Inferencing Questions. Marzano suggests teachers pose four questions to students to facilitate a discussion about making inferences (Marzano, 2010).

What is my inference? This question helps students become aware that they have just made an inference by filling in information that was not directly stated in the text.

What information did I use to make this inference?

It is important for students to understand the various types of information they use to make inferences. This may include information presented in the text, or it may be background knowledge that a student brings to the learning setting.

How good was my thinking? Once students have identified the premises on which they've based their inferences, they can engage in the most powerful part of the process — examining the validity of their thinking.

Do I need to change my thinking? The final step in the process is for students to consider possible changes in their thinking. The point here is not to invalidate students' original inferences, but rather to help them develop the habit of continually updating their thinking as they gather new information.

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Provide students with a passage and three different colored highlighters or colored pencils. Students are to underline or highlight the main idea, explicit evidence, and any implicit evidence. Students could also write their inferences in the margin based on the implicit evidence.

Grouping: individual

Provide students with a passage. Have students take a piece of paper and make two columns on their paper. They are to write inferences at the top of the left column and evidence from passage at the top of the right column. While reading the passage, have students stop at various points to make an inference and provide the evidence from the passage to support it and record on their graphic organizer. (This can be completed on chart paper if the students are working in small groups.)

Grouping: small, partner, or individual

Formative Assessment Tip. Feedback is provided and recorded on artifacts in order to regroup students for targeted learning opportunities. Teachers are encouraged to strategically score progress with a watchful eye on the formative assessment process. It is important to keep in mind that a “final grade” represents a summative score.

References:

Marzano, R. (2010). Teaching inference. *Educational Leadership*, 67(7), 80-01.

Santa, C. M., Havens, L. T., & Maycumber, E. M. (1988). *Project CRISS—Creating independence through student-owned strategies*. Kalispell, MT: Kendall/Hunt.

RI.6.2	Determine a central idea of a text and how it is conveyed through particular details; provide a summary of the text distinct from personal opinions or judgments.							
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions		Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions						
<p>Word Splash</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Read through the text and decide on key words, phrases and concepts in the text that will give students ideas of what the text is about or words that may need further clarification. 2. Type or write, then copy for individual students or small groups. 3. Once distributed, allow students a few minutes to read through the text and discuss listed words and phrases with others. They may ask others for clarification, or to elaborate some items. Allow them to make predictions about the central idea of the text in their groups. 4. Bring students back together and ask them for their predictions, encouraging all students to contribute. Students may write or present their information to the class or in small groups Click here for a sample. (Hammond, 2005) <p>Delete, Substitute, Keep. Basic Summarization in 3 Steps (Marzano, Pickering and Pollock, 2001).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Deleting information - Draw a line through anything that seems trivial or frivolous, such as adjectives, similar examples, and transition words. Draw a line through anything that is redundant or repetitive. 2. Substituting information - Replace specific terms with general terms. For example, if the original text lists “flies, honeybees, mosquitoes, and moths”, the student might substitute “flying insects.” 3. Keeping information - Determine a good topic sentence for the material. Just about every topic sentence contains a subject and the author’s claim about it. <p>Knowing what to delete, substitute, and keep is an integral part to writing an effective summary. Teachers should model the process for students and provide numerous practice items. Click here for more details.</p>		<p>Word Splash. Create an observation checklist rubric based on the text selected to determine if each student has used details from the text to accurately convey the central theme.</p> <p>Delete, Substitute, Keep. Collect the Delete, Substitute, Keep assignment. Create a rubric based on the text selected for the lesson. Use the rubric to determine is students have mastery of the stated objective.</p> <p>Fact or opinion. After reading a selected text, have students create a table listing facts from the text on one side and opinions mentioned or inferred in the text on the other side. Use classroom observations to determine mastery.</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="1066 753 1986 932"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="2" data-bbox="1066 753 1986 813">Fact or Opinion</th> </tr> <tr> <th data-bbox="1066 813 1528 873">Facts</th> <th data-bbox="1528 813 1986 873">Opinions</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td data-bbox="1066 873 1528 932"></td> <td data-bbox="1528 873 1986 932"></td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>Formative Assessment Tip. “Often a single assessment is used for multiple purposes; in general, however, the more purposes a single assessment aims to serve, the more each purpose will be compromised” (Pelligrino, Chudowsky, Glaser, 2001).</p>	Fact or Opinion		Facts	Opinions		
Fact or Opinion								
Facts	Opinions							
<p>References:</p> <p>Hammond, D. (2005). <i>Forty years of literacy instruction: Progress and pedagogy</i>. Submission to Michigan Reading Journal. Retrieved from www.faculty.salisbury.edu/~wdhammond/~WRL1097.tmp.doc on April, 2012.</p> <p>Marzano, R. and Pickering, D. (2001). <i>Classroom Instruction that Works: Research-Based Strategies for Increasing Student Achievement</i>. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.</p> <p>Pelligrino, J., Chudowsky, N., Glaser, R. (2001). <i>Knowing what students know: The science and design of educational assessment</i>. National Research Council.</p>								

RI.6.3

Analyze in detail how a key individual, event, or idea is introduced, illustrated, and elaborated in a text (e.g., through examples or anecdotes).

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Stop-N-Think. Teach students the purpose of [Stop-N-Think](#). Studies suggest that the brain can only pay attention for so long before it needs to “stop and think,” in order to better process learning (Jensen and Nickelsen, 2003).

1. The Stop-N-Think provides students a graphic organizer to help them process their learning while they are reading informational texts. Students may write words, phrases, or sentences. They may also draw pictures to help them process and keep track of information. Size of “chunks” will vary based on the student. The text should be “chunked” based on students ability to stay focused.
2. The stops can be used to analyze in detail how a key individual, event or idea is introduced, illustrated and elaborated in a text. Students will need to be directed at each stop as to what they are to analyze.

Trailing the Text. [Trailing the Text](#) is similar to Stop-N-Think but instead of a note-taking device, the student is looking for specific details of what an author has written to explain a key individual, event or idea. The teacher picks five or six good stopping points in the text. This can be marked by page numbers on a graphic organizer. Students are to analyze in detail at each stop (using notes, key words, pictures, etc..) how a key individual, event or idea is introduced, illustrated and elaborated in a text.

Teachers should assign the chunks based on places in the text in which the author introduces, illustrates or elaborates the topic. For the first chunk, have students preview informational text by looking at graphics and reading the title, as well as scanning the introductory paragraph. This will provide them information for how the topic is introduced.

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Stop-N-Think. Students convert their completed graphic organizer into a written summary or essay citing the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text. Aligned assessment and feedback of writing products can move learning forward with regards to writing skill, language acquisition, and reading comprehension. Students give and receive timely objective feedback resulting in targeted learning opportunities based on assessment results.

Trailing the Text. Students prepare a visual representation illustrating and citing the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences that may be drawn.

Small Group Discussions. After students read the text, in small groups they create a list of the key ideas and supporting evidence from the text. As small group discussions ensue, the teacher listens intently to ensure explanations are supported by clear evidence. Informal assessment is continual and result in targeted learning opportunities for students. After the key ideas and supporting evidence are determined, students create a new introduction to the text in alignment with the authors meaning and tone.

References:

Jensen, E., and Nickelsen, L. (2008). *Deeper Learning*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.
 Stauffer, R. (1969). *Directing reading maturity as a cognitive process*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.

RI.6.4

Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including figurative and connotative meanings; analyze the impact of a specific word choice on meaning and tone.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Building Academic Vocabulary. Dr. Robert Marzano describes a six-step process in the instruction of vocabulary. The first three steps are to assist the teacher in direct instruction. The last three steps are to provide the learner with opportunities to practice skills and reinforce their learning. (Marzano, 2005).

1. The teacher gives a description, explanation, or example of the new term.
2. The teacher asks the learner to give a description, explanation, or example of the new term in his/her own words.
3. The teacher asks the learner to draw a picture or symbol, or to locate a graphic to represent the new term.
4. The learner will participate in activities that encourage a deeper understanding of the words in their vocabulary notebooks (graphic organizer).
5. The learner will discuss the term with other learners.
6. The learner will participate in games that provide more reinforcement of the new term. [Click here for additional details.](#)

Mapping the Meaning. The teacher takes a significant word from an essay/article and places the word in the middle of a graphic organizer. Students provide the teacher with images, emotions or feelings (connotations) as well as definitions (denotations) of the word. The class discusses why the author has chosen that specific word and how it changes the meaning and tone of the article/essay. This shows students how word choice is deliberate and impacts the meaning of the text (Adapted from Stahl, 2005). [See this link for a web graphic organizer.](#)

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Building Academic Vocabulary. Students give a description, explanation, or example of the new term in his/her own words. Using an observation checklist, feedback is provided with regards to accuracy in description, explanation, or example given. Students then draw a picture, create a symbol, or locate a graphic to represent the new term. In small groups, students share their picture, symbol, or graphic during a game a charades with their group. Each group will designate a recorder to document the results of the game in the following fashion:

Vocabulary Charades			
Student name	Term used	Description of drawing, symbol, or graphic	Additional information needed (yes or no)

Mapping the Meaning. Upon completion of the activity, students provide written answers to text dependent questions to display their level of comprehension. The authors of the Common Core State Standards, through Student Achievement Partners, have created a guide for developing text dependent questions. It can be accessed online or by clicking the link below.

[Guide for Developing Text Dependent Questions.](#)

References:

Marzano, R. and Pickering, D. (2005). *Building academic vocabulary: Teacher's manual*. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

RI.6.5

Analyze how a particular sentence, paragraph, chapter, or section fits into the overall structure of a text and contributes to the development of the ideas.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Text Structure. Text structure refers to how the information within a written text is organized. This strategy helps students to recognize the structure of a text and to monitor their comprehension as they read.

1. Choose the assigned reading and introduce the text to the students.
2. Introduce the idea that texts have organizational patterns called text structures. Introduce the following common text structures:
 - Description,
 - Sequence,
 - Problem and solution,
 - Cause and effect, and
 - Compare and contrast.
3. Introduce and model different text structures using a specific graphic organizer to chart the text structure.

To use the text structure strategy teachers should:

1. Show examples of paragraphs that correspond to each text structure.
2. Examine topic sentences that clue the reader to a specific structure.
3. Model the writing of a paragraph that uses a specific text structure.

[Click here](#) for additional information about text structures.

Text Coding. This strategy helps students keep track of their thinking while they read. Students use a simple coding system to mark the text and record their thinking either in the margins of the text or on separate study notes. Remember to model these strategies in advance and be consistent in your procedures (same color each time, etc). For additional coding ideas, visit the [Text Mapping Site](#). Once students can identify the text structure (cause & effect, problem/solution), students can record the parts of the text on a graphic organizer to analyze how the text is developed.

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Formative Assessment Tip. Feedback is provided and recorded on the following suggested artifacts in order to regroup students for targeted learning opportunities. Teachers are encouraged to strategically score progress with a watchful eye on the formative assessment process. It is important to keep in mind that a “final grade” represents a summative score.

1. Students write a summary or essay that cites the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text. Aligned assessment and feedback of writing products can move learning forward with regards to writing skill, language acquisition, and reading comprehension.
2. Students explain how a particular sentence, paragraph, chapter, or section fits into the overall structure of a text and how it contributes to the development of the ideas.
3. Students engage in formal and informal presentations of a variety of products outlined above. Aligned assessment and feedback of speaking and listening skills during presentations also promote growth in this area.

Progression Note. A key progression in the speaking and listening standards is the need for students to show competency in presenting claims and findings, sequencing ideas logically and using pertinent descriptions, facts, and details to accentuate main ideas or themes; use appropriate eye contact, adequate volume, and clear pronunciation (SL.6.4).

References:

Dymock, S. (2005). Teaching expository text structure awareness. *The Reading Teacher*, 59(2), 177-181.

RI.6.6

Determine an author's point of view or purpose in a text and explain how it is conveyed in the text.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions
<p>Compare/Contrast. Have students read articles drawn from different sources that deal with a common topic. Have students compare/contrast the points of view of different authors. (e.g. how they structure each argument and how their word choice is significant) This will help students to realize that the bias of the authors is important, as it can color their views of the issue involved. The word choice used by the media also is important. (This exercise can work well with primary sources from history, for example the diary entries of two individuals who fought on opposite sides of the Civil War)</p> <p>Change in Purpose. Teachers may want to provide students with discussion prompts or writing tasks that encourage them to reflect upon the author's point of view. A task may be to ask students how the tone and style of the text would change if the author's purpose was changed from <i>informing</i> his/her audience to <i>persuading</i> them.</p> <p>Questioning the Author. QtA lets students critique the author's writing and in doing so engage with the text to create a deeper meaning (Beck, 1997).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Select a passage that is both interesting and can encourage good conversation. 2. Determine the appropriate stopping points in the text—where you think your students need to gain a greater understanding of the material 3. Create questions to encourage critical thinking for each stopping point. Ex: What is the author trying to say? Ex: Why do you think the author used the following phrase? Ex: What is the author's purpose in writing this text? 	<p>Compare/Contrast. Using specific language found in the text, students work in pairs to prepare a Venn diagram displaying the different points of view outlined in the text. Teachers listen intently and foster an environment of objective peer to peer feedback sharing in order to keep learning moving forward. Targeted learning opportunities occur as a result of continual informal assessment.</p> <p>Formative Assessment Tip. “Formative assessment is not a test but a process—a <i>planned</i> process involving a number of different activities” (Popham, 2008).</p> <p>Questioning the Author. Using the selected passage, students write a summary or essay citing textual evidence to supports their analysis of author intent.</p> <p>Upgrade. Upon completing the summary or essay, each student conducts an online search to find additional reliable reviews that support or conflict with their original claim.</p>
<p>References: Beck, I.L., & McKeown, M.G., Hamilton, R.L., & Kugan, L. (1997). <i>Questioning the author: An approach for enhancing student engagement with text</i>. Newark, DE: International Reading Association. Popham, W. J. (2008). <i>Transformative Assessment</i>. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development</p>	

RI.6.7	Integrate information presented in different media or formats (e.g., visually, quantitatively) as well as in words to develop a coherent understanding of a topic or issue.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions		Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions
<p>THIEVES. THIEVES is an acronym for <u>title</u>, <u>headings</u>, <u>introduction</u>, <u>every first sentence in a paragraph</u>, <u>visuals</u> and <u>vocabulary</u>, <u>end-of-chapter questions</u>, and <u>summary</u>. Students are guided through a preview of a nonfiction text. After guided practice, partners work together to use the strategy to preview a chapter from a textbook. Students discuss what information they "stole" from the chapter and discuss how the strategy is useful in better understanding a text by looking at different formats. (text verses graphs/tables/charts) (Manz, 2002). See sample here.</p> <p>The Big 6. Developed by information literacy educators Mike Eisenberg and Bob Berkowitz, <i>The Big 6</i> is the most widely-known and widely-used information literacy approach to teaching information and technology skills in the world. The Big6 is an information and technology literacy model and curriculum, implemented in thousands of schools – K through higher education. Some people call <i>The Big 6</i> an information problem-solving strategy because with the Big6, students are able to handle any problem, assignment, decision or task (www.big6.com).</p> <p>The 6 Steps</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Task Definition 2. Information Seeking Strategies 3. Location and Access 4. Use of Information 5. Synthesis 6. Evaluation 		<p>THIEVES. Each partnership develops a multimedia presentation that clearly outlines the information from their respective text. Special emphasis is placed on specific language used within the text to outline a topic or explain a concept. Objective feedback is continual in order to keep learning moving forward.</p> <p>THIEVES. Students prepare a visual representation illustrating and citing the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences that may be drawn.</p> <p>Upgrade. Each partnership is required to contribute a certain number of Tier two and three vocabulary words to a collaborative class glossary. A form is created within Google Docs to collect the information and the resulting spreadsheet is embedded onto the website for the course for students.</p> <p>Feedback Tip. "...students prefer to see feedback as forward-looking, helping to address 'Where to next?', and related to the success criteria of the lesson. Regardless of their perceptions of achievement level, students see the value and nature of feedback similarly" (Hattie, 2012).</p>
<p>References: Hattie, J. (2012). <i>Visible learning for teachers: Maximizing impact on learning</i>. New York, NY: Routledge. Manz, S.L. (2002). A strategy for previewing textbooks: Teaching readers to become THIEVES. <i>The Reading Teacher</i>, 55, 434–435.</p>		

RI.6.8

Trace and evaluate the argument and specific claims in a text, distinguishing claims that are supported by reasons and evidence from claims that are not.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Reading An Argument. Students can use questioning to analyze an argument. The following are some examples of the types of questions a teacher may ask while modeling the process of reading through an argument.

(Students can record the following on sticky notes or on a graphic organizer).

1. Before You Read
 - What does the title suggest?
 - Who is the author and what are his or her qualifications?
 - What is the date of the publication?
 - What do I already know about the issue?
2. While You Read
 - Read once for an initial impression.
 - Read the argument several times.
 - Annotate as you read. (See below)
 - Highlight key terms.
 - Is there enough of the right kind of evidence to support the claim?

Annotating a Text. Annotation is one of several cognitive literacy strategies that are used to help students recognize structure, analyze ideas, derive meaning, and communicate understandings. When students annotate texts they are recognizing the ways authors make arguments and provide supporting evidence or details for those arguments. Annotation is a structured way to “mark up” text so that it is more manageable. Students use annotation to highlight important information like main ideas (argument or claim), supporting ideas (evidence), key content vocabulary words, definitions, and transitions within the text. (Conley, 2008; Pressley, 2006)

Article on annotation can be read [here](#).

References:

- Conley, M. (2008). Cognitive strategy instruction for adolescents: What we know about the promise, what we don’t know about the potential. *Harvard Educational Review*, 78(1) 84–108.
- Pressley, M. (2006). *Reading instruction that works: The case for balanced instruction*. New York: Guilford.

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Fact with Evidence or Not. After reading a selected text, have students create a table listing claims supported with evidence from the text on one side and claims not supported with evidence from the text on the other side. Use classroom observations to determine mastery.

Claims Supported by Evidence or Not	
Supported	Not supported

After identifying claims supported with evidence from the text, ask students to identify and list the specific text that supports the claims made in the text.

Progression Note. A key progression in the writing standards is the need for students to show competency in supporting claim(s) with clear reasons and relevant evidence, using credible sources and demonstrating an understanding of the topic or text (W.6.1b).

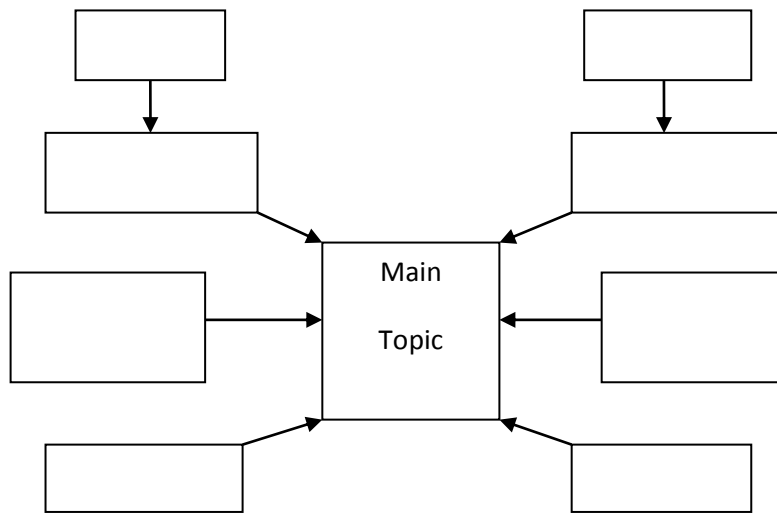
RI.6.9

Compare and contrast one author's presentation of events with that of another (e.g., a memoir written by and a biography on the same person).

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Venn Diagram & Summary. The instructor should model creating a Venn Diagram to the students. Students can practice this process in a small group setting before they attempt to complete a diagram independently. This strategy helps students to recognize the similarities and differences between two or more texts. Click [here](#) for a sample Venn Diagram.

Compare and Contrast Graphic Organizer. A way to compare 2 or more concepts by looking at similarities and differences. Choose two different texts about a similar topic with two different authors (Adapted from Marzano, 2001).

**Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions**

Recognizing Concepts and Themes. Students dissect portions of extracted text in an effort to analyze similarities and differences in concepts and themes. For example, students analyze specific language used within two different CCSS text exemplars appropriate to this grade band and produce a written summary outlining key similarities and differences in meaning and tone. Students may additionally compare and contrast selected language and/or create word/sentence alternatives as a way to alter tone. Feedback is continually shared in an effort to move learning forward.

Research Project. Students use strategies within this template to progressively complete a sustained research project. The teacher listens intently and continually provides objective feedback in an effort to move learning forward.

Vocabulary Guide. Students work individually or in pairs, using a variety of resources to define selected words from an appropriately complex text in an effort to produce a student constructed classroom "Vocabulary Guide" for academic and domain specific words (e.g., students utilize a form within Google Docs to enter Tier II & Tier III words from course text reads, the accompanying spreadsheet is embedded into the course website and is utilized as a student generated "Vocabulary Guide" for the course.

Progression Note. A key progression in the writing standards is the need for students to show competency in conducting short research projects to answer a question, drawing on several sources and refocusing the inquiry when appropriate (W.6.7).

References:

Marzano, R.J., Pickering, D., and Pollock, J. *Classroom instruction that works: Research-based strategies for increasing student achievement*. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 2001.

RI.6.10	By the end of the year, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 6-8 text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p>SCAN & RUN. This instructional framework consists of cues for strategies that help students plan and monitor their comprehension before, during, and after reading. Instruction in the use of SCAN & RUN involves several steps that facilitate independent use of the strategy by students.</p> <p>Before Reading – SCAN S=Survey headings and turn them into questions(answer while reading) C=Capture the captions and visuals (try to understand their meanings) A=Attach boldface words (find the meanings) N=Note and read the chapter questions before reading</p> <p>While Reading – RUN R=Read and adjust speed (slow through difficult sections) U=Use word identification skills such as sounding it out, looking for other words clues in the sentence, or breaking words into parts for unknown words. N=Notice and check parts you don't understand and reread or read on (place a "?" next to the part you don't understand, and decide to reread that section or skip it and go back to it after you're finished reading).</p> <p>After Reading. Students extend their understanding of the text by answering questions at the end of the selection and discussing the text (Salembier 1999).</p> <p>Read, Rate, Reread. This strategy will help students improve their reading comprehension by emphasizing the importance of careful, repeated readings of material. The students will read a short selection three times and evaluate their understanding of the passage on each successive reading. They will further develop their skill at monitoring their own reading comprehension (Adapted from All America Reads).</p>	<p>Formative Assessment Tip. Feedback is provided and recorded on these suggested artifacts in order to regroup students for targeted learning opportunities. Teachers are encouraged to strategically score progress with a watchful eye on the formative assessment process. It is important to keep in mind that a "final grade" represents a summative score.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Students write a summary or essay that cites the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text. Aligned assessment and feedback of writing products can move learning forward with regards to writing skill, language acquisition, and reading comprehension. 2. Students answer and receive feedback on text dependent questions. 3. Students engage in a variety of discussions and/or Socratic questioning to display competency with regards to this standards. Aligned assessment and feedback of speaking and listening skills also promote growth in this area. 4. Students prepare a visual representation illustrating and citing the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences that may be drawn. 5. Students engage in formal and informal presentations of a variety of products outlined above. Aligned assessment and feedback of speaking and listening skills during presentations also promote growth in this area. 	
<p>References: Salembier, G. (1999). Scan and Run: A reading comprehension strategy that works. <i>Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy</i>. Newark, DE: International Reading Association.</p>		

RI.7.1	Cite several pieces of textual evidence to support analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions		Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions
<p>Think Alouds With this strategy, teachers verbalize their thinking while reading a selection orally. Their verbalizations include describing things they are doing as they read to monitor their comprehension. The purpose of the think aloud strategy is to model for students how skilled readers cite evidence (Davey, 1983).</p> <p>It Says, I Say, And So Graphic Organizer “It Says – I Say – And so...” is a good example of a graphic organizer that allows students to visualize the steps in making an inference. Initially, students respond to a question that can only be answered by inference, even though the question is about a particular reading or text (Beers, 2003).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. First the students have to find out what the reading says. 2. Next they find information from the text that will help answer the question. 3. Then they add, in their own words, their thoughts about what the reading says. 4. Finally, the students combine what the reading says and their thoughts to answer the question and thus create new meaning—the inference. Click here for an example. 		<p>Think Alouds. In small groups, students take turns verbally explaining why events in the text occurred. Attention is continually drawn back to specific language used within the text. After a pre-determined amount of time, students write a summary outlining a specific event or section of text. The summary will include evidence to support the claim of why the text was included or the event occurred.</p> <p>Inference Graphic Organizer. Students engage in formal and informal presentations of a variety of their completed graphic organizer. Aligned assessment and feedback of speaking and listening skills during presentations promote growth of speaking and listening skills in coordination with analysis of reading comprehension.</p> <p>Formative Assessment Tip. “Feedback is most effective when students do not have proficiency or mastery – and thus it thrives when there is error or incomplete knowing and understanding...Errors invite opportunities...They should not be seen as embarrassment, signs of failure, or something to be avoided...They are exciting, because they indicate a tension between what we <i>now</i> know and what we <i>could</i> know; they are signs of opportunities to learn and they are to be embraced” (Hattie, 2012).</p>
<p>References: Beers, Kylene. (2003). <i>When kids can't read: What teachers can do</i>. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann. Davey, B. (1983). Think-aloud: Modeling the cognitive processes of reading comprehension. <i>Journal of Reading</i>, 27(1), 44-47. Marzano, R. (2010). Teaching inference. <i>Educational Leadership</i>, 67(7), 80-01. Available online at http://www.ascd.org/publications/educational-leadership/apr10/vol67/num07/Teaching-Inference.aspx. Hattie, J. (2012). <i>Visible learning for teachers: Maximizing impact on learning</i>. New York, NY: Routledge, p. 124.</p>		

RI.7.2

Determine two or more central ideas in a text and analyze their development over the course of the text; provide an objective summary of the text.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Summarizing and Note-taking Summarizing and note taking requires the ability to synthesize information. Details help tell you about the main idea (Marzano, Pickering, Pollock, 2001). Remind students to not confuse a text detail with the main idea.

1. During the oral reading, think-aloud multiple times including statements such as: “This detail tells me....” “The text is mostly about....” “This is a very important detail...” “This passage talks about...”
2. Post at least 4 sentences for all students to see. Think-aloud with the students and explain why the central ideas are central and why the others are details. Students need to hear your thinking.
3. Explain that finding the central idea is an important skill that we must learn to be good readers. Demonstrate how to record the main idea/details in a graphic organizer.
4. Model and practice with partners numerous times before students try it independently.
5. Any number of graphic organizers can work for this skill depending on the length of the text.

Sum It Up Read an entire selection (chapter, article, handout, primary source, etc.) and, as you read, list the main idea words on the “Sum It Up” sheet.

Write a summary of the selection using as many of the main idea words as possible. Put one word in each blank. Imagine you have only \$2.00 and that each word you use is worth ten cents. You’ll “sum it up” in 20 words! Click [here](#) for a sample.

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Summarizing and Note-Taking. Upon completion of a note-taking activity and/or graphic organizer, students create a visual display summarizing and analyzing the central ideas of the text. Careful attention is placed upon keeping the text central to the activity and remaining true to specific language the author used.

Annotating Text. Students read and annotate a PDF version of the text by highlighting main ideas and supporting details according to color. To do this within Adobe Reader, students select the “highlighting tool” and then press CTRL+E. This will display “highlighter tool properties” allowing students to quickly change highlighter colors. Begin the assessment by having students highlight the main ideas according to a particular color code. Once that is complete, student return to each main idea and use a similar shade of the main idea color to highlight the details in support of that main idea. They repeat the process until the entire text has been annotated and all main ideas have been supported by details that outline their development over the course of a text. At predetermined intervals, students provide peer-to-peer feedback by posting objective comments on one another’s annotated text. The teacher listens intently and uses data from informal assessment to provide targeted learning opportunities.

Progression Note. A key progression in the writing standards is the need for students to show competency in applying *grade 7 Reading standards* to literary nonfiction (e.g. “Trace and evaluate the argument and specific claims in a text, assessing whether the reasoning is sound and the evidence is relevant and sufficient to support the claims”) (W.7.9b).

References:

Marzano, R.J., Pickering, D.J., & Pollock, J.E. (2001). *Classroom instruction that works: Research-based strategies for increasing student achievement*. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

RI.7.3

Analyze the interactions between individuals, events and ideas in a text (e.g., how ideas influence individuals or events, or how individuals influence ideas or events).

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Structured Note-Taking. Structured note-taking helps students organize and recall information they have read (Smith and Tompkins, 1988). Provide a graphic organizer and model for the student how to complete the organizer themselves with the components found listed in the standard. Student may create their own note-taking structure using boxes similar to the following:

Individual	Idea or Event	How Idea or Event was Influenced by Individual

Free-Form Mapping. [Free-form mapping](#) is a way for students to document their thoughts and understandings about an individual, event or an idea. Students may place information, pictures, or words anywhere on the chart. While reading they can record the interactions between individuals, events or ideas or how individuals influence ideas or events as they read the text (Santa, Havens, Maycumber, 1996). Students may create their maps independently, as a whole group or in small groups. An organizer is attached.

Two Layer Time Line. Using a text that has a sequence of events, students create a timeline of the events on the top layer. Underneath the timeline, create a sequence of reactions or influences that occurred due to the individual or event.

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Formative Assessment Tip. Feedback is provided and recorded on these suggested artifacts in order to regroup students for targeted learning opportunities. Teachers are encouraged to strategically score progress with a watchful eye on the formative assessment process. It is important to keep in mind that a “final grade” represents a summative score.

1. Students write a summary or essay that cites the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text. Aligned assessment and feedback of writing products can move learning forward with regards to writing skill, language acquisition, and reading comprehension.
2. Students answer and receive feedback on text dependent questions.
3. Students engage in a variety of discussions and/or Socratic questioning to display competency with regards to this standards. Aligned assessment and feedback of speaking and listening skills also promote growth in this area.
4. Students prepare a visual representation illustrating and citing the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences that may be drawn.
5. Students engage in formal and informal presentations of a variety of products outlined above. Aligned assessment and feedback of speaking and listening skills during presentations also promote growth in this area.

References:

Smith, P., & Tompkins, G. (1988). Structured notetaking: A new strategy for content area teachers. *Journal of Reading*, 32(1), 46-53.
 Santa, C.M., Havens, L.T., and Maycumber, E.M. (1996). *Project CRISS: Creating Independence through Student-owned Strategies*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.

RI.7.4

Determine the meanings of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including figurative, connotative, and technical meanings; analyze the impact of a specific word choice on meaning and tone.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

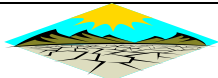
Semantic Feature Analysis The Semantic Feature Analysis strategy engages students in reading assignments by asking them to relate selected vocabulary to key features of the text. This technique uses a matrix to help students discover how one set of things is related to one another. Select a topic or concept from a reading selection for student analysis. Introduce a [Semantic Feature Analysis graphic organizer](#) as a tool for recording reading observations (Lenski, Wham and Johns, 1999).

1. Students list key vocabulary words down the left hand column of a chart.
2. Next, students list properties of the topic across the top row of a chart.
3. While reading, students place check marks in the appropriate cell when a vocabulary word reinforces one of the properties of the topic.
4. After reading and completing the graphic organizer, students share observations. Discussion about differing results is encouraged. Students identify which vocabulary words best communicate the essential properties of the topic.

K.I.M. Vocabulary Strategy (Beck, McKeown & Kucan, 2002). Instruct students on the following acronym:

- **K** represents the *key word*; students record the word to be learned.
- **I** represents *important information*; students record what they have learned about the key word in "their own words."
- **M** represents *memory clue or mnemonic* (Drawing, picture or symbol)

By making a sketch (or other memory clue) students synthesize and interpret the new information and make it their own.

K (Keyword)	I (Important Information)	M (Memory Cue)
Drought	Without water	

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Semantic Feature Analysis. Students utilize [Gan's Feedback Model](#) to provide objective peer-to-peer and self-feedback in an effort to keep learning moving forward.

Text Dependent Vocabulary Quiz. At a pre-determined interval, students work collaboratively to create an online text dependent vocabulary quiz. This activity will focus on Tier two and three vocabulary located within the text and combine quality text dependent questioning with vocabulary assessment. Students construct the quiz and enter their responses within a Google Docs form.

Exit Slip. After students make the quiz, they return to the text for further learning analysis or engage in targeted learning activities. After a few days have passed, students complete the "text dependent vocabulary quiz" as an exit slip. Results from the quiz are used to formulate a hinge question to begin the lesson the following day.

Hinge-point questions. A hinge-point question is a quick check on understanding (William, 2011).

1. Ideally it takes less than a minute for all students to respond
2. Ideally it takes less than 30 seconds for the teacher to view and interpret the responses

References:

Beck, I. L., McKeown, M. G., & Kucan, L. (2002). *Bringing words to life: Robust vocabulary instruction*. New York, NY: Guilford.

Lenski, S. D., Wham, M. A. & Johns, J. L. (1999). *Reading and learning strategies for middle and high school students*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.

William, D. (2011). *Embedded formative assessment*. Bloomington, IN: Solution Tree Press.

RI.7.5	Analyze the structure an author uses to organize a text, including how the major sections contribute to the whole and to the development of the ideas.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions		Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions
<p>Pattern Guide The pattern guide strategy demonstrates the predominant pattern the author used to construct a text. These guides (graphic organizers) should be chosen by the teacher to match the text (Herber, 1978).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Choose a text that shows a strong organizational pattern. 2. Choose a graphic organizer to match the text and distribute. 3. When modeling, read aloud a portion and fill in several parts for the students. Ask students to complete the remaining portion with a partner. 4. Repeat with various patterns offering less scaffolding each time. <p>After practicing the above strategy numerous times, students will be able to recognize the structure the text has been written in and then draw their own organizer to take notes and comprehend the text.</p> <p>Selective Underlining This strategy enables students to understand what the author is trying to say as well as to organize information in texts.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Explain to students that underlining words/phrases are helpful for comprehension. 2. During modeling, read through the text first then reread and underline words and phrases (not sentences) that get at the main idea. 3. Using colored markers, highlight main ideas in one color and details in another. <p>When completed, a student can note whether an author is balancing the main ideas and details. They can state “In this paragraph the author gave 2 main ideas with no details”, or “I saw 3 main ideas in the passage, 2 main ideas had 3 details and the other had none” (Santa, Havens & Maycumber, 1996).</p>		<p>Pattern Guide. Students write an essay that analyzes the structure an author uses to organize a text that includes how the major sections contribute to the whole and to the development of the ideas.</p> <p>As students read and write the teacher navigates the room and uses diagnostic questioning to determine competency with regards to Tier Two vocabulary appearing within the text. Feedback is provided that “models, cues, or hints to support improvements in learning...operating as an instructional scaffold” (Heritage, 2010, p.84).</p> <p>Selective Underlining. Students verbally explain the structure the author used to organize a text that includes how the major sections contribute to the whole and to the development of the ideas. This can be conducted in pairs, small groups, whole group, and/or after informal practice in a one-on-one setting between teacher and student in class.</p> <p>Progression Note. A key progression in the speaking and listening standards is the need for students to show competency in presenting claims and findings, emphasizing salient points in a focused, coherent manner with pertinent descriptions, facts, details, and examples; use appropriate eye contact, adequate volume, and clear pronunciation (SL.7.4).</p>
<p>References: Herber, H. (1978). <i>Teaching Reading in the Content Area</i>, 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. Heritage, M. (2010). <i>Formative assessment: Making it happen in the classroom</i>. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press. Santa, C.M., Havens, L.T., and Maycumber, E.M. (1996). <i>Project CRISS: Creating Independence through Student-owned Strategies</i>. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.</p>		

RI.7.6	Determine an author’s point of view or purpose in a text and analyze how the author distinguished his or her position from that of others (e.g., how the delivery of a speech affects the impact of the words).	
	Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions
	<p>About/Point. About-Point is a silent reading strategy where students pause at logical points and complete this phrase: This section/paragraph is <i>about</i> _____; and the <i>point</i> is _____. Students can use it when reading difficult material to help recall information (Bouchard, 2005).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Choose and distribute a short informational text piece. 2. When modeling, read a section or paragraph to students or assign them to read it with partners. 3. Distribute and display the About/Point chart and model its use. Demonstrate, how to find and record the “About”. 4. Demonstrate, how to find and record the details next to “Point” <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Periodically assign students to write about-point statements and use them to start class discussions by asking students to read them. • As students read text by different authors, a discussion of how the author distinguishes his or her position from that of others. <p>Grab Bag Purpose This strategy helps students identify an author's purpose: to entertain, inform, persuade or describe. The teacher collects various writing samples from a number of sources (newspaper articles, captions with photo, comics, advertisements, etc.) and laminates them. There should be many examples of each type of author's purpose. The laminated writing samples are placed in a grab bag. Students take turns pulling writing samples out of the bag and identifying the author's purpose. Students give reasons for their answer in a reading response journal.</p>	<p>About/Point. When finished reading, students use their collection of “About/Point phrases” to construct a short essay outlining the authors point of view or purpose in a text. The completed essay will also include an analysis of how the author distinguishes his or her point of view from other or conflicting points of view. Special emphasis is placed on textual evidence and specific language the author used.</p> <p>About/Point. Students write a short essay that defines the author’s point of view. They are then given an alternate point of view from a different text on the same topic and conduct a comparison and synthesis of ideas.</p> <p><i>Prior to working on written products, students and teachers work together to develop rubrics which clearly outline expectations and success criteria.</i></p> <p>Comparison and synthesis of Ideas. Students are given two or more texts which address a similar topic or issue from varying points of view. After closely reading each text, students “synthesize” the meaning of each and construct an original informative/explanatory essay “to examine and convey complex ideas, concepts, and information clearly and accurately through the effective selection, organization, and analysis of content” (W.9-10.2). Self, peer-to-peer and teacher-to-student feedback continually maintains an objective focus on the words the author used within each text; how they are similar and how they contrast in meaning and tone.</p> <p>Grab Bag Purpose. Feedback is continually provided throughout the exercise and formal/informal assessment is prevalent. Assessment results from the activity are used to place students into small groups for targeted learning opportunities the following day.</p>
<p>References: Bouchard, M. (2005). <i>Comprehension strategies for English language learners: 30 research-based reading strategies that help students read, understand, and really learn content from their textbooks and other nonfiction materials.</i> New York, NY: Scholastic Teaching Resources.</p>		

RI.7.7

Compare and contrast a text to an audio, video, or multimedia version of the text, analyzing each medium's portrayal of the subject.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Compare and Contrast Grid This strategy helps readers bring order to concepts. When good readers compare and contrast, they are able to analyze the material to discern patterns and gain a stronger understanding of what they are reading (Allen, 2004). This graphic organizer is one of many which could be used for students to record what they have read.

Environmental Responsibilities

Recycling Text	Alike	Recycling Video

Comparing/contrasting Different Media. Have students compare and contrast text to media. Talk with students about how a nonverbal message accompanies every oral communication. Facial expressions, body movements, gestures, tone of voice, rate of speech, and voice inflection all add meaning to the words actually spoken. These nonverbal components help the receiver interpret the emotional significance of the message. Using a [triangle graphic organizer](#) (or any other graphic organizer that compares/contrasts), students should note what is the same and what is different.

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Comparing/contrasting. Students create a Venn diagram that compares and contrasts a text to an audio, video, or multimedia version of the text. Students include a formal analysis of each medium's portrayal of the subject.

Research Project. Students use strategies within this template to progressively complete a sustained research project. Throughout the process the teacher listens intently and continually provides objective feedback in an effort to move learning forward.

Vocabulary Guide. Students work individually or in pairs, using a variety of resources to define selected words from an appropriately complex text in an effort to produce a student constructed classroom "Vocabulary Guide" for academic and domain specific words (e.g., students utilize a form within Google Docs to enter Tier II & Tier III words from course text reads, the accompanying spreadsheet is embedded into the course website and is utilized as a student generated "Vocabulary Guide" for the course.

Formative Assessment Tip. While students complete a related activity, the teacher meets with students individually, in pairs, or small groups for the purpose of sharing objective feedback around the idea of 'Where to next?' (Hattie, 2012).

Progression Note. A key progression in the writing standards is the need for students to show competency in conducting short research projects to answer a question, drawing on several sources and generating additional related, focused questions for further research and investigation (W.7.7).

References:

Allen, J. (2004). *Tools for teaching content literacy*. Portland, ME: Stenhouse.

Hattie, J. (2012). *Visible learning for teachers: Maximizing impact on learning*. New York, NY: Routledge, 131.

RI.7.8

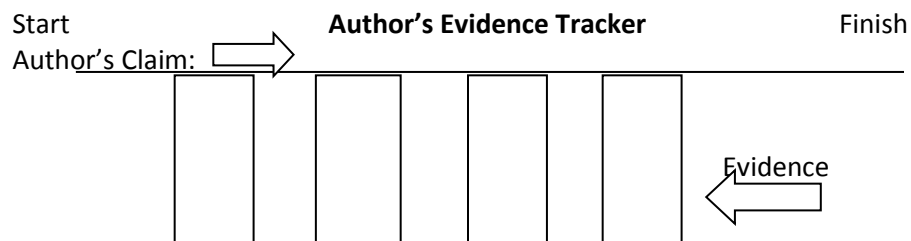
Trace and evaluate the argument and specific claims in a text, assessing whether the reasoning is sound and the evidence is relevant and sufficient to support the claims.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Follow the Argument Road The teacher models how to determine whether the author's evidence sufficiently supports the claims in a text.

1. The teacher reads aloud an argument as students follow along with the text.
2. The teacher "thinks aloud" as the students place evidence "on the road."
3. At the end of the road, the teacher models the evaluation process by noting whether or not the author provided sufficient, relevant evidence to support the claim.
4. Place students in pairs, have them read an unfamiliar text and complete an "Argument Road" graphic organizer.
5. Each pair of students works with another pair to compare their answers on the graphic organizer and then share them with the class.
6. Students independently complete the graphic organizer.

Evidence Tracker. Students are to read with the purpose of identifying specific claims in a text. Each claim can be noted on the "tracker." This strategy provides students with a way to organize their thinking while reading.

**Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions**

Argumentative Essay. Students author a formal argumentative essay tracing and evaluating arguments and specific claims from within a text. Essays are assessed primarily for whether the reasoning is sound and the evidence is relevant and sufficient enough to support claims. However, essays are also assessed for competency within additional writing and language standards. A rubric is used to measure proficiency and targeted learning opportunities reoccur throughout the revision process.

Progression Note. A key progression in the writing standards is the need for students to show competency in (with some guidance and support from peers and adults) developing and strengthening writing as needed by planning, revising, editing, rewriting, or trying a new approach, focusing on how well purpose and audience have been addressed. (Editing for conventions should demonstrate command of Language standards 1–3 up to and including grade 7) (W.7.5).

Evidence Tracker. Upon completion of the task, students evaluate the arguments and specific claims in a text. For each major claim, students write a statement assessing whether the reasoning is sound and the evidence is relevant and sufficient to support the claims. Informal assessment and feedback are provided to continually move learning forward.

References:

RI.7.9

Analyze how two or more authors writing about the same topic shape their presentations of key information by emphasizing different evidence or advancing different interpretations of facts.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Author Comparison Matrix This strategy is designed to take students through the steps of analyzing how two or more authors interpret facts. (Hattie, 2012).

	Author #1	Author #2	Author #3
Website	Evidence:	Evidence:	Evidence:
Article	Evidence:	Evidence:	Evidence:
Section of Chapter	Evidence:	Evidence:	Evidence:

Differences in authors: *Opinion of how the author presented information* (e.g., Author #1 did not give much evidence but author #3 gave several pieces of evidence. Author #2 never stated solid evidence.)

After recording evidence and noting differences, this is my interpretation of the topic and how the author's presented their information.

Author #1 stated _____

Author #2 stated _____

Author #3 stated _____

Question The Authors. After reading each author's text, write the answers to the following questions:

- What is the author trying to tell you?
- Why is the author telling you that?
- Does the author say it clearly?
- How could the author have said things more clearly?

After answering the questions, compare your answers and write a summary (Beck, McKeown & Kugan, 1997).

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Author Comparison Outline. Students create an outline that gives an analysis of how two or more authors writing about the same topic shape their presentations of key information by emphasizing different evidence or advancing different interpretations of facts.

Formative Assessment Tip. "Feedback is most effective when students do not have proficiency or mastery – and thus it thrives when there is error or incomplete knowing and understanding...Errors invite opportunities...They should not be seen as embarrassment, signs of failure, or something to be avoided...They are exciting, because they indicate a tension between what we *now* know and what we *could* know; they are signs of opportunities to learn and they are to be embraced" (Hattie, 2012, p.124).

Informational Explanatory Essay. Students write an essay that gives an analysis of how two or more authors writing about the same topic shape their presentations of key information by emphasizing different evidence or advancing different interpretations of facts.

Upgrade. Students participate in an online discussion forum to engage in a text comparison discussion. For example, a blog is created for an assigned text. Student "blog facilitators" post specific sentences, paragraphs, or larger portions of text within the blog and the remaining students add comments to each thread as a way to engage in an online text analysis. Prior to using an online discussion forum, students and staff work collaboratively within the 9-12 grade band to develop a rubric that clearly outlines expectations and success criteria.

References:

Beck, I.L., & McKeown, M.G., Hamilton, R.L., & Kugan, L. (1997). *Questioning the author: An approach for enhancing student engagement with text*. Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Hattie, J. (2012). *Visible learning for teachers: Maximizing impact on learning*. New York, NY: Routledge.

RI.7.10

By the end of the year, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 6–8 text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions**Read, Rate, Reread**

1. Assign text to be read in class. Ask students to rate their understanding of their reading on a scale from 1 to 10 and to list any questions they have about their reading.
2. Direct students to reread the text and rate their understanding again. Have them indicate which earlier questions they can now answer.
3. Ask students to work in groups of two or three to discuss any unanswered questions they still have. Students who answer the questions should indicate the portion of the text that led them to their answer.
4. Ask students to read the text for a third time and rate their understanding of the passage one last time.
5. Discuss any remaining questions with the entire class.

	Understanding Rating (1-10)	Questions	Answers
1 st Reading			
2 nd Reading			
3 rd Reading			

(Adapted from Beers, 2003)

INSERT

INSERT is an active reading strategy for readers to monitor their own thinking as they read so that they can remember to clarify issues at a later time. Students will use symbols to code the text as they read. The codes may be developed by the teacher or student. The following are examples of codes: + = something new, ? = this confuses me, * = I knew that. This is a particularly useful strategy when students have their own books and can mark in them. However, students can use sticky notes, separate sheets of paper, or strips of paper in the margins to write the codes on when using a book. Click [here](#) for a sample INSERT poster (Vaughn & Estes 1986).

References:

Beers, K. (2003). *When Kids Can't Read What Teachers Can Do*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.
 Vaughn, J. L., & Estes, T. H. (1986). *Reading and reasoning beyond the primary grades*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
 William, D. (2011). *Embedded formative assessment*. Bloomington, IN: Solution Tree Press.

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Formative Assessment Tip. Feedback is provided and recorded on these suggested artifacts in order to regroup students for targeted learning opportunities. Teachers are encouraged to strategically score progress with a watchful eye on the formative assessment process. It is important to keep in mind that a “final grade” represents a summative score.

1. Students write a summary or essay that cites the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text. Aligned assessment and feedback of writing products can move learning forward with regards to writing skill, language acquisition, and reading comprehension.
2. Students answer and receive feedback on text dependent questions.
3. Students engage in a variety of discussions &/or Socratic questioning to display competency with regards to this standards. Aligned assessment and feedback of speaking and listening skills also promote growth in this area.
4. Students prepare a visual representation illustrating and citing the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences that may be drawn.
5. Students engage in formal and informal presentations of a variety of products outlined above. Aligned assessment and feedback of speaking and listening skills during presentations also promote growth in this area.

Formative Assessment Tip. *Responding to the “I don’t know.”*

If a student responds to a classroom discussion question with a simple “I don’t know”, the teacher can respond with “I will get back to you”. Then a few other students are asked to respond to the same question. After several responses are shared, the teacher returns to the original student and asks him/her which response they agree with the most and why (William, 2011).

RI.8.1

Cite the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

IBET. The IBET reading strategy helps students understand the inference-making process by using a graphic organizer to break the act of inferring into steps (Developed by Linda Keating, Albert D. Lawton School).

1. Student states the **Inference**.
2. Student notes the **Background** information used to arrive at the inference.
3. Student notes the **Evidence** in the **Text** he or she used to generate the inference.

The order of these steps can be flexible, as needed. For example, the students may start with the inference, note the text, and then identify the background knowledge used to construct the inference.

Strong Evidence Graphic. This strategy provides students a way to organize their thinking as they identify the central idea and the evidence to support the central idea. Evidence is considered strong when it both convinces the reader and effectively expresses the central idea of the text. Students can mark the text as they read to guide their thinking. Students may use text features such as headings, bold words, and graphs. Students may also note repeated ideas/words or images. Students must use only the **strongest pieces of evidence** to uphold the central idea. Teachers need to model this process through think-alouds and guided practice. Model for the students how to fill out the graphic organizer. Place the evidence on the "muscles" which should support or "hold up" the central idea (barbell). When students begin this process, the teacher can provide a central idea and or pieces of evidence. As students become more proficient they can complete the entire organizer independently.

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

IBET. Students use inferences, background, and evidence in the text as a framework for an argumentative essay. The essay cites the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences that may be drawn. An argumentative essay rubric, directly aligned to language within the Common Core Standards, is used to establish clear success criteria, assess reading comprehension, assess writing skill, and assess competency within the language standards. Objective peer-to-peer, teacher-student, and self-feedback are continually provided to keep learning moving forward.

Progression Note. A key progression in the writing standards is the need for students to show competency in introducing claim(s), acknowledge and distinguish the claim(s) from alternate or opposing claims, and organize the reasons and evidence logically.

Strong Evidence Graphic. After completing the graphic, students display competency via in class oral presentation. A rubric aligned to the Common Core State Standards is constructed and utilized to assess speaking, listening, and language skill.

Progression Note. A key progression in the speaking and listening standards is the need for students to show competency in delineating a speaker's argument and specific claims, evaluating the soundness of the reasoning and relevance and sufficiency of the evidence and identifying when irrelevant evidence is introduced.

References:

Keating, Linda; Retrieved from: http://education.vermont.gov/new/pdfdoc/pgm_curriculum/literacy/reading/reading_to_learn/reading_to_learn_04_04.pdf, p.23.

RI.8.2	Determine a central idea of a text and analyze its development over the course of the text, including its relationship to supporting ideas; provide an objective summary of the text.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p>Cooperative Reading Activity. This strategy is based on the idea that students can effectively divide a reading, share ideas in a bulleted list, and report to the group. Individual reading is required, but discussion and the decision about the development of the main idea within the text rely on consensus among group members. Note taking is emphasized (Adapted from Opitz).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Choose and distribute a text that can be divided into sections. Subheadings and strong introductions are helpful. A teacher may want to read the introduction aloud to the entire class. 2. Divide the class into groups and provide each group chart paper. 3. Instruct each group to record the central idea of the text and note how the author adds information, explains details, etc... over the course of the text. 4. Instruct each group to present findings to the class as a whole on chart paper. Note taking during these presentations is recommended if each group was assigned a different section to report on. 5. The groups or individuals can be assigned to write an objective summary of the text. <p>Keep Questioning. Students should read to identify the central idea by asking themselves, “What is this about?” Students should ask themselves this question until the answer becomes clear. They should note how the author revealed the central idea to the reader. Students ask the question: “Was the central idea revealed through examples that repeated the idea through images, or the authors’ conclusions?” When students write a summary, they share the ways the central idea developed. An analysis might include examining a writer’s choice of structure, features, and support/details.</p>	<p>Cooperative Reading Activity. Objective feedback is continually provided ensuring the text remains the focal point of the lesson. Special emphasis is placed upon how the product evolves as a result of group collaboration and the shared discovery of new evidence from within the text. At the conclusion of the activity, each student produces a narrative summary that outlines the efficiency and productivity of the group in completing the task. A narrative writing rubric aligned to the CCSS is utilized to assess proficiency in writing and language as well as a means for establishing targeted learning opportunities.</p> <p>Note. A “distinguished” classroom environment is one in which, “Instructional outcomes, activities and assignments, and classroom interactions convey high expectations for all students. Students appear to have internalized these expectations” (Danielson, 2007).</p> <p>Keep Questioning. Students write an objective summary of the text that identifies the central ideas and analyzes its development over the course of the text. Special emphasis is placed on a writer’s specific choice of structure, features, and support/details.</p>	
<p>References: Danielson, C. (2007). <i>Enhancing professional practice: A framework for teaching</i>, 2nd edition. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 69. Opitz, M. (1992). The cooperative reading activity: An alternative to ability grouping. <i>The Reading Teacher</i>, 45(9): 736-738.</p>		

RI.8.3	Analyze how a text makes connections among and distinctions between individuals, ideas, or events (e.g., through comparisons, analogies, or categories).	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p>Text Structures. Discuss how writers use text structures to organize information. Introduce students to the different types of text structures in the following order: description, sequence, problem and solution, cause and effect, and compare and contrast. As students encounter different texts, note the signal words that accompany the different structure. Teach and model the use of graphic organizers that go with each text structure. To practice identifying different text structures, have a Treasure Hunt with a newspaper, magazine, nonfiction book or textbook chapter. (Dymock, 2005).</p> <p>Guided Highlighted Reading (G.H.R.). This strategy allows teachers to pose questions that allow students to understand how different text structures present and link information. Prior to the activity, the teacher must study the text to be read and devise questions requiring students make comparisons, analogies, or connections. As the teacher asks questions, students use highlighters to identify information for to answer the question. Students highlight only key words or phrases. This activity helps students learn how to skim and scan, and retrieve the needed information only (Weber, Nelson & Schofield, 2012). Click here for a sample of a GHR.</p>	<p>Text Structures. In conjunction with the standards for speaking and listening, students “present claims and findings, emphasizing salient points in a focused, coherent manner <u>with relevant evidence, sound valid reasoning, and well-chosen</u> details; use appropriate eye contact, adequate volume, and clear pronunciation” (SL.8.4). To accomplish this task, students use their graphic organizers to establish a framework for a presentation that analyzes how a text makes connections among and distinctions between individual, ideas, or events. Assessment is continual and targeted learning opportunities are utilized to keep learning moving forward.</p> <p>Guided Highlighted Reading (G.H.R.). In an effort to assist teachers with the creation of text dependent questions that assess competency, the authors of the Common Core State Standards, through Student Achievement Partners, have created a guide for developing text dependent questions. It can be accessed online or by clicking the link below.</p> <p>Guide for Developing Text Dependent Questions.</p> <p>Progression Note. A key progression in the writing standards is the need for students to show competency in developing the topic with relevant, <u>well-chosen</u> facts, definitions, concrete details, quotations, or other information and examples (W.8.2).</p>	
<p>References: Dymock, S. (2005). Teaching expository text structure awareness. <i>The Reading Teacher</i>, 59(2), 177-181. Weber, Elaine M., Nelson, Barbara A., & Schofield, Cynthia L. (2012). <i>Guided Highlighted Reading</i>. Gainesville, FL : Maupin House Publishing Inc.</p>		

RI.8.4

Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including figurative, connotative, and technical meanings; analyze the impact of a specific word choice on meaning and tone, including analogies or allusions to other texts.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Impact Colors. Students will identify and color code words and phrases that create a variety of tones within literary nonfiction texts. For example, figurative language may be coded green; connotative language would be coded red; and technical meanings would be coded blue. Students will then note the link between word choice and tone. This process prepares students to:

1. Analyze multiple texts in which textual references, via analogies or allusions, are present.
2. Debate the reason for the inclusion of textual references in the whole class discussion. Essential questions for this discussion may be: “Why does the writer relate the text to another through analogy or allusion? What purpose does making this text-to-text connection serve? “
3. Finally, students should demonstrate mastery of this standard by independently analyzing how a writer chooses words with intent to affect tone and meaning.

Analyzing “everyday text”. In order to take figurative language to the analytical level, students must be given the opportunity to determine the reason for an author’s choice of figurative language and its affect on the audience. Have students find a pre-determined number of examples of figurative language in a text (e.g. magazines, advertisements).

Ask these questions:

- What type of figurative language did you find?
- Who is the intended audience?
- What affect would this figurative language have on the audience?
- What is the author’s overall purpose of this ad?

The students should share their analysis with others in the class.

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Impact Colors. Students write an analysis of pre-identified key words or phrases from a text to explain the meaning of the word and the impact of the word on the overall meaning of the selected text. When the analysis is complete, students orally explain the meaning of and the impact of the key words or phrases from the text.

Annotating Text. Students read and annotate a PDF version of the text by highlighting main ideas and supporting details according to color. To do this within Adobe Reader, students select the “highlighting tool” and then press CTRL+E. This will display “highlighter tool properties” allowing students to quickly change highlighter colors. Begin the assessment by having students highlight the main ideas according to a particular color code. Once that is complete, student return to each main idea and use a similar shade of the main idea color to highlight the details in support of that main idea. They repeat the process until the entire text has been annotated and all main ideas have been supported by details that outline their development over the course of a text. At predetermined intervals, students provide peer-to-peer feedback by posting objective comments on one another’s annotated text. The teacher listens intently and uses data from informal assessment to provide targeted learning opportunities.

Analyzing “everyday text”. Students complete a written summary which cohesively answers the questions outlined in the activity. A CCSS aligned assessment rubric is used to establish clear success criteria and pinpoint opportunities for targeted learning.

References:

RI.8.5	Analyze in detail the structure of a specific paragraph in a text, including the role of particular sentences in developing and refining a key concept	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions		Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions
<p>Paragraph Separation. Students identify how topic sentences, support, and elaboration work together to develop a concept for the reader.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Students, in a small group, can separate sentences of a well-constructed paragraph and reorder them in the order that best builds meaning for them as a reader. (Sentence strips work well for this activity). 2. Other groups of students may also have select paragraphs from the same section to reorder. 3. Each group may share, using their own language and impressions, on the role each sentence served in the paragraph. Did all of the sentences help refine the key concept? If you were the author of this paragraph, how might you have structured your paragraph? <p>Additional exposure across a variety of texts will aid students in recognizing paragraph patterns and structures.</p> <p>Pattern Guide. The Pattern Guide strategy demonstrates the predominant pattern the author used to construct the text. Pattern guides can help readers recognize patterns of organization. These guides, also called graphic organizers, should be chosen or created by the teacher to match the text. Students learn to recognize the relationship between central ideas and details. They also take notes while reading (Herber, 1978).</p> <p>See samples of organizers by clicking here.</p>		<p>Paragraph Separation. To enhance the activity and increase understanding, produce additional clause and phrase options for students to substitute into the sentences. As students substitute various clauses and phrases emphasis is placed on how that changes meaning and tone.</p> <p>Assessment Tip. “Improvements in learning will depend on how well assessment, curriculum, and instruction are aligned and reinforce a common set of learning goals, and on whether instruction shifts in response to the information gained from assessments” (Pelligrino, Chudowsky, & Glaser, 2001).</p> <p>Pattern Guide. Small groups of students engage in Socratic discussions to complete their guides. Special emphasis is placed upon a deep understanding of the text as well as the group’s ability to “acknowledge new information expressed by others, and, when warranted, <u>qualify or justify</u> their own views in light of the evidence presented” (SL.8.1d).</p>
<p>References: Herber, H., <i>Teaching Reading in the Content Areas</i>, 2nd ed., Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978. Pelligrino, J., Chudowsky, N., and Glaser, R. (2001). <i>Knowing what students know: The science and design of educational assessment</i>. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.</p>		

RI.8.6

Determine an author’s point of view or purpose in a text and analyze how the author acknowledges and responds to conflicting evidence or viewpoints.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Author’s Analysis Diagram. The teachers chooses from a variety of texts ,such as editorials or persuasive speeches to complete the following steps:

1. Model, with various texts, how to determine an author’s point of view or purpose by focusing on examining the author’s tone, word choice, and use of persuasive language.
2. Place students in small groups to determine an author’s point of view/purpose. The group should be prepared to state evidence that supports the point of view/purposes. Students focus on examining the author’s tone, word choice, and use of persuasive language. Have small groups share. When enough modeling and practice have occurred, allow students to try to independently complete the task.

Discussion Web. A discussion web is a [graphic organizer](#) that enables students to examine both sides of an issue before agreeing on a conclusion. This particular strategy is an adapted approach developed by McTighe and Lyman (Alvermann, 1991). The technique calls for students to think of individual ideas based on their knowledge of the text, then work as a pair to record, discuss, and resolve their perspectives before meeting with another pair of partners to share these ideas. The foursome then nominates a speaker to present this information to the entire class.

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Author’s Analysis Diagram. Students write an informative/explanatory text that identifies an author’s point of view or purpose. The written product includes an analysis of how the author acknowledges and responds to conflicting evidence or viewpoints.

Formative Assessment Tip. “Considerable research indicates that feedback is one of the most powerful factors influencing learning and achievement” (Mok, 2009).

Formative Assessment Tip. “...under certain circumstances, peer tutoring can actually be more effective than one-on-one tutorial instruction from a teacher” (Wiliam, 2011).

Discussion Web. The teacher listens intently so as to support and enhance a discussion environment in which “new connections” are continually made. At the conclusion of the discussion web, students show comprehension competency by writing a summary in response to the focus question in which they cite specific portions of the text to support their conclusion. The classroom environment fosters quality self and peer-to-peer feedback continually inspiring students to “produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience” (W.8.4).

References:

Alvermann, D.E. (1991). The Discussion Web: A graphic aid for learning across the curriculum. *The Reading Teacher*, 45 (2), 92–99.
 Mok, M. M. C. (2009). *Self-directed learning oriented assessment theory: Strategy and impact*. Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Institute of Education.
 Wiliam, D. (2011). *Embedded formative assessment*. Bloomington, IN: Solution Tree Press, 65.

RI.8.7	Evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of using different mediums (e.g., print or digital text, video, multimedia) to present a particular topic or idea.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p>Compare and Contrast Map. Students will understand how the use of varying mediums may reinforce or distract readers from the central ideas presented in a text. In essence, students will evaluate how messages can most effectively be delivered to the intended audience. Students may start by examining multiple mediums focused around the same key concept. Then, through partner, small group, or written reflection, they will reflect on how effective that medium expresses the message and reaches the intended audience. A graphic organizer can be used as a sample recording device for individuals, small groups or partners in order to analyze different mediums.</p> <p>SIGHT. This strategy provides teachers and students a step by step process of looking at two or more mediums to present a particular topic or idea (Marzano, Pickering, & Pollock, 2001).</p> <p>S Select two mediums on a particular idea or topic I Identify criteria for students to use during examining each item. G Guide students through describing each item and then comparing using an organizer H Have students determine if the items are more similar or different and draw conclusions/make generalizations T Tie the lesson together by giving students a synthesis task that asks them to apply their learning</p>	<p>Compare and Contrast Map. In order to display competency, students can create a t-table that evaluates and outlines the advantages and disadvantages of using different mediums (e.g. print, digital text, video, multimedia) to present a particular topic or idea. In addition, after exposing students to a topic using different mediums, ask students to write a short informational/explanatory text comparing and contrasting the different mediums used. Specific emphasis is placed upon pointing out the differences and similarities in how the <i>same information</i> was presented.</p> <p>SIGHT synthesis task. Students conduct a close read of a full text and then read a popular summary, review, or a video analysis of the same text. Words, phrases and sentences which significantly shape the meaning and tone of each piece are highlighted as they read or noted as they listen. Without the aid of classroom discussion, students independently proceed to author a written comparison and synthesis of ideas (CSI) between two of the pieces. Within the written CSI, students articulate a clear analysis of how the texts are similar and how they differ in terms of meaning and tone. To enhance this activity, students can develop an original informative/explanatory essay supported by citations from each text.</p>	
<p>References: Marzano, R.J., Pickering, D.J., and Pollock, J.E. (2001). <i>Classroom instruction that works</i>. Alexandria, VA: ASCD.</p>		

RI.8.8

Delineate and evaluate the argument and specific claims in a text, assessing whether the reasoning is sound and the evidence is relevant and sufficient; recognize when irrelevant evidence is introduced

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Marking the Text. Marking the text requires students to cite/identify information in the text relevant to the reading purpose. The strategy has three steps: numbering paragraphs, underlining and circling (Adapted from Marzano, Pickering, & Pollock, 2001).

1. **Number** the paragraphs in the section you are reading. Like page numbers, paragraph numbers will act as a reference so you can easily refer to specific sections of the text.
2. **Circle** key terms, names of people, names of places and dates. In order to identify a “key term”, consider if the word is repeated, defined by the author, used to explain or represent an idea.
3. **Underline** an author’s argument/claim. Consider the following statements:
 - A claim may appear anywhere in the text
 - A claim may not appear explicitly in the argument, so the reader must infer it from the evidence presented in the text
 - Often, an author will make several claims throughout his/her argument
 - An author may signal his/her claim, letting you know that this is his/her position

It’s Up For Debate. This strategy will help students dissect the argument presented in a text and analyze the support presented through a debate. As students listen to or read a debate, they can note the claims, facts and evidence presented. After notes are taken, students can determine how direct the speaker’s topic was to the piece of evidence. For example, students may recognize that a number of texts cite data without having explained the original study or the speaker may have used irrelevant evidence.

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Marking the Text. Students annotate a digital version of an online text according to the same procedure. Students then utilize digital sticky notes to provide objective feedback for a peer. The teacher observes intently and uses trends in peer-to-peer feedback to develop hinge-point questions for the following day.

EXPLANATION - Tier Two words (what the Standards refer to as *general academic* words)...appear in all sorts of text: informational texts (words such as *relative, vary, formulate, specificity, and accumulate*)...Tier Two words often represent subtle ways to say relatively simple things – *saunter* instead of *walk* for example” (CCSS ELA & Literacy Appendix A, 33).

It’s Up for Debate. Students author a formal argumentative text to show competency with regards to reading comprehension, proper use of Tier II and III vocabulary, writing, and language use. A CCSS aligned rubric is used to assess writing and language skill, as well as to pinpoint targeted learning opportunities.

References:

Marzano, R.J., Pickering, D.J., and Pollock, J.E. (2001). *Classroom instruction that works*. Alexandria, VA: ASCD.

RI.8.9

Analyze a case in which two or more texts provide conflicting information on the same topic and identify where the texts disagree on matters of fact or interpretation.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Discussion Web. This strategy helps students visualize the key elements of an issue and quickly identify opposing points of view on the matter. Teachers distribute a selected reading that elicits clearly defined opposing viewpoints. A [discussion web graphic organizer](#) can be used by the student/small group to identify the main question of the text. The student/small group will note the pros/cons of the reading on the graphic organizer as well as their final conclusion. The group will also place their conclusion on an index card. Collect the cards and tally the responses. Share the results with the class and list the most common reasons pro and con for these decisions (Alvermann, 1991).

Point/Counterpoint. This strategy allows students to build interpretive strategies as they focus on integrating prior knowledge, teacher interpretations, information from other reading (inter-textual), and knowledge of text structure. Students read and jot down responses as they are reading. These can take the form of comments, questions, reflections, and confusions. Students weave their responses into a short piece of writing. Students share their responses with the teacher leading the discussion and pointing out similarities and differences. The teacher should have circulated during the writing to preview the kinds of things students are noting in their writing for the purpose of initiating the discussion. Students revise their initial writing based upon the discussion. They may incorporate ideas from others and the discussion (Rogers, 1988).

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Discussion Web with a “Dialog Line”. The teacher uses a statement starter corresponding to a text read to begin the exercise (e.g., “Money is the root of all evil!”). Students leave their seats and the class stands to position themselves in a straight line in relation to how strongly they agree or disagree with the statement. Strongly disagree to the far right, strongly disagree to the far left. The line is then folded in half so that each student is facing a partner. Each partner has several seconds to state the evidence supporting their position while the other actively listens. After each partner speaks, the other is given several seconds to record a quote from their partner which helped to advance their perspective. The dialogue line rotates clockwise and the activity repeats. The teacher actively listens and supports behaviors that enrich an atmosphere of open dialog.

Point/Counterpoint. Students utilize “point/counterpoint” to conduct a comparison and synthesis of two or more texts with an appropriate level of text complexity. Results of the analysis are used as a framework for the production of a formal argumentative text. Within their writing, students “use words, phrases, and clauses to create cohesion and clarify the relationships among claim(s), counterclaims, reasons, and evidence” (W.8.1c). Objective feedback is provided to continually move learning forward.

References:

Alvermann, D.E. (1991). The discussion web: A graphic aid for learning across the curriculum. *The Reading Teacher*, 45(2), 92-99.
Rogers, T. (1990b). A point, counterpoint response strategy for teaching complex short stories. *Journal of Reading*, 34(4), 278-282.

RI.8.10	By the end of the year, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 6-8 text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p>Instruction Manual. Have students go through instruction manuals to analyze and determine how the parts are structured. Then have students write instruction manuals including headings and subheadings. Organization and structure should also be considered.</p> <p>Stump the Teacher. Students and teachers read a selection independently. The students ask the teacher questions for a set amount of time. Then the teacher asks students questions for a brief amount of time.</p> <p>Directed Reading Teaching Activities. Use Directed Reading Teaching Activities (DRTA) with students to activate their prior knowledge, prompt them to make predictions and test their hypotheses through the reading.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Students read selection title (and perhaps a chunk of the selection) and make predictions about content. 2. Students read to first predetermined stop. They confirm, refine or reject their initial hypotheses and justify their ideas with reference to the text. Students then make new hypotheses. Determine the method for students to note these changes/hypotheses. 3. Students read the next section and follow procedures in step two. This cycle continues until text is read. <p>Note: The size of the chunks can be determined based on student’s ability. Smaller chunks should be given to less capable readers. Click here for more information (Lenski, Wham, & Johns, 1999).</p>	<p>Formative Assessment Tip. Feedback is provided and recorded on these suggested artifacts in order to regroup students for targeted learning opportunities. Teachers are encouraged to strategically score progress with a watchful eye on the formative assessment process. It is important to keep in mind that a “final grade” represents a summative score.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Students write a summary or essay that cites the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text. Aligned assessment and feedback of writing products can move learning forward with regards to writing skill, language acquisition, and reading comprehension. 2. Students answer and receive feedback on text dependent questions. 3. Students engage in a variety of discussions &/or Socratic questioning to display competency with regards to this standards. Aligned assessment and feedback of speaking and listening skills also promote growth in this area. 4. Students prepare a visual representation illustrating and citing the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences that may be drawn. 5. Students engage in formal and informal presentations of a variety of products outlined above. Aligned assessment and feedback of speaking and listening skills during presentations also promote growth in this area. 	
<p>References: Lenski, S. D., Wham, M. A., & Johns, J. (1999). <i>Reading and learning strategies for middle and high school students</i>. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.</p>		

RI.9-10.1	Cite strong and thorough textual evidence to support analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions		Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions
<p><i>The following strategy utilizes a CCSS text exemplar from the 9-10 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.</i></p> <p>Close Read. Students conduct a close read of a text such as Patrick Henry’s “Speech to the Second Virginia Convention”. After reading the text each student obtains a citation table for recording data as they conduct a second read. Within the table, students write specific phrases or sentences from the text and articulate the significance of each. The strategy is modeled prior to beginning the exercise and students are able to “read like a detective” (PARCC, 2011, p. 86) to determine the specific message the author is trying to convey. This activity could also be used to conduct a close read of Margaret Chase Smith’s “Remarks to the Senate in Support of a Declaration of Conscience” or any other text with a level of complexity aligned to this grade band.</p> <p>Comparison and Synthesis of Ideas (CSI). After closely analyzing separate texts, students compare and contrast ideas from each; being certain to cite the specific words each author used. This strategy can also be used to help students recognize thematic content that is common to both texts. Students should be able to generate both differences and similarities among texts, as well as synthesize the information that each text shares.</p>		<p>Statement Starter. Students partner and provide each other objective feedback on their completed tables. The teacher then presents the class with a statement:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">“Ladies and gentlemen, Patrick Henry was a pacifist!”</p> <p style="text-align: center;">or</p> <p style="text-align: center;">“Margaret Chase Smith believes people should have the right to criticize.”</p> <p>Students then work collaboratively with their partner to generate a cited summary in agreement with or dispute of the statement starter. As students write, they use the following questions to guide their responses:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Are we interpreting the text correctly? 2. Are we citing specific language from the text? 3. Is our evidence convincing? <p>Continual objective feedback is evident throughout the exercise which utilizes both discussion and diagnostic questioning techniques.</p> <p>Upgrade. The teacher converts the citation table into a form within Google Docs. Students submit answers online. The following day, in small groups, students study the compiled responses and select a certain number of sentences that combine to outline the author’s intent. Discussions are continually guided to focus on specific words, phrases and sentences the author used to deliver his/her message.</p> <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.4,6) (SL.9-10.1,3,4) (L.9-10.1,2,4,5)</p>
<p>References: PARCC (2011). PARCC Model Content Frameworks: English Language Arts/Literacy Grades 3-11. Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Career; October 2011. Wiliam, D. (2011). <i>Embedded formative assessment</i>. Bloomington, IN: Solution Tree Press.</p>		

RI.9-10.2	Determine a central idea of a text and analyze its development over the course of the text, including how it emerges and is shaped and refined by specific details; provide an objective summary of the text.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p>Magnet Summary. Students conduct a close read of a short text within the 9-10 grade band text complexity range (e.g., Anna Quindlen’s “A Quilt of a Country”, Learned Hand’s “I am an American Day Address” ,...). While reading, they identify the specific words or phrases (<i>magnets</i>) that drive the text. Students record each magnet on a separate index card and list with them specific supporting words or phrases used by the author to anchor the <i>magnet</i> firmly within the text. The process is modeled with 9th grade students whereas 10th grade students are provided greater independence to complete the task. (Buehl, 1993)</p> <p>One Sentence Summations. Randomly selected members of the class read a selection of the text aloud (when appropriate pre-determine the random readers a day prior to the activity). Student facilitators lead the class in a brief whole group discussion of the section, resulting in a short list of significant ideas conveyed by the author. The student facilitators are then given a short amount of time to quickly transform the list of ideas into an objective, one sentence summary which includes the proper use of a colon or semicolon—thus modeling the activity. The remaining text is divided into sections and students repeat the process independently (Santa, Havens and Valdes, 2004).</p> <p>Smart Art. Students utilize a SmartArt Funnel Graphic to construct their one sentence summation.</p>	<p>Magnet Summary. Students use the words on each card to construct a single sentence summary of the text. The teacher emphasizes the need to “<i>use various types of phrases (noun, verb, adjectival, adverbial, participial, prepositional, absolute) and clauses (independent, dependent; noun, relative, adverbial) to convey specific meanings and add variety and interest to (their) writing</i>” (L.9-10.1.b). Upon completion, students trade sentences within small groups. Students highlight the phrases and clauses utilized to communicate each <i>magnet summary</i> and utilize a style guide to provide each other objective feedback with regards to proper usage. The teacher facilitates small group discussions and utilizes student feedback to construct targeted language lessons. Students additionally engage in discussions with regards to accuracy in the interpretation of the text.</p> <p>Formative Assessment Tip. “Often a single assessment is used for multiple purposes; in general, however, the more purposes a single assessment aims to serve, the more each purpose will be compromised” (Pelligrino, Chudowsky, Glaser, 2001).</p> <p>One Sentence Summations. Upon completion of the activity, students trade sentences within small groups. Students utilize a style guide to provide specific peer-to-peer feedback regarding proper usage of a colon and semicolon. The teacher listens intently and targets usage clarifications appropriately. Students additionally engage in discussions with regards to accuracy in the interpretation of the text. When finished, students repeat the process by funneling the section summations into an objective one sentence summation of the entire text.</p> <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.4) (SL.9-10.1,3,4) (L.9-10.1,2,4,5,6).</p>	
<p>References: Buehl, D. (1993). Magnetized: Students are drawn to technique that identifies key words. <i>WEAC News & Views</i>, 29(4), 13. Pelligrino, J., Chudowsky, N., Glaser, R. (2001). <i>Knowing what students know: The science and design of educational assessment</i>. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press. Santa, C., Havens, L. & Valdes, B. (2004). <i>Project CRISS: Creating independence through student-owned strategies</i> (3rd Ed.). Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.</p>		

RI.9-10.3	Analyze how the author unfolds an analysis or series of ideas or events, including the order in which the points are made, how they are introduced and developed, and the connections that are drawn between them.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p><i>The following strategy utilizes a CCSS text exemplar from the 9-10 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.</i></p> <p>Analysis & Connection. Utilizing Abraham Lincoln’s “Second Inaugural Address” students conduct an analysis of the ideas that led to the Civil War, as outlined by the text. Students can conduct a similar analysis & connection of Martin Luther King’s “Letter from Birmingham Jail” or similar texts with an appropriate level of complexity for this grade band. Students adhere to the following guiding questions as they investigate the text;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In what order are the points made? 2. How are the points introduced and developed? 3. How does the author skillfully connect the various points? <p>While reading the text independently or in small groups, students begin their investigation by documenting the order in which the points are made. Examples of helpful graphic organizers are listed below.</p> <p>Graphic Organizers.</p> <p>Semantic Maps. Templates such as these can be used to illustrate how an author introduces a point, how he/she develops the point and how the point itself is finally stated. This can also be used to display connections between various points. (Santa, C., Havens, L. & Valdes, B.,2004).</p> <p>Venn Diagrams. These graphic organizers are used to illustrate the similarities and differences between various points (Santa, C., Havens, L. & Valdes, B.,2004).</p>	<p>Think-Pair-Share. Students independently analyze the text and complete a graphic organizer providing rationale for text placement. At a predetermined interval, students are paired with those working at a similar completion rate. Partners share ideas to complete their individual assignment. Each student completes an objective written analysis of how points were introduced, developed and skillfully connected. Students continually supply each other with objective feedback as they organize the framework for their written analysis.</p> <p>Feedback Tip. “...students prefer to see feedback as forward-looking, helping to address ‘Where to next?’, and related to the success criteria of the lesson. Regardless of their perceptions of achievement level, students see the value and nature of feedback similarly” (Hattie, 2012, p.131).</p> <p>Graphic Organizer Tip. Teachers and students work collaboratively to pre-determine a “set” of graphic organizers that will be utilized within the 9-12 grade band. A rubric is developed clearly outlining success criteria when using graphic organizers for textual analysis. Expectations are clear and continually foster a classroom environment that supports the sharing of quality objective peer-to-peer and self-feedback.</p> <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.4) (SL.9-10.1,3,4)</p>	
<p>References: Hattie, J. (2012). <i>Visible learning for teachers: Maximizing impact on learning</i>. New York, NY: Routledge, 131. Santa, C., Havens, L. & Valdes, B. (2004). <i>Project CRISS: Creating independence through student-owned strategies</i> (3rd Ed.). Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.</p>		

RI.9-10.4	Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including figurative, connotative, and technical meanings; analyze the cumulative impact of specific word choices on meaning and tone (e.g., how the language of a court opinion differs from that of a newspaper).	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions		Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions
<p>Vocabulary Overview Guide. Students record key words from the text on a template that categorizes and provides a contextual clue for each. Include the meaning of the word (Carr, 1985).</p> <p><i>The following strategy utilizes a CCSS text exemplar from the 9-10 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.</i></p> <p>Written Comparison and Synthesis of Ideas. Students conduct a close read of texts such as Martin Luther King’s “Letter from Birmingham Jail” and Elie Wiesel’s “Hope, Despair and Memory”. Words, phrases and sentences which significantly shape the meaning and tone of each text are highlighted as they read. Without the aid of classroom discussion, students independently proceed to complete a written comparison and synthesis of ideas (CSI) between the two pieces of text. Students portray a clear analysis of how the texts are similar and how they differ in terms of meaning and tone.</p> <p>Meaning & Tone Table. Students work individually or in pairs utilizing a variety of resources to define selected words as well as compare and contrast specific language from within the text. They utilize a graphic organizer such as the meaning and tone table to create word/phrase/sentence alternatives to display an understanding of the cumulative impact word choice has on meaning or tone. Objective feedback is ongoing.</p>		<p>Meaning and Tone Table. Students work individually or in pairs utilizing a variety of resources to define selected words as well as compare and contrast specific language from within the text. They use a graphic organizer such as the meaning and tone table to create word/phrase/sentence alternatives to display an understanding of the cumulative impact word choice has on meaning or tone. Objective feedback is ongoing.</p> <p>Color Coded Competency. A visible timer is used to establish a time limit for completion of the vocabulary overview guide, the meaning and tone table or a similar activity. When time has elapsed, each student puts a colored mark on their paper corresponding with their level of competency (Blue – good to go, Yellow – fairly comfortable, Red – oh boy, I need some help). Papers are turned in. While students complete a related activity, the teacher meets with students individually, in pairs, or small groups for the purpose of sharing objective feedback around the idea of ‘Where to next?’ (Hattie, 2012).</p> <p>Written CSI. Students and teachers work together to develop rubrics which clearly outline expectations and success criteria for a formal written product. Self, peer-to-peer and teacher-to-student feedback continually maintains an objective focus on the two pieces of text; how they are similar and how they contrast in meaning and tone. After breaking down each text, students “synthesize” the meaning of each and construct an original informative/explanatory essay “to examine and convey complex ideas, concepts, and information clearly and accurately through the effective selection, organization, and analysis of content” (W.9-10.2).</p> <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.2,4,5,9,10)(SL.9-10.1,3,4)(L.9-10.1,2,3,4)</p>
<p>References: Carr, E.M. (1985). The vocabulary overview guide: A metacognitive strategy to improve vocabulary comprehension and retention. <i>Journal of Reading</i>, 28, 684-689. Hattie, J. (2012). <i>Visible learning for teachers: Maximizing impact on learning</i>. New York, NY: Routledge.</p>		

RI.9-10.5

Analyze in detail how an author’s ideas or claims are developed and refined by particular sentences, paragraphs, or larger portions of a text (e.g., a section or chapter).

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Close Read. Students read an appropriately complex text with varying levels of independence and support. Expectations are such that 9th grade students receive more support as they stretch their literacy levels toward independent reading and analysis of complex texts within this grade band by the completion of 10th grade. As students finish reading they are introduced to a focus question related to a text. Students return to the text for further study. Through text analysis, students develop viewpoints as to how the text explicitly responds to the focus question as well as inferences which may be drawn.

Discussion Web. Students discuss a text analysis in small groups. Each group draws a conclusion about what the text says explicitly, what inferences can be made and what particular sentences, paragraphs, or larger portions of text support their conclusion (Alvermann, 1991).

Online Discussion Forum. Students utilize an online discussion forum to engage in the discussion web. For example, a blog is created for an assigned text. Student “blog facilitators” post specific sentences, paragraphs, or larger portions of text within the blog and the remaining students add comments to each post as a way to engage in an online text analysis.

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Formative Assessment Tip. “Feedback is most effective when students do not have proficiency or mastery – and thus it thrives when there is error or incomplete knowing and understanding...Errors invite opportunities...They should not be seen as embarrassment, signs of failure, or something to be avoided...They are exciting, because they indicate a tension between what we *now* know and what we *could* know; they are signs of opportunities to learn and they are to be embraced” (Hattie, 2012, p.124).

Discussion Web. The teacher listens intently so as to support and enhance a discussion environment in which “new connections” are continually made. At the conclusion of the discussion web, students show comprehension competency by writing a summary in response to the focus question in which they cite specific portions of the text to support their conclusion. The classroom environment fosters quality self and peer-to-peer feedback continually inspiring students to “produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience” (W.9-10.4).

Online Discussion Forum. Prior to using an online discussion forum, students and staff work collaboratively within the 9-12 grade band to develop a rubric that clearly outlines expectations and success criteria.

These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.4,9,10) (SL.9-10.1-6) (L.9-10.1-5)

References:

Alvermann, D. (1991). The discussion web: A graphic aid for learning across the curriculum. *The Reading Teacher*, 45(2), 92-99.
Hattie, J. (2012). *Visible learning for teachers: Maximizing impact on learning*. New York, NY: Routledge, 124.

RI.9-10.6

Determine an author’s point of view or purpose in a text and analyze how an author uses rhetoric to advance that point of view or purpose.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

Prior to the activity, students are competent in the key differences between argumentative, informative/explanatory and narrative writing. Students are given access to a text exemplar of appropriate complexity within each style of writing; one for each style.

Read-Only, Purpose Statement, Support. Students begin the activity by deliberately reading one of the texts start to finish without highlighting or note-taking. After completing a deliberate read, students author a single sentence narrative highlighting the author’s purpose of the text. Students clearly acknowledge that a quality “purpose sentence” includes appropriate clauses and phrases. When the purpose sentence is complete, students utilize sticky notes to cite specific words, phrases and clauses from the text the author used to advance their intent.

Over a period of several days, students repeat the process with each text exemplar. Students conclude the unit by conducting a comparison and synthesis of ideas (CSI) amongst the texts. Each student constructs a list of distinguishing features from one style to the next and draws conclusions regarding author’s point of view as it relates to overall purpose.

Questioning the Author. After developing an understanding of authorship, students read a complex text and engage in objective discussions at pre-determined intervals. Students utilize [Questioning the Author strategies](#) to enrich and advance the discussion (Beck,McKeown, Hamilton and Kucan, 1997).

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Tier Two Words. “...many Tier Two words are far less well defined by contextual clues in the texts in which they appear and are far less likely to be defined explicitly within a text than are Tier Three words. Yet Tier Two words are frequently encountered in complex written texts and are particularly powerful because of their wide applicability to many sorts of reading” (CCSS ELA & Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects Appendix A, p.33).

Read-Only, Purpose Statement, Support. As students read, the teacher navigates the room and utilizes diagnostic questioning to determine competency with regards to Tier Two vocabulary appearing within the text. Feedback is provided that “models, cues, or hints to support improvements in learning...operating as an instructional scaffold” (Heritage, 2010, p.84).

Through strategic text selection, this activity could be adapted so that students display competency in conducting a “sustained research project to answer a question (including a self-generated question) or solve a problem” (W.9-10.7).

Questioning the Author. During the discussion, students provide objective peer-to-peer feedback to keep the dialog centered on “evaluat(ing) a speaker’s point of view, reasoning and use of evidence and rhetoric, identifying any fallacious reasoning or exaggerated or distorted evidence” (SL.9-10.3).

These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.1,3-5,7-10) (SL.9-10.1-4,6) (L.9-10.1-6)

References:

Beck, I.L., McKeown, M.G.,Hamilton, R.L. & Kucan, L. (1997). *Questioning the author: An approach for enhancing student engagement with text.* Newark, DE: International Reading Association.
Heritage, M. (2010). *Formative assessment: Making it happen in the classroom.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press; 84.

RI.9-10.7	Analyze various accounts of a subject told in different mediums (e.g., a person’s life story in both print and multimedia), determining which details are emphasized in each account.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p>Close Read and Comparison. Students read an appropriately complex text with varying levels of independence and support. Expectations are such that 9th grade students receive more support as they stretch their literacy levels toward independent reading and analysis of complex texts within this grade band by the completion of 10th grade. After a text is closely analyzed, students will view a video or theatrical interpretation of the same subject matter in order to compare the subject matter in both mediums.</p> <p><i>The following strategy utilizes a CCSS text exemplar from the 9-10 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.</i></p> <p>Comparison and Synthesis of Ideas. Students begin by conducting a close read of a text such as Ronald Reagan’s “Address to Students at Moscow State University” or a text of similar complexity. After reading, students complete a written summary of the major points of Reagan’s address. Within their written summary, students place special emphasis on how they anticipate the text of the address will be received by the audience. Upon completion of the summary, students watch the full video of the address and note audience reaction during delivery and contrast participant reaction with their predicted response. At this point students read an edited version of the text from one the top resources retrieved via an online search engine, as well as an abbreviated Youtube clip of the same event. Students conduct an analysis of which details are emphasized and which are absent in each account. Success criteria centers around the ability to “determine which details are emphasized in each account”.</p> <p>Scaffolding Suggestion. Texts and videos can be segmented for students who struggle to determine which details are emphasized in each account of the same subject or event.</p>	<p>EXPLANATION - Tier Two words (what the Standards refer to as <i>general academic</i> words)...appear in all sorts of text: informational texts (words such as <i>relative, vary, formulate, specificity, and accumulate</i>)...Tier Two words often represent subtle ways to say relatively simple things – <i>saunter</i> instead of <i>walk</i> for example” (CCSS ELA & Literacy Appendix A: 33).</p> <p>Tier Two words formative assessment tip. Students start a spreadsheet within Google Docs (a “Vocabulary Guide”) that contains a variety of Tier Two words, clues, definitions and the specific text in which it was found. Each time a student encounters an unfamiliar or unrecognized word they check the online “Vocabulary Guide” for assistance. If the word is not on the list, it is added. The teacher and students continually acknowledge and inspire the use of Tier Two words within daily dialog.</p> <p>Formative Assessment Tip. “Formative assessment is not a test but a process—a <i>planned</i> process involving a number of different activities” (Popham, 2008).</p> <p>Enhancement Suggestion. Students displaying competence can sharpen their skills by conducting further analysis of search engine results. Guiding questions can be used such as:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How does this information compare with the original text/source? 2. How was the original edited? 3. As you analyze the editions, what can you infer with regards to author intent? <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.1,2,4,5,7,9,10) (SL.9-10.1-6) (L.9-10.1-6)</p>	
<p>References: Popham, W. J. (2008). <i>Transformative Assessment</i>. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.</p>		

RI.9-10.8	Delineate and evaluate the argument and specific claims in a text, assessing whether the reasoning is valid and the evidence is relevant and sufficient; identify false statements and fallacious reasoning.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions		Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions
<p><i>The following strategy utilizes a CCSS text exemplar from the 9-10 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.</i></p> <p>Written Comparison and Synthesis of Ideas. Students closely read and conduct an analysis of texts such as George Washington’s “Farewell Address” and Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s “State of the Union Address”. Students evaluate each text with the purpose of conducting a comparison and synthesis of ideas. Particular emphasis can be placed upon tone, purpose or how each text outlines the author’s vision of America’s place in the world.</p> <p>Save the Last Word for Me. Students are given a specific amount of time to read through a text. While reading, students highlight specific claims made by the author. When time has expired, students record a certain number of sentences from their collection of highlighted claims. As this task is completed, students organize into predetermined small groups and discuss their recorded claims. Each student reads one of the sentences that he or she selected aloud, then listens to the other student’s responses to that sentence, and then explains his or her own response. This strategy can be adapted so that students record and discuss valid reasoning, relevant evidence, false statements and fallacious reasoning. (Vaughan & Estes, 1986).</p>		<p>Exit Slip. Students analyze specific excerpts from the texts they have been reading closely. Students are given a certain amount of time to complete a brief summary explaining how the excerpts compare and contrast. For example, students are presented with a sentence from both Washington’s and FDR’s address;</p> <p><u>Washington</u> - “Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.”</p> <p><u>FDR</u> - “We have joined with like-minded people in order to defend ourselves in a world that has been gravely threatened with gangster rule.”</p> <p>Prior to leaving the class, students turn in a brief comparison of the specific claims or arguments the authors attempt to make.</p> <p>Upgrade. Students submit their exit slip in digital form (e.g., blog post comment, Google+ comment, Tweet, Google Doc form). The teacher studies and organizes the exit slips for diagnostic purposes providing quality feedback that moves learning forward. A “hinge-point question” is crafted from the responses and utilized to start a lesson the following day.</p> <p>Hinge-point questions. A hinge-point question is a quick check on understanding (William, 2011).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Ideally it takes less than a minute for all students to respond 4. Ideally it takes less than 30 seconds for the teacher to view and interpret the responses <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.1,2,4,5,7,9,10) (SL.9-10.1,3-6) (L.9-10.1,2,4-6)</p>
<p>References: Vaughan, J. & Estes, T. (1986). <i>Reading and reasoning beyond the primary grades</i>. Boston: Allyn & Bacon William, D. (2011). <i>Embedded formative assessment</i>. Bloomington, IN: Solution Tree Press.</p>		

RI.9-10.9	Analyze seminal U.S. documents of historical and literary significance (e.g., Washington’s Farewell Address, the Gettysburg Address, Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms speech, King’s “Letter from Birmingham Jail”), including how they address related themes and concepts.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p><i>The following strategy utilizes a CCSS text exemplar from the 9-10 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.</i></p> <p>Written Comparison and Synthesis of Ideas. Students conduct a CSI between texts such as The Declaration of Independence, Abraham Lincoln’s “Gettysburg Address”, Martin Luther King’s “I Have a Dream” Address, The Warren opinion of Brown vs. Board. As students analyze each text, the following guiding questions can be used; What does this word or phrase mean? What tone does this word usage convey? Why did the author write in this particular style?</p> <p>Change Frame. Students read a text and then organize the information in a change frame table which provides for relationships to be represented as well as comparisons to be made. Students work collaboratively with the teacher to create headings for each column. For example, when applied to history, headings can include; problems people faced, the causes of the problems and the solutions to the problems. When the template is complete students use the information to write an objective summary of their comparison and synthesis of ideas. (Buehl, 1992)</p>	<p>Recognizing Concepts and Themes. Students dissect portions of extracted text in an effort to analyze similarities and differences in concepts and themes. For example, students analyze the language used within this passage of Warren’s opinion;</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><i>“The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not “equal” and cannot be made “equal,” and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws.”</i></p> <p>Students compare and contrast the language from Warren’s opinion with this excerpt from Martin Luther King’s “Letter from Birmingham Jail”;</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><i>“Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny.”</i></p> <p>Objective feedback is continually shared to diagnose competency in recognizing key concepts and themes. Students work individually or in pairs, using a variety of resources to define selected words (including a student constructed “Vocabulary Guide” for Tier Two words). Students compare and contrast selected language and/or create word/sentence alternatives as a way to alter tone. Feedback is continually shared in an effort to move learning forward.</p> <p>Research Project. Students utilize strategies within this template to progressively complete a sustained research project. The teacher listens intently and continually provides objective feedback in an effort to move learning forward.</p> <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.1,2,4,5,7-10) (SL.9-10.2-4,6) (L.9-10.1-6)</p>	
<p>References: Buehl, D. (1992). <i>Classroom strategies for interactive learning</i>, (2nd Ed.). Newark, NJ: International Reading Association.</p>		

RI.09-10.10	By the end of grade 9, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 9–10 text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p>Comparative Analysis of Literary Nonfiction. Similar to other standards, scaffolding is targeted to move learning forward so students are able to independently and draw cross textual connections among multiple texts with proficiency by the end of grade ten. The following guiding questions can be used as scaffolding as students build competency within this standard;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does word choice and text structure compare/contrast between texts of similar topic written <i>in different eras</i>? • How does word choice and text structure compare/contrast between texts of similar topic written <i>for different audiences</i>? • What symbols and/or images appear frequently in one or more texts? • How does each author view an important historical/cultural issue differently or the same? • How does each work use a particular meaning or tone to illustrate a point or support an argument? • How does the historical context of each work influence its meaning? • How does a specific social movement influence each work? <p>Close Read. Students read an appropriately complex text with varying levels of independence and support. Expectations are such that 9th grade students receive more support as they stretch their literacy levels toward independent reading and analysis of complex texts within this grade band by the completion of 10th grade. As students finish reading they are introduced to a focus question related to a text. Students return to the text for further study. Through text analysis, students develop viewpoints as to how the text explicitly responds to the focus question as well as inferences which may be drawn</p>	<p>Formative Assessment Tip. Feedback is provided and recorded on these suggested artifacts in order to regroup students for targeted learning opportunities. Teachers are encouraged to strategically score progress with a watchful eye on the formative assessment process. It is important to keep in mind that a “final grade” represents a summative score.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Students write a summary or essay that cites the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text. Aligned assessment and feedback of writing products can move learning forward with regards to writing skill, language acquisition, and reading comprehension. 2. Students answer and receive feedback on text dependent questions. 3. Students engage in a variety of discussions &/or Socratic questioning to display competency with regards to this standards. Aligned assessment and feedback of speaking and listening skills also promote growth in this area. 4. Students prepare a visual representation illustrating and citing the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences that may be drawn. 5. Students engage in formal and informal presentations of a variety of products outlined above. Aligned assessment and feedback of speaking and listening skills during presentations also promote growth in this area. 	
<p>References: Hattie, J. (2012). <i>Visible learning for teachers: Maximizing impact on learning</i>. New York, NY: Routledge, p.124</p>		

RI.11-12.1	Cite strong and thorough textual evidence to support analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text, including determining where the text leaves matters uncertain.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions		Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions
<p><i>The following strategy utilizes a CCSS text exemplar from the 11-12 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.</i></p> <p>Close Read. Students conduct a close read of a text such as Thomas Paine’s Common Sense. After reading the text each student obtains a thesis table for recording data as they conduct a second read; in an effort to find the thesis of the reading and its supporting points. Within the table, students write a certain amount of specific phrases or sentences from the text and articulate the significance of each, emphasizing relationship to the thesis. The strategy is modeled prior to beginning the exercise and students are able to “read like a detective” (PARCC, 2011, 86) to determine the specific message the author is trying to convey.</p> <p>Online Collaboration. Students utilize a form within Google Docs as a graphic organizer as they closely analyze a text. All evidence is recorded online. The following day, in small groups, students study the compiled responses and select a certain number of sentences that combine to outline the author’s thesis/premise and its supporting points. Discussions are continually guided to focus on specific words, phrases and sentences the author used to deliver his/her message.</p>		<p>Assessing Graphic Organizers. Teachers and students collaborate to establish/update graphic organizer rubrics. Expectations and success criteria are clear to foster an environment of objective self- and peer-to-peer feedback. The following questions are very useful as guides for student responses;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Am I interpreting the text correctly? 2. Am I citing specific language from the text? 3. Is my evidence convincing? <p>Continual objective feedback is evident throughout the exercise which utilizes both discussion and diagnostic questioning techniques.</p> <p>Assessing Online Contributions. Similar rubrics are collaboratively designed for digital submissions ensuring success criteria are clear. The guiding questions listed above are also appropriate for digital work in relation to this standard.</p> <p>Formative Assessment Tip. Responding to the “I don’t know.” If a student responds to a classroom discussion question with a simple “I don’t know”, the teacher can respond with “I will get back to you”. Then a few other students are asked to respond to the same question. After several responses are shared, the teacher returns to the original student and asks him/her which response they agree with the most and why (William, 2011).</p> <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.4,6) (SL.9-10.1,3,4) (L.9-10.1,2,4,5)</p>
<p>References: PARCC (2011). PARCC Model Content Frameworks: English Language Arts/Literacy Grades 3-11. Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Career; October 2011. William, D. (2011). <i>Embedded formative assessment</i>. Bloomington, IN: Solution Tree Press.</p>		

RI.11-12.2	Determine two or more central ideas of a text and analyze their development over the course of the text, including how they interact and build on one another to provide a complex analysis; provide an objective summary of the text.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions		Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions
<p><i>The following strategy utilizes a CCSS text exemplar from the 11-12 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.</i></p> <p>Magnet Summary. Students conduct a close read of a text within the 11-12 grade band text complexity range (e.g., Henry David Thoreau's Walden). While reading, they identify the specific words or phrases (<i>magnets</i>) that drive the text. Students record each magnet on a separate index card and list with them specific supporting words or phrases used by the author to anchor the <i>magnet</i> firmly within the text (Buehl, 1993).</p> <p>One Sentence Summations. Randomly selected members of the class read a selection of the text aloud (when appropriate pre-determine the random readers a day prior to the activity). Two student facilitators lead the class in a brief whole group discussion of the section, resulting in a list of significant ideas conveyed by the author. The student facilitators are given a specific short period of time to transform the list of ideas into one objective sentence which is both interesting and pleasurable to read; thus modeling the activity. The remaining text is divided into sections and students repeat the process independently (Santa, Havens and Valdes, 2004).</p> <p>Funnel Graphic Organizer: Students utilize a SmartArt Funnel Graphic to construct their one sentence summation.</p>		<p>Magnet Summary. Students use the words on each card to construct a single sentence summary of the text. Emphasis is placed on the need to “<i>vary syntax for effect, consulting references (e.g., Tufte’s Artful Sentences) for guidance as needed; apply an understanding of syntax to the study of complex texts when reading</i>” (L.11-12.3.a). Upon completion, students trade sentences and alter the syntax of the original sentence in an effort to make it more interesting or pleasurable to read. Students trade back, explain modifications to the original author, and assess the accuracy of the summary as well as the way in which the sentence was constructed and altered. The activity continually repeats while the teacher facilitates small group discussions. Results are utilized to construct targeted language lessons.</p> <p>One Sentence Summations. Upon completion of the activity, students trade sentences within small groups. A style guide is used to provide specific peer-to-peer feedback regarding the use of syntax for effect. The teacher listens intently and targets clarifications appropriately. Students additionally engage in discussions with regards to accuracy in the interpretation of the text. When finished, students repeat the process by funneling the section summations into an objective one sentence summation of the entire text.</p> <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.4) (SL.9-10.1,3,4) (L.9-10.1,2,4,5,6)</p>
<p>References: Buehl, D. (1993). Magnetized: Students are drawn to technique that identifies key words. <i>WEAC News & Views</i>, 29(4), 13. Santa, C., Havens, L. & Valdes, B. (2004). <i>Project CRISS: Creating independence through student-owned strategies</i> (3rd Ed.). Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.</p>		

RI.11-12.3	Analyze a complex set of ideas or sequence of events and explain how specific individuals, ideas, or events interact and develop over the course of the text.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions		Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions
<p><i>The following strategy utilizes a CCSS text exemplar from the 11-12 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.</i></p> <p>Close Read. Utilizing a text such as Ralph Waldo Emerson’s “Society and Solitude”, students conduct an analysis of Emerson’s points regarding solitude and its relationship to society as a whole. Students adhere to the following guiding questions as they investigate the text;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In what order are the points made? 2. How are the points introduced and developed? 3. How does the author skillfully connect the various points? 4. How does the author summarize his point in the conclusion? <p>Analysis & Connection. While reading the text independently or in small groups, students investigate the text by documenting the order in which the points are made. Examples of helpful graphic organizers are listed below.</p> <p>Semantic Maps. (Santa, C., Havens, L. & Valdes, B.,2004). Templates such as these can be used to illustrate how an author introduces a point, how he/she develops the point and how the point itself is finally stated. This can also be used to display connections between various points.</p> <p>Venn Diagrams. (Santa, C., Havens, L. & Valdes, B.,2004). These graphic organizers are used to illustrate the similarities and differences between various points</p>		<p>Think-Pair-Share. Students independently analyze the text and complete a graphic organizer providing rationale for text placement. At a predetermined interval, students are paired with those working at a similar completion rate. Partners share ideas to complete their individual assignment. Each student completes an objective written analysis of how points were introduced, developed and skillfully connected. Students continually supply each other with objective feedback as they organize the framework for their written analysis.</p> <p>Feedback Tip. “...students prefer to see feedback as forward-looking, helping to address ‘Where to next?’, and related to the success criteria of the lesson. Regardless of their perceptions of achievement level, students see the value and nature of feedback similarly” (Hattie, 2012, 131).</p> <p>Graphic Organizer Tip. Teachers and students work collaboratively to pre-determine a “set” of graphic organizers that will be utilized within the 9-12 grade band. A rubric is developed clearly outlining success criteria when using graphic organizers for textual analysis. Expectations are clear and continually foster a classroom environment that supports the sharing of quality objective peer-to-peer and self-feedback.</p> <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.4) (SL.9-10.1,3,4)</p>
<p>References: Hattie, J. (2012). <i>Visible learning for teachers: Maximizing impact on learning</i>. Routledge: New York. Santa, C., Havens, L. & Valdes, B. (2004). <i>Project CRISS: Creating independence through student-owned strategies</i> (3rd Ed.). Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.</p>		

RI.11-12.4	Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including figurative, connotative, and technical meanings; analyze how an author uses and refines the meaning of a key term or terms over the course of a text (e.g., how Madison defines faction in Federalist No. 10).	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions		Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions
<p>Vocabulary Overview Guide. Students record key words from a text on a template that categorizes and provides a contextual clue for each. The meaning of each word is included (Carr, 1985). <i>The following strategy utilizes a CCSS text exemplar from the 11-12 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.</i></p> <p>Key Terms Chart/Writing: Students conduct a close reading of a text such as G.K. Chesterton’s “The Fallacy of Success”. Students will analyze the development of key words and ideas as they are changed, refined, and clarified over the course of the text. In this case, students will note the development of the term “success” as it is defined by the author and then re-defined and clarified by the use of non-examples as well. This graphic organizer can be used as a supplement to the reading, and can also be used as the starting point for a written assessment that settles around a set of central questions such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does success mean to the author in the beginning of the piece? • How does the author use non-examples to add meaning to this idea? • How does the author’s use of non-examples add tone and humor to the piece? • How does he develop his central idea, or change it over the course of the text? • How do his ideas about “success” compare to your own?” <p>Students connect their written claims directly to evidence drawn from the text.</p>		<p>Meaning and Tone Table. Students work individually or in pairs using a variety of resources to define selected words as well as compare and contrast specific language from within a text. They use a graphic organizer such as the meaning and tone table to create word/phrase/sentence alternatives to display an understanding of the cumulative impact word choice has on meaning or tone.</p> <p>Color Coded Competency. Utilize a visible timer to establish a time limit for completion of the vocabulary overview guide, the meaning and tone table or a similar activity. When time has elapsed, each student puts a colored mark on their paper corresponding with their level of competency (Blue – good to go, Yellow – so, so, Red – oh boy, I need some help). Papers are turned in. While students complete a related activity, the teacher meets with students individually, in pairs, or small groups for the purpose of sharing objective feedback centered around the idea of ‘Where to next?’ (Hattie, 2012).</p> <p>Written CSI. Students and teachers work together to develop rubrics which clearly outline expectations and success criteria for a formal written product. Self, peer-to-peer and teacher-to-student feedback continually maintains an objective focus on the two pieces of text; how they are similar and how they are different in meaning and tone. After breaking down each text, students “synthesize” the meaning of each and construct an original informative/explanatory essay “to examine and convey complex ideas, concepts, and information clearly and accurately through the effective selection, organization, and analysis of content” (W.9-10.2).</p> <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.2,4,5,9,10)(SL.9-10.1,3,4)(L.9-10.1,2,3,4)</p>
<p>References: Carr, E.M. (1985). The vocabulary overview guide: A metacognitive strategy to improve vocabulary comprehension and retention. <i>Journal of Reading</i>, 28, 684-689. Hattie, J. (2012). <i>Visible learning for teachers: Maximizing impact on learning</i>. New York, NY: Routledge.</p>		

RI.11-12.5	Analyze and evaluate the effectiveness of the structure an author uses in his or her exposition or argument, including whether the structure makes points clear, convincing, and engaging.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p><i>The following strategy utilizes a CCSS text exemplar from the 11-12 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.</i></p> <p>Evaluating an Argument Students read through an excerpt of a text such as H.L. Mencken’s, <i>The American Language</i>, 4th edition. They proceed to analyze the way the author structures his central idea/thesis statement, and its supporting points. Students use an Argumentative essay visual organizer to promote a clearer understanding of how the author chooses to structure his argument. Students can use this process of analysis to later inform and structure their own argumentative writing pieces.</p> <p>Discussion Web As students finish reading they are introduced to a focus question related to the text. Students closely analyze the text, develop their viewpoints as to how the text explicitly responds to the focus question as well as inferences which may be drawn. Students then discuss their views in small groups. Each group draws a conclusion about what the text says explicitly, what inferences can be made and what particular sentences, paragraphs, or larger portions of text support their conclusion (Alvermann, 1991).</p> <p>Online Discussion Forum Students utilize an online discussion forum to engage in the discussion web. For example, the teacher, or a pair of students, create a blog for the text that has been assigned. Student “blog facilitators” post specific sentences, paragraphs, or larger portions of text within the blog and the remaining students add comments to each post as a way to engage in an online analysis of the text.</p>	<p>Formative Assessment Tip. “Feedback is most effective when students do not have proficiency or mastery – and thus it thrives when there is error or incomplete knowing and understanding...Errors invite opportunities...They should not be seen as embarrassment, signs of failure, or something to be avoided...They are exciting, because they indicate a tension between what we <i>now</i> know and what we <i>could</i> know; they are signs of opportunities to learn and they are to be embraced” (Hattie, 2012).</p> <p>Discussion Web. The teacher listens intently so as to support and enhance a discussion environment in which “new connections” are continually made. At the conclusion of the discussion web, students show comprehension competency by writing a summary in response to the focus question in which they cite specific portions of the text to support their conclusion. The classroom environment fosters quality self and peer-to-peer feedback continually inspiring students to “produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience” (W.11-12.4).</p> <p>Online Discussion Forum. Prior to using an online discussion forum, students and staff work collaboratively within the 9-12 grade band to develop a rubric that clearly outlines expectations and success criteria.</p> <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.4,9,10) (SL.9-10.1-6) (L.9-10.1-5)</p>	
<p>References: Alvermann, D. (1991). The discussion web: A graphic aid for learning across the curriculum. <i>The Reading Teacher</i>. 45 (2), 92-99. Hattie, J. (2012). <i>Visible Learning for Teachers: Maximizing Impact on Learning</i>. New York, NY: Routledge, p. 124.</p>		

RI.11-12.6	Determine an author’s point of view or purpose in a text in which the rhetoric is particularly effective, analyzing how style and content contribute to the power, persuasiveness or beauty of the text.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p><i>The following strategy utilizes a CCSS text exemplar from the 11-12 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.</i></p> <p>Engaging with Rhetorical Devices. Students conduct a close read of a text such as Thomas Paine’s <i>Common Sense</i>. Students may use a graphic organizer to record the rhetorical devices in the text. When a predetermined amount of time has elapsed, a review of concepts associated with rhetoric and rhetorical devices may be necessary. (e.g., parallelism, repetition, aphorism, rhetorical questioning, appeals to the audience, etc.) During reading, emphasis is continually placed on how authors use rhetoric and rhetorical devices as tools in any persuasive text.</p> <p>Read-Only, Purpose Statement, Support. Students begin the activity by reading one of the texts start to finish without highlighting or note-taking. After completing a deliberate read, students author a single sentence narrative highlighting the author’s purpose of the text. Students clearly acknowledge that a quality “purpose sentence” includes appropriate clauses and phrases. When the purpose sentence is complete, students utilize sticky notes to cite specific words, phrases and clauses from the text the author used to advance their intent.</p> <p>Questioning the Author. After developing an understanding of authorship, students read a complex text and engage in objective discussions at pre-determined intervals. Students utilize Questioning the Author strategies to enrich and advance the discussion (Beck,McKeown, Hamilton and Kucan, 1997).</p>	<p>Tier Two words information. “...many Tier Two words are far less well defined by contextual clues in the texts in which they appear and are far less likely to be defined explicitly within a text than are Tier Three words. Yet Tier Two words are frequently encountered in complex written texts and are particularly powerful because of their wide applicability to many sorts of reading” (CCSS ELA & Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects Appendix A, p. 33).</p> <p>Read-Only, Purpose Statement, Support. As students read, the teacher navigates the room and utilizes diagnostic questioning to determine competency with regards to Tier Two vocabulary appearing within the text. Feedback is provided that “models, cues, or hints to support improvements in learning...operating as an instructional scaffold” (Heritage, 2010, p. 84).</p> <p>Through strategic text selection, this activity could be adapted so that students conduct a “sustained research project to answer a question (including a self-generated question) or solve a problem” (W.11-12.7).</p> <p>Questioning the Author. During discussion, students provide objective peer-to-peer feedback to keep the dialog centered on “evaluat(ing) a speaker’s point of view, reasoning and use of evidence and rhetoric, <u>assessing the stance, premises, links among ideas, word choice, points of emphasis, and tone used</u>” (SL.11-12.3).</p> <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.1,3-5,7-10) (SL.9-10.1-4,6) (L.9-10.1-6)</p>	
<p>References: Beck, I.L., McKeown, M.G.,Hamilton, R.L. & Kucan, L. (1997). <i>Questioning the author: An approach for enhancing student engagement with text</i>. Newark, DE: International Reading Association. Heritage, M. (2010). <i>Formative assessment: Making it happen in the classroom</i>. Corwin; Thousand Oaks, CA, p. 84.</p>		

RI.11-12.7	Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in different media or formats (e.g., visually, quantitatively) as well as in words in order to address a question or solve a problem.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p><i>The following strategy uses a CCSS text exemplar from the 11-12 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.</i></p> <p>Written Comparison and Synthesis of Ideas. Students begin by conducting a close read of the full text of The Declaration of Independence or a text of similar complexity. After reading, students complete a written summary of the major points of the text. Within their written summary, students place special emphasis on how the text has been summarized, characterized, and remembered throughout history. Upon completion of the summary, students watch the John Adams video clip, view the original print document, and analyze the Trumbull painting of the signing of the declaration. After students have discussed the different associations and implications of each media, they will read a summarized version of the text from one the top resources retrieved via online search, as well as a Spark Notes Summary of the document itself. Students conduct an analysis of which details are emphasized and which are absent in each account.</p> <p>Style Guide Activity. As students write and revise their written summaries of a full text, a style guide to edit their own work as well as the work of their peers. The teacher fosters a writing environment that inspires objective feedback throughout the writing process. Students periodically trade sentences/paragraphs and alter original syntax resulting in language that is more interesting or pleasurable to read. This activity concludes with peer-to-peer dialogue regarding how and why original language was altered.</p>	<p>EXPLANATION - Tier Two words (what the Standards refer to as <i>general academic words</i>)...appear in all sorts of text: informational texts (words such as <i>relative, vary, formulate, specificity, and accumulate</i>)...Tier Two words often represent subtle ways to say relatively simple things – <i>saunter</i> instead of <i>walk</i> for example” (CCSS ELA & Literacy Appendix A, p.33).</p> <p>Tier Two words formative assessment tip. Students start a spreadsheet within Google Docs (a “Vocabulary Guide”) that contains a variety of Tier Two words, clues, definitions and the specific text in which it was found. Each time a student encounters an unfamiliar or unrecognized word they check the online Guide for assistance. If the word is not on the list it is added. The teacher and students continually acknowledge and inspire the use of Tier Two words within daily dialog.</p> <p>Scaffolding Suggestion. Texts and videos can be segmented for students who struggle to determine which details are emphasized in each account of the same subject or event.</p> <p>Enhancement Suggestion. Students displaying competence can sharpen this skill by conducting further analysis of search engine results. Guiding questions can be used such as;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. How does this information compare with the original text/source? 5. How was the original edited? 6. What is the author’s intent? <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.1,2,4,5,7,9,10) (SL.9-10.1-6) (L.9-10.1-6)</p>	
References:		

RI.11-12.8	Delineate and evaluate the reasoning in seminal U.S. texts, including the application of constitutional principles and use of legal reasoning (e.g., in U.S. Supreme Court majority opinions and dissents) and the premises, purposes, and arguments in works of public advocacy (e.g., The Federalist, presidential addresses).	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p><i>The following strategy utilizes a CCSS text exemplar from the 11-12 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.</i></p> <p>Comparison and Synthesis of Ideas. Students closely read and conduct analyses of texts such as Frederick Douglass’ “What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?” address and the Declaration of Sentiments by the Seneca Falls Conference. Students evaluate each text with the purpose of conducting a comparison and synthesis of ideas. Particular emphasis can be placed upon tone, purpose, or how each text outlines the author’s vision of their own place in America, and America’s place in the world.</p> <p>Save the Last Word for Me (Vaughan & Estes, 1986) Students are given a specific amount of time to read through a text. While reading, students highlight specific claims made by the author. When time has expired, students record a certain number of sentences from their collection of highlighted claims. As this task is completed, students organize into predetermined small groups and discuss their recorded claims. This strategy can be adapted so that students record and discuss valid reasoning, relevant evidence, false statements and fallacious reasoning.</p>	<p>Exit Slip. Students analyze specific excerpts from the texts they have been reading closely. Students are given a predetermined amount of time to complete a brief summary explaining how the excerpts compare and contrast. Prior to leaving the class, students turn in a brief comparison of the specific claims or arguments the authors attempt to make.</p> <p>Upgrade. Students submit their exit slip in digital form (e.g., blog post comment, Google+ comment, Tweet, Google Doc form). Responses are studied and organized for diagnostic purposes providing quality feedback that moves learning forward. A “hinge-point question” is crafted from the responses and utilized to start a lesson the following day.</p> <p>Hinge-point question guidelines. A hinge-point question is a quick check on understanding (Wiliam, 2011). Using a hinge point question to begin a class period allows a lesson to “zero in” on specific learning based upon quickly collected data. Ideally, it takes less than a minute for all students to respond and it also ideally takes less than 30 seconds for the teacher to view and interpret the responses.</p> <p>Progression Note. In coordination with this reading standard, a key progression in the <i>writing standards</i> is the need for students to show competency in drawing evidence from informational texts, <u>including how two or more texts from the same period treat similar themes or topics</u> (W.11-12.9).</p> <p>These suggestions can also be adapted to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.1,2,4,5,7,9,10) (SL.9-10.1,3-6) (L.9-10.1,2,4-6)</p>	
<p>References: Vaughan, J. & Estes, T. (1986). <i>Reading and reasoning beyond the primary grades</i>. Boston: Allyn & Bacon Wiliam, D. (2011). <i>Embedded formative assessment</i>. Bloomington, IN: Solution Tree Press.</p>		

RI.11-12.9

Analyze seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century foundational U.S. documents of historical and literary significance (including The Declaration of Independence, the Preamble to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address) for their themes, purposes, and rhetorical features.

Strategy/Lesson Suggestions

The following strategy utilizes a CCSS text exemplar from the 11-12 grade band. This strategy can be adapted to fit a variety of texts with an aligned level of complexity.

Written Comparison and Synthesis of Ideas. Students conduct a comparison and synthesis of ideas (CSI) between texts such as [The Declaration of Independence](#), [Preamble to the Constitution](#), and [Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address](#). As students produce a written analysis each text, the following guiding questions can be used; What does this word or phrase mean? What tone does this word usage convey? Why did the author(s) write in this particular style?

Change Frame. Students read a text and organize the information in a [table](#) which provides for relationships to be represented as well as comparisons to be made (Buehl, 1992). Students work collaboratively with the teacher to create headings for each column. For example, when applied to history headings can include problems people faced, the causes of the problems and the solutions to the problems. When the table is complete, students use the information to write an objective summary of the comparison and synthesis of ideas.

Questions	Group?	Group?	Group?
What problems did they have ?			
What changes caused the problems?			
How did they solve the problems?			

Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions

Recognizing Concepts and Themes. Students dissect portions of extracted text in an effort to analyze similarities and differences in concepts and themes. For example, students analyze the language used within the Preamble to this portion of Lincoln’s address;

“While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war -- seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.”

Objective feedback is continually shared to diagnose competency in recognizing key concepts and themes. Students work individually or in pairs, utilizing a variety of resources to define selected words (including a student constructed “Vocabulary Guide” for Tier Two words). Students compare and contrast selected language and/or create word/sentence alternatives as a way to alter tone. Feedback is continually shared in an effort to move learning forward.

Research Project. Students utilize strategies within this template to progressively complete a sustained research project. The teacher listens intently and continually provides objective feedback in an effort to move learning forward.

These suggestions are also designed to diagnose competency in the following standards; (W.9-10.1,2,4,5,7-10) (SL.9-10.2-4,6) (L.9-10.1-6)

References:

Buehl, D. (1992). *Classroom strategies for interactive learning*, (2nd Ed.). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

RI.11-12.10	By the end of grade 11, read and comprehend literary nonfiction in the grades 11–CCR text complexity band proficiently, with scaffolding as needed at the high end of the range.	
Strategy/Lesson Suggestions	Assessment FOR Learning Suggestions	
<p>Comparative Analysis of Literary Nonfiction. Similar to other standards, scaffolding is targeted to move learning forward so students are able to independently and draw cross textual connections among multiple texts with proficiency by the end of grade twelve. The following guiding questions can be used as scaffolding as students build competency within this standard;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does word choice and text structure compare/contrast between texts of similar topic written <i>in different eras</i>? • How does word choice and text structure compare/contrast between texts of similar topic written <i>for different audiences</i>? • What symbols and/or images appear frequently in one or more texts? • How does each author view an important historical/cultural issue differently or the same? • How does each work use a particular meaning or tone to illustrate a point or support an argument? • How does the historical context of each work influence its meaning? • How does a specific social movement influence each work? 	<p>Formative Assessment Tip. Feedback is provided and recorded on these suggested artifacts in order to regroup students for targeted learning opportunities. Teachers are encouraged to strategically score progress with a watchful eye on the formative assessment process. It is important to keep in mind that a “final grade” represents a summative score.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Students write a summary or essay that cites the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text. Aligned assessment and feedback of writing products can move learning forward with regards to writing skill, language acquisition, and reading comprehension. 2. Students answer and receive feedback on text dependent questions. 3. Students engage in a variety of discussions &/or Socratic questioning to display competency with regards to this standards. Aligned assessment and feedback of speaking and listening skills also promote growth in this area. 4. Students prepare a visual representation illustrating and citing the textual evidence that most strongly supports an analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences that may be drawn. 5. Students engage in formal and informal presentations of a variety of products outlined above. Aligned assessment and feedback of speaking and listening skills during presentations also promote growth in this area. 	
References:		

APPENDIX A - GRAPHIC ORGANIZERS AND ATTACHMENTS

STOP-N-THINK

Name: _____

Date: _____

Circle One: Book, Listening, Video, Other _____

Direction: Use words, pictures or a combination of both to put down key ideas.

Stop #1

Stop #2

Stop #3

Stop #4

Summary of the Stops:

Trailing the Text

Page 7	Topic	The American Revolution: Fighting for a New Nation
Page 7	How the topic is introduced	<i>The American revolution is introduced by the author telling how and why the war as started as well as how hard the war was on the colonists. No illustrations were used.</i>
Page 8 Sect. 1	Illustrations/Elaborations	<i>The author used a political cartoon to emphasize the unfairness of England’s taxes. The cartoon really made England look bad.</i>
Page 8 Sect 2	Illustrations/Elaborations	<i>The author wrote a bit about each cause of the war. A timeline was also on page 8. It showed the order all things happened. This help me see how all of those causes led to the war.</i>
Page 9	Illustrations/Elaborations	<i>The author explained how the Boston Tea Party made England punish the people of Boston. The author explained that this led to a meeting of the colonies. Not long after that war started.</i>
Page 10	Illustrations/Elaborations	<i>Page 10 didn’t give too many facts about the end of the war, but that it ended in 1781. The author said that a British band played “The World Turned Upside Down” when they surrendered.</i>

Summarization of the Trail:

A Guide to Creating Text Dependent Questions for Close Analytic Reading

Text Dependent Questions: What Are They?

The Common Core State Standards for reading strongly focus on students gathering evidence, knowledge, and insight from what they read. Indeed, eighty to ninety percent of the Reading Standards in each grade *require* text dependent analysis; accordingly, aligned curriculum materials should have a similar percentage of text dependent questions.

As the name suggests, a text dependent question specifically asks a question that can only be answered by referring explicitly back to the text being read. It does not rely on any particular background information extraneous to the text nor depend on students having other experiences or knowledge; instead it privileges the text itself and what students can extract from what is before them.

For example, in a close analytic reading of Lincoln’s “Gettysburg Address,” the following would not be text dependent questions:

- *Why did the North fight the civil war?*
- *Have you ever been to a funeral or gravesite?*
- *Lincoln says that the nation is dedicated to the proposition that “all men are created equal.” Why is equality an important value to promote?*

The overarching problem with these questions is that they require no familiarity at all with Lincoln’s speech in order to answer them. Responding to these sorts of questions instead requires students to go outside the text. Such questions can be tempting to ask because they are likely to get students talking, but they take students away from considering the actual point Lincoln is making. They seek to elicit a personal or general response that relies on individual experience and opinion, and answering them will not move students closer to understanding the text of the “Gettysburg Address.”

Good text dependent questions will often linger over specific phrases and sentences to ensure careful comprehension of the text—they help students see something worthwhile that they would not have seen on a more cursory reading. Typical text dependent questions ask students to perform one or more of the following tasks:

- Analyze paragraphs on a sentence by sentence basis and sentences on a word by word basis to determine the role played by individual paragraphs, sentences, phrases, or words
- Investigate how meaning can be altered by changing key words and why an author may have chosen one word over another
- Probe each argument in persuasive text, each idea in informational text, each key detail in literary text, and observe how these build to a whole
- Examine how shifts in the direction of an argument or explanation are achieved and the impact of those shifts
- Question why authors choose to begin and end when they do
- Note and assess patterns of writing and what they achieve
- Consider what the text leaves uncertain or unstated

Creating Text-Dependent Questions for Close Analytic Reading of Texts

An effective set of text dependent questions delves systematically into a text to guide students in extracting the key meanings or ideas found there. They typically begin by exploring specific words, details, and arguments and then moves on to examine the impact of those specifics on the text as a whole. Along the way they target academic vocabulary and specific sentence structures as critical focus points for gaining comprehension.

While there is no set process for generating a complete and coherent body of text dependent questions for a text, the following process is a good guide that can serve to generate a core series of questions for close reading of any given text.

Step One: Identify the Core Understandings and Key Ideas of the Text

As in any good reverse engineering or “backwards design” process, teachers should start by identifying the key insights they want students to understand from the text—keeping one eye on the major points being made is crucial for fashioning an overarching set of successful questions and critical for creating an appropriate culminating assignment.

Step Two: Start Small to Build Confidence

The opening questions should be ones that help orientate students to the text and be sufficiently specific enough for them to answer so that they gain confidence to tackle more difficult questions later on.

Step Three: Target Vocabulary and Text Structure

Locate key text structures and the most powerful academic words in the text that are connected to the key ideas and understandings, and craft questions that illuminate these connections.

Step Four: Tackle Tough Sections Head-on

Find the sections of the text that will present the greatest difficulty and craft questions that support students in mastering these sections (these could be sections with difficult syntax, particularly dense information, and tricky transitions or places that offer a variety of possible inferences).

Step Five: Create Coherent Sequences of Text Dependent Questions

The sequence of questions should not be random but should build toward more coherent understanding and analysis to ensure that students learn to stay focused on the text to bring them to a gradual understanding of its meaning.

Step Six: Identify the Standards That Are Being Addressed

Take stock of what standards are being addressed in the series of questions and decide if any other standards are suited to being a focus for this text (forming additional questions that exercise those standards).

Step Seven: Create the Culminating Assessment

Develop a culminating activity around the key ideas or understandings identified earlier that reflects (a) mastery of one or more of the standards, (b) involves writing, and (c) is structured to be completed by students independently.

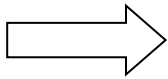
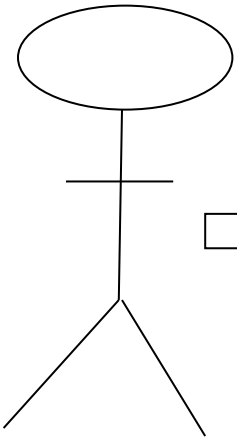
SOURCE:

Student Achievement Partners, <http://www.achievethecore.org/steal-these-tools/text-dependent-questions>

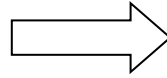
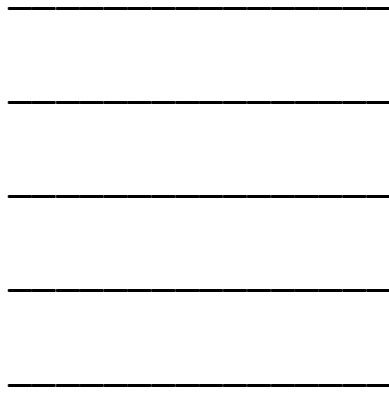
It says, I say, and so....

Question	It Says...	I Say...	And So...

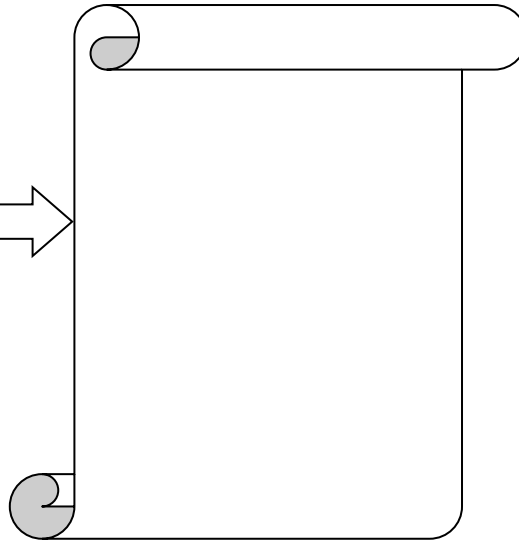
Person

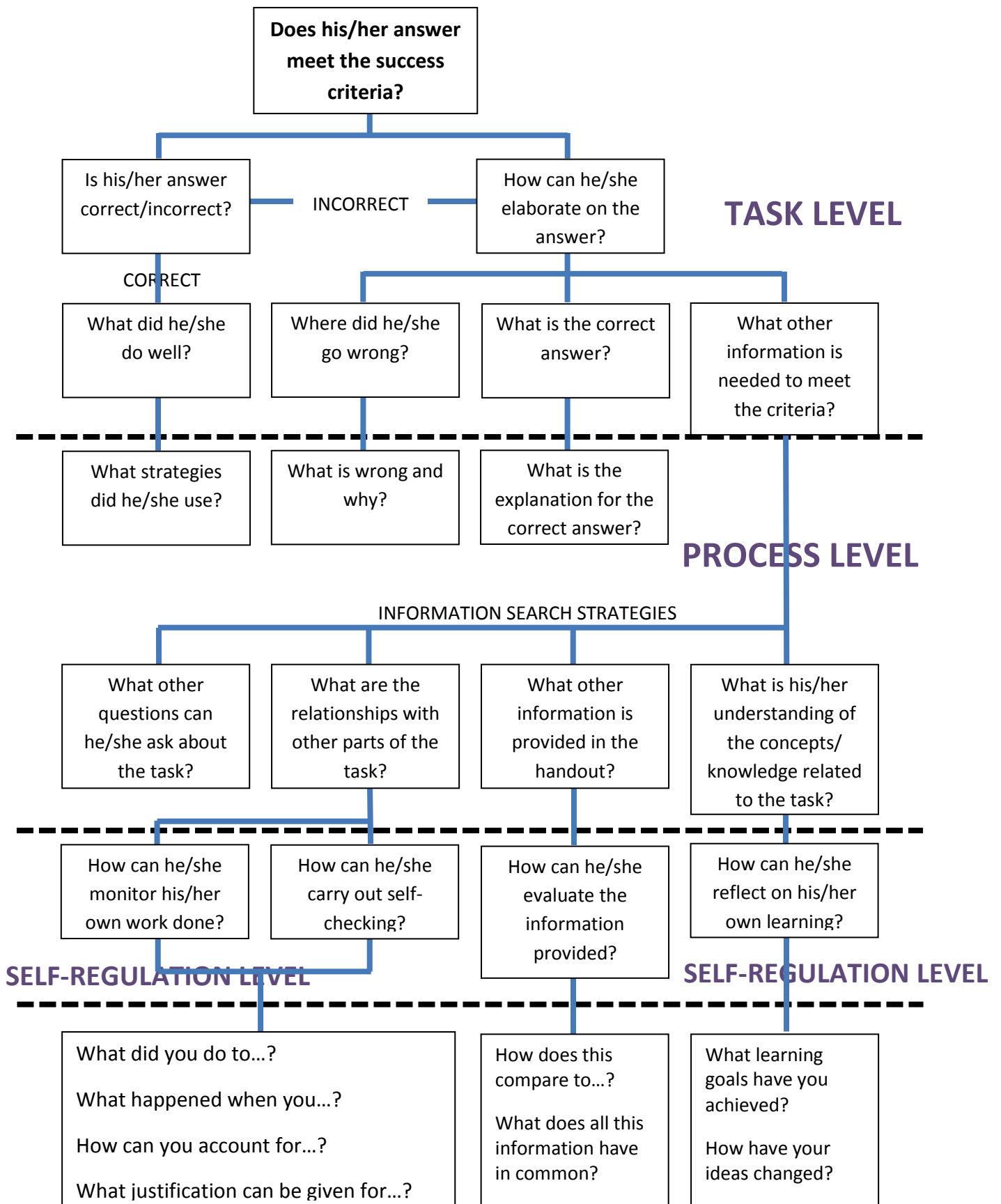


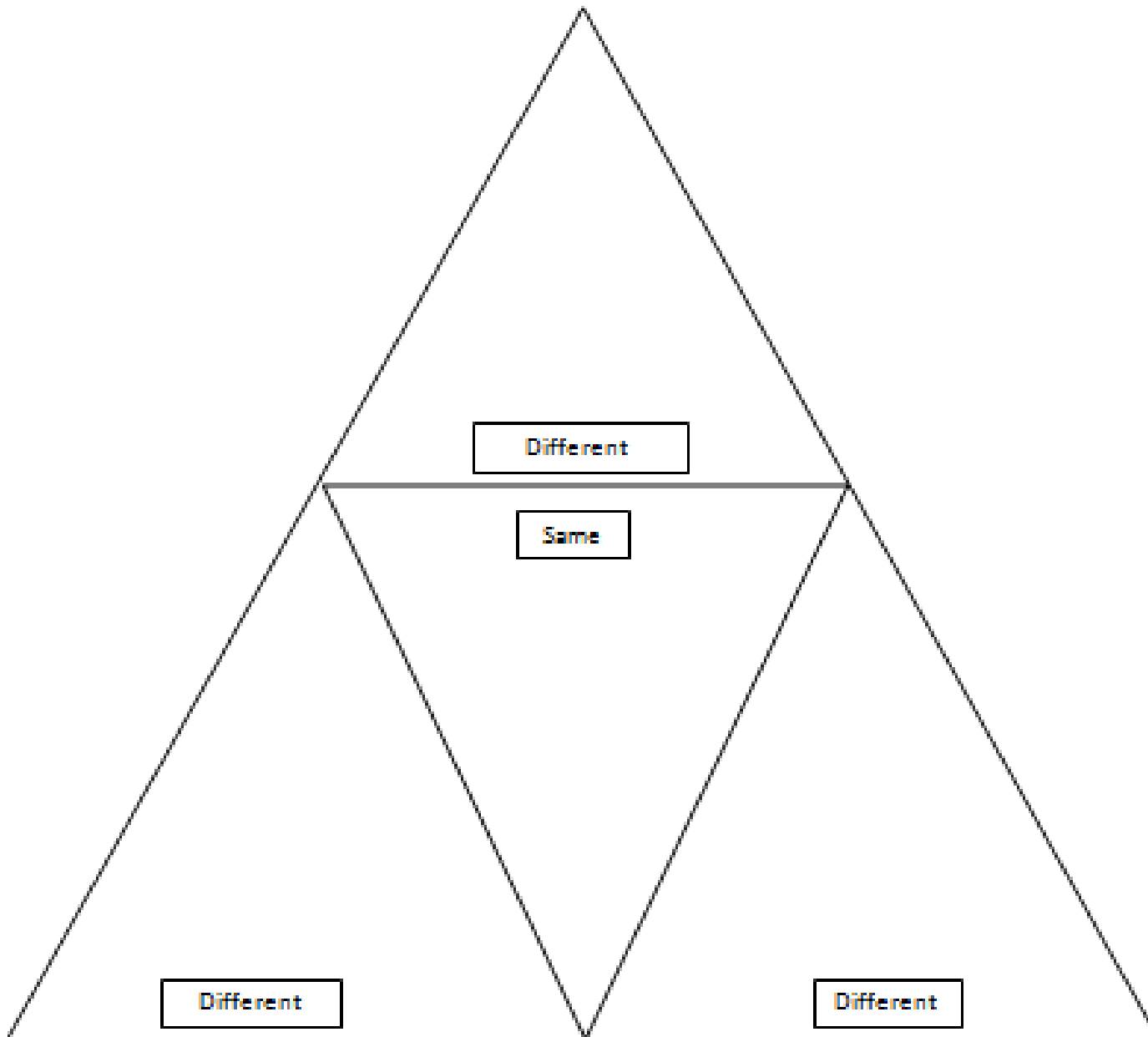
Idea or Event



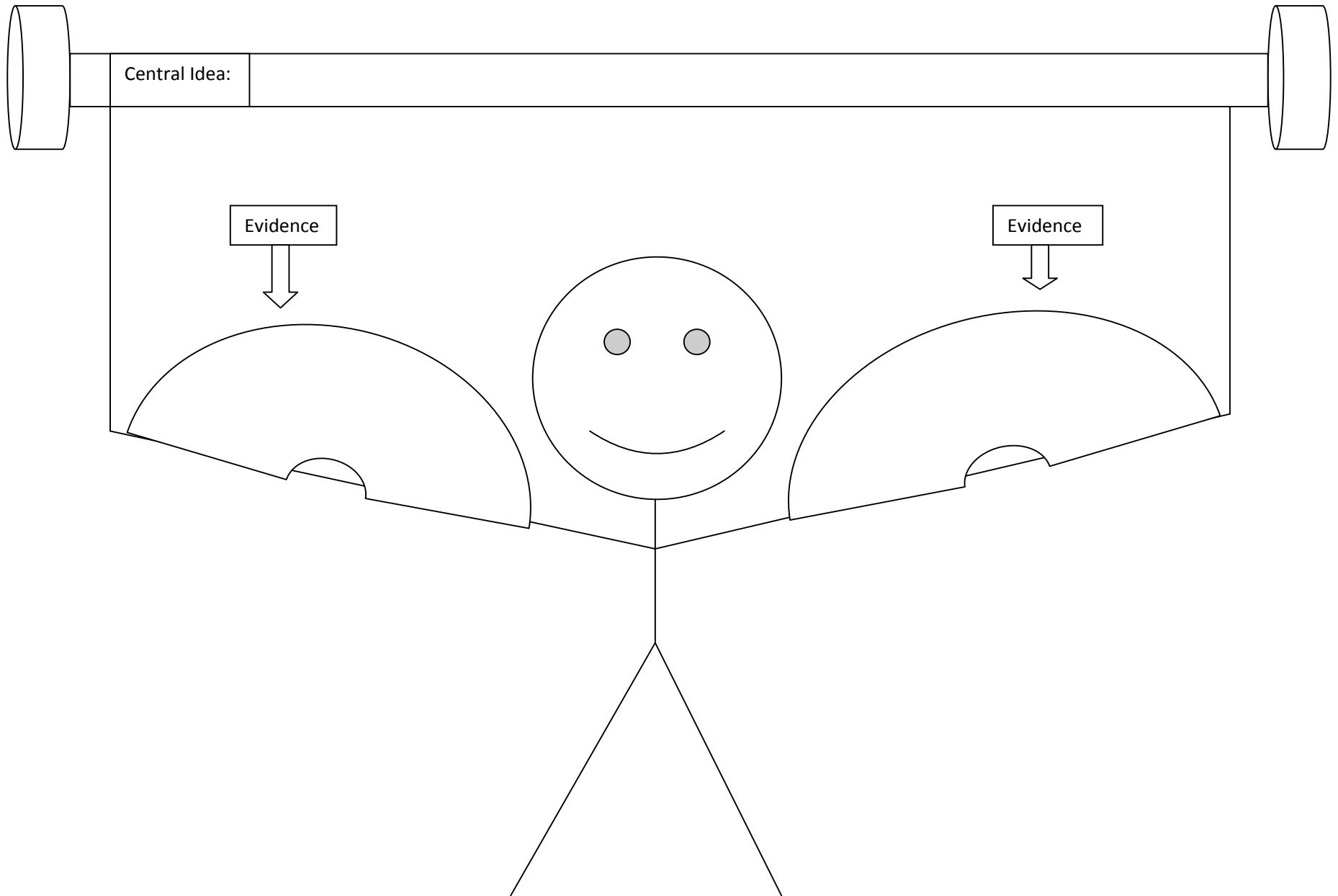
Influences on ideas or others



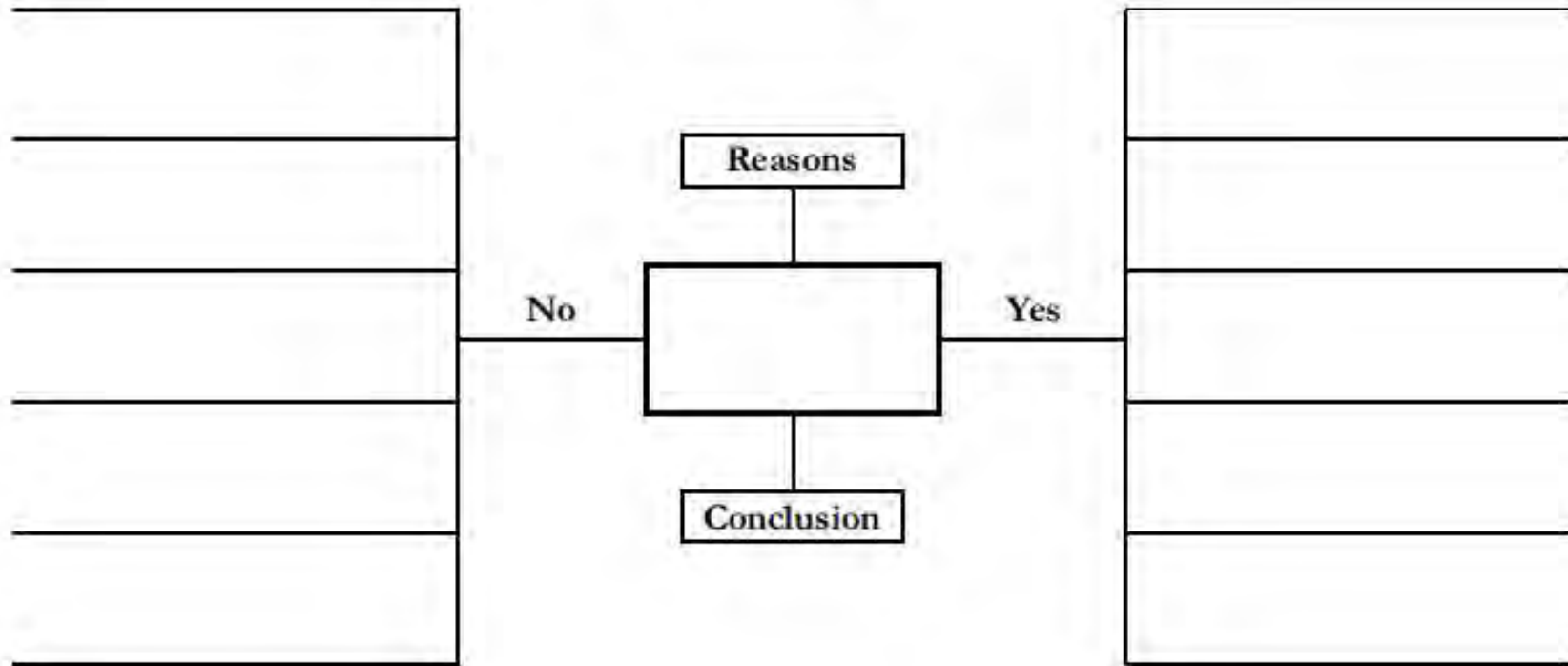




Strong Evidence Graphic



DISCUSSION WEB



1. After reading a selection, form groups of three to five students each.
2. Discuss the focus question with your group and come up with evidence to support both a yes position and a no position.
3. Analyze the question and record information and the group's responses. Jot down only key words and phrases and try to use an equal number of reasons for pros and cons.
4. Work together to come to a consensus by stating your conclusion and reason(s) for your conclusion.
5. Finally, choose a spokesperson to share your group's point of view with the entire class.

Adapted from Alvermann, D.E. (1991). The Discussion Web: A graphic aid for learning across the curriculum. *The Reading Teacher*, 45, 92-99.

read·write·think

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Compare and Contrast Map

Medium 1		Medium 2	
Article: Intended Audience: <i>Effects of Exxon Oil Spill</i>		Photo: Intended Audience: <i>Photo of Oil Spill Effects</i>	
Central Idea of Article:		Central Idea of Photo:	
Reinforce Central Idea: Yes or No	Distract from Central Idea: Yes or No	Reinforce Central Idea: Yes or No	Distract from Central Idea: Yes or No
How?	How?	How?	How?

Which Medium Does the Best Job of Effectively Delivering Their Message To Their Audience?

And the winner is.....

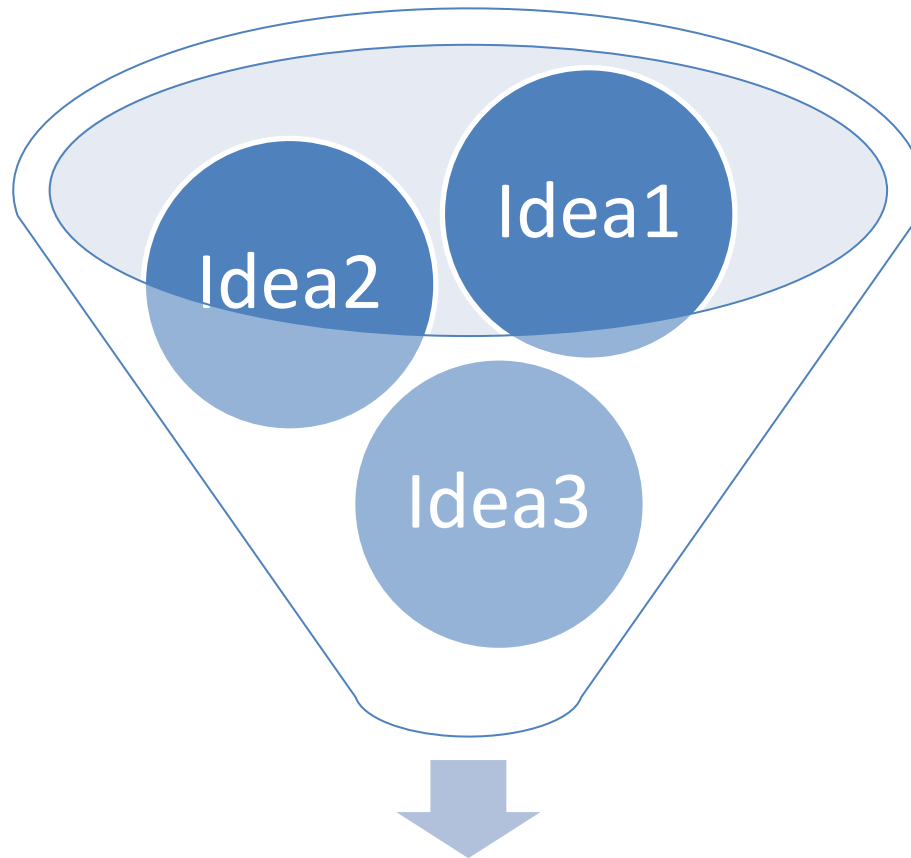
I believe that _____ does the best job of delivering the central idea of _____

_____ because _____

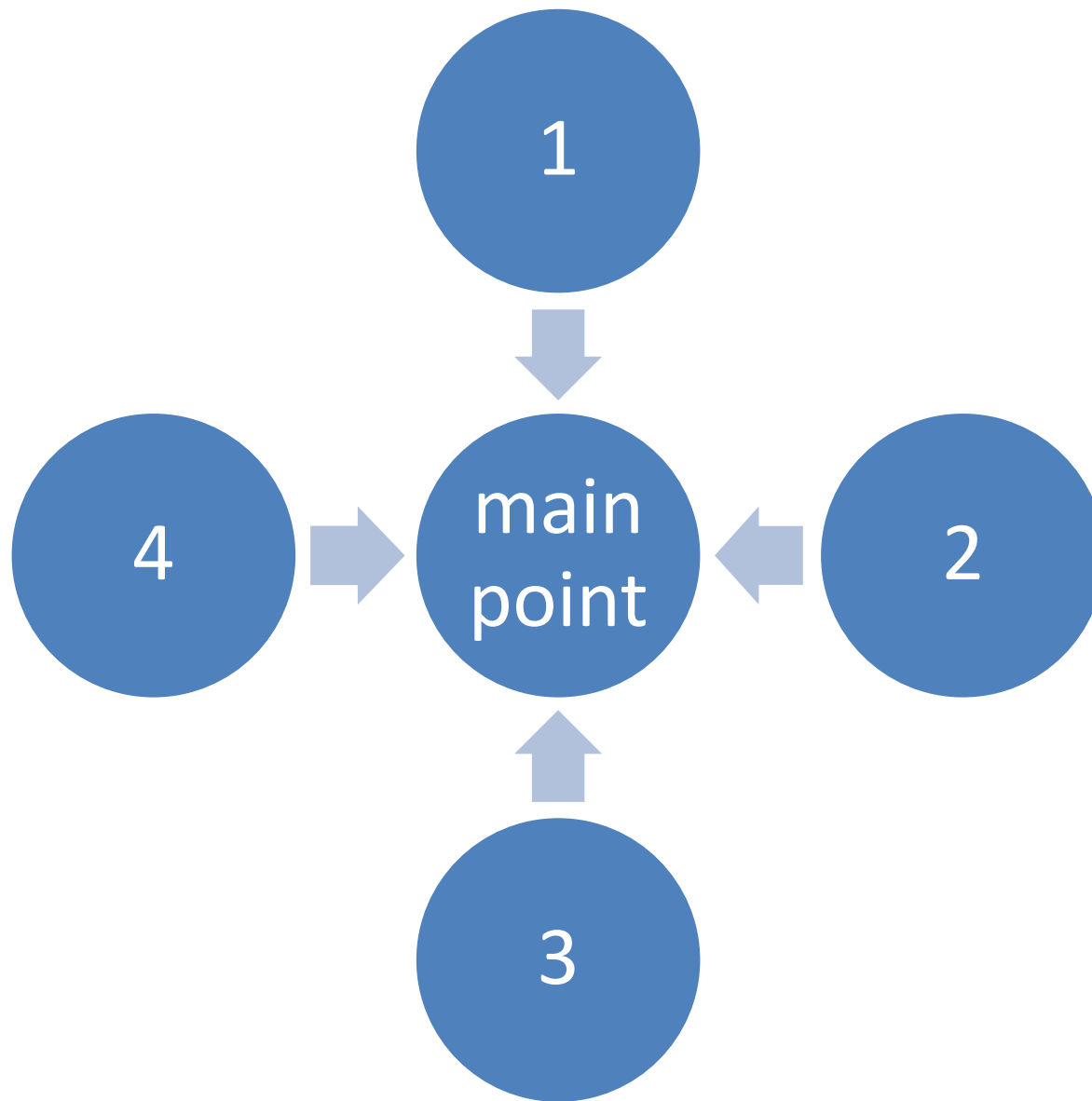
_____.

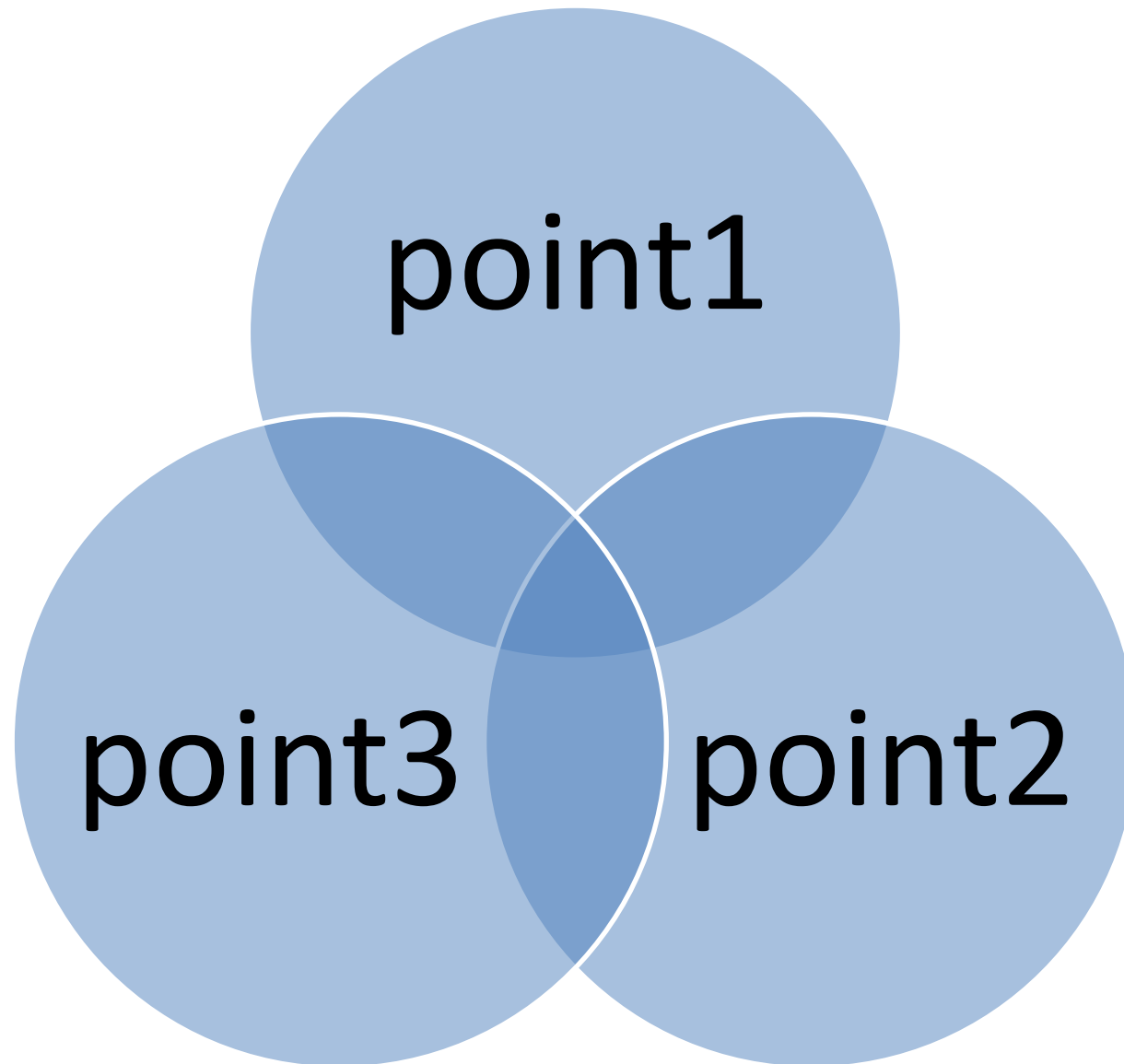
Citation Table

SPECIFIC PHRASE OR SENTENCE	SPECIFIC PURPOSE
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	



Here is my one sentence summation; with a properly placed colon or semi-colon of course.





Vocabulary Guide

word:			word:	
clue:			clue:	
explain:			explain:	
meaning:			meaning:	
word:			word:	
clue:			clue:	
explain:			explain:	
meaning:			meaning:	
word:			word:	
clue:			clue:	
explain:			explain:	
meaning:			meaning:	
word:			word:	
clue:			clue:	
explain:			explain:	
meaning:			meaning:	

Note: Adapted from Carr, E.M. (1985). The vocabulary overview guide: A metacognitive strategy to improve vocabulary comprehension and retention. *Journal of Reading*, 28, 684-689.

Meaning & Tone Table		
Specific sentence from text	Your sentence (underline the word(s), clause(s), and/or phrase(s) you altered)	How do your changes alter the meaning or tone of the text?
1.		
2.		
3.		
Adapted from “It Says...I Say...And So” (Zwiers, 2002)		

Change Frame Table

	What does it say about equality?	Similarities with other texts?	What makes this text unique?
Declaration of Independence			
Gettysburg Address			
I Have A Dream			
Warren Opinion			

History Change Frame Graphic Organizer

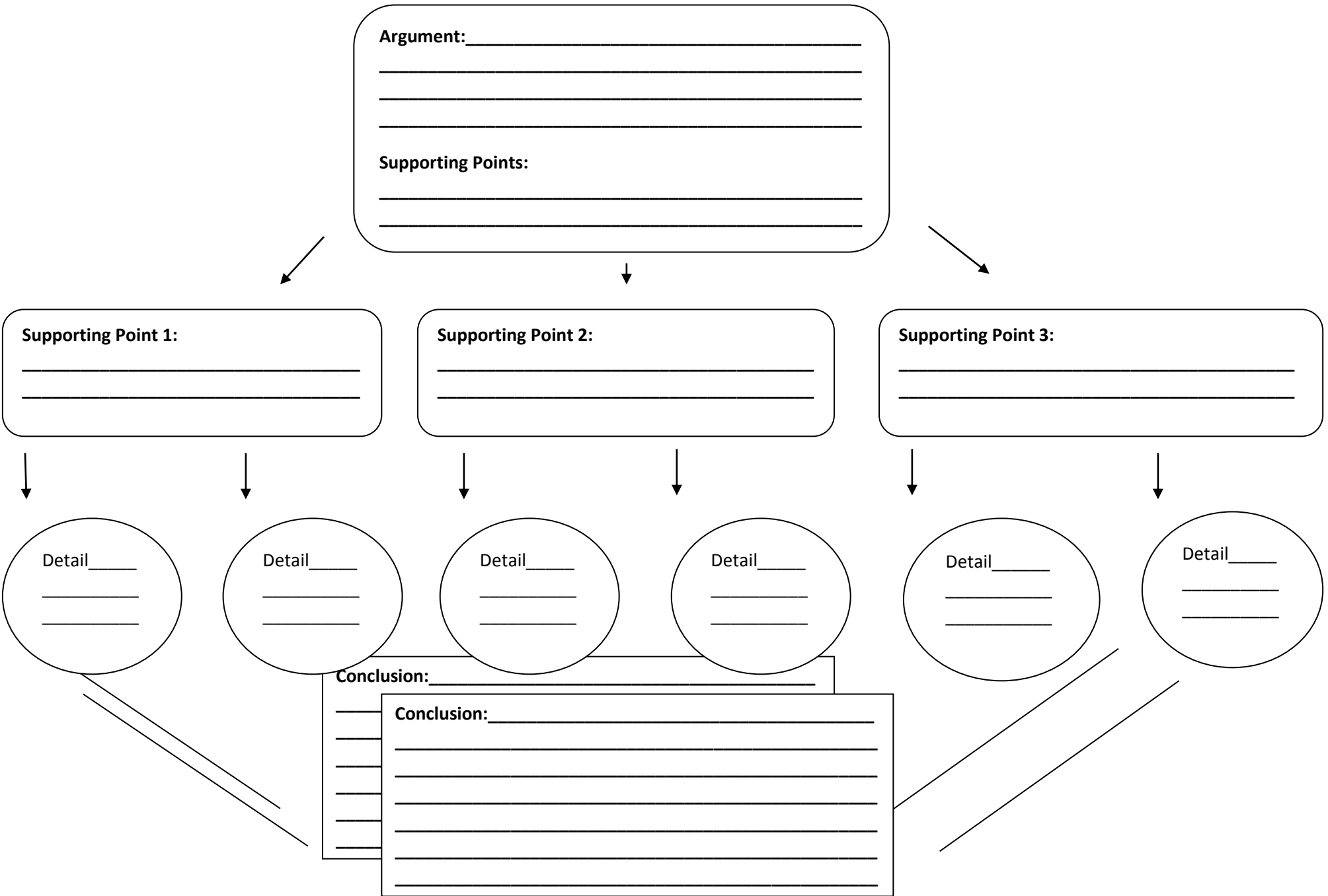
Group?	Group?	Group?
What problems did they face?	What problems did they face?	What problems did they face?
What changes caused these problems?	What changes caused these problems?	What changes caused these problems?
What did they do to solve the problems?	What did they do to solve the problems?	What did they do to solve the problems?

(Buehl, 1992)

Classroom Strategies for Interactive Learning, 2nd Ed., by Doug Buehl ©2001. Newark, DE: International Reading Association. May be copied for classroom use.

Thesis Statement/Premise:	
SPECIFIC PHRASE OR SENTENCE	HOW IT SUPPORTS THE THESIS
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

Chesterton's "Fallacy of Success"		
Key sentences/Claims made by the text	Examples given/Evidence from text	Non-Examples/My Understanding of the Examples
1. Books about being successful are false	1. They are only about what is <i>called</i> success; they have no real substance	1. "they are written by men who cannot succeed in writing books"
2. "There is nothing that is not successful"	2. "A millionaire is successful at being a millionaire, and a donkey successful at being a donkey"	2. This follows that a Millionaire is unsuccessful at being a donkey. In other words, "success" is categorically specific.
3.	3.	3.
4.	4.	4.
5.	5.	5.



Rhetorical Device	Line from the Text	Intended Reader Response (This line is intended to evoke _____)
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

	What does it say about _____?	Similarities with other texts?	What makes this text unique?
Declaration of Independence			
Preamble to the Constitution			
Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address			

APPENDIX B – 9th & 10th GRADE TEXT EXEMPLARS

Patrick Henry's "Speech to the Second Virginia Convention"

MR. PRESIDENT: No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen if, entertaining as I do, opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely, and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony. The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offence, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the majesty of heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and, having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years, to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves, and the House? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with these war-like preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask, gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves. Sir, we have done everything that could be done, to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we

have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free² if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending² if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained, we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance, by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations; and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable² and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come.

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, Peace, Peace² but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!

A Quilt of a Country: Out of many, one?

Anna Quindlen

Newsweek

September 27, 2001

America is an improbable idea. A mongrel nation built of ever-changing disparate parts, it is held together by a notion, the notion that all men are created equal, though everyone knows that most men consider themselves better than someone. "Of all the nations in the world, the United States was built in nobody's image," the historian Daniel Boorstin wrote. That's because it was built of bits and pieces that seem discordant, like the crazy quilts that have been one of its great folk-art forms, velvet and calico and checks and brocades. Out of many, one. That is the ideal.

The reality is often quite different, a great national striving consisting frequently of failure. Many of the oft-told stories of the most pluralistic nation on earth are stories not of tolerance, but of bigotry. Slavery and sweatshops, the burning of crosses and the ostracism of the other. Children learn in social-studies class and in the news of the lynching of blacks, the denial of rights to women, the murders of gay men. It is difficult to know how to convince them that this amounts to "crown thy good with brotherhood," that amid all the failures is something spectacularly successful. Perhaps they understand it at this moment, when enormous tragedy, as it so often does, demands a time of reflection on enormous blessings.

This is a nation founded on a conundrum, what Mario Cuomo has characterized as "community added to individualism." These two are our defining ideals; they are also in constant conflict. Historians today bemoan the ascendancy of a kind of prideful apartheid in America, saying that the clinging to ethnicity, in background and custom, has undermined the concept of unity. These historians must have forgotten the past, or have gilded it. The New York of my children is no more Balkanized, probably less so, than the Philadelphia of my father, in which Jewish boys would walk several blocks out of their way to avoid the Irish divide of Chester Avenue. (I was the product of a mixed marriage, across barely bridgeable lines: an Italian girl, an Irish boy. How quaint it seems now, how incendiary then.) The Brooklyn of Francie Nolan's famous tree, the Newark of which Portnoy complained, even the uninflected WASP suburbs of Cheever's characters: they are ghettos, pure and simple. Do the Cambodians and the Mexicans in California coexist less easily today than did the Irish and Italians of Massachusetts a century ago? You know the answer.

What is the point of this splintered whole? What is the point of a nation in which Arab cabbies chauffeur Jewish passengers through the streets of New York--and in which Jewish cabbies chauffeur Arab passengers, too, and yet speak in theory of hatred, one for the other? What is the point of a nation in which one part seems to be always on the verge of fisticuffs with another, blacks and whites, gays and straights, left and right, Pole and Chinese and Puerto Rican and Slovenian? Other countries with such divisions have in fact divided into new nations with new names, but not this one, impossibly interwoven even in its hostilities.

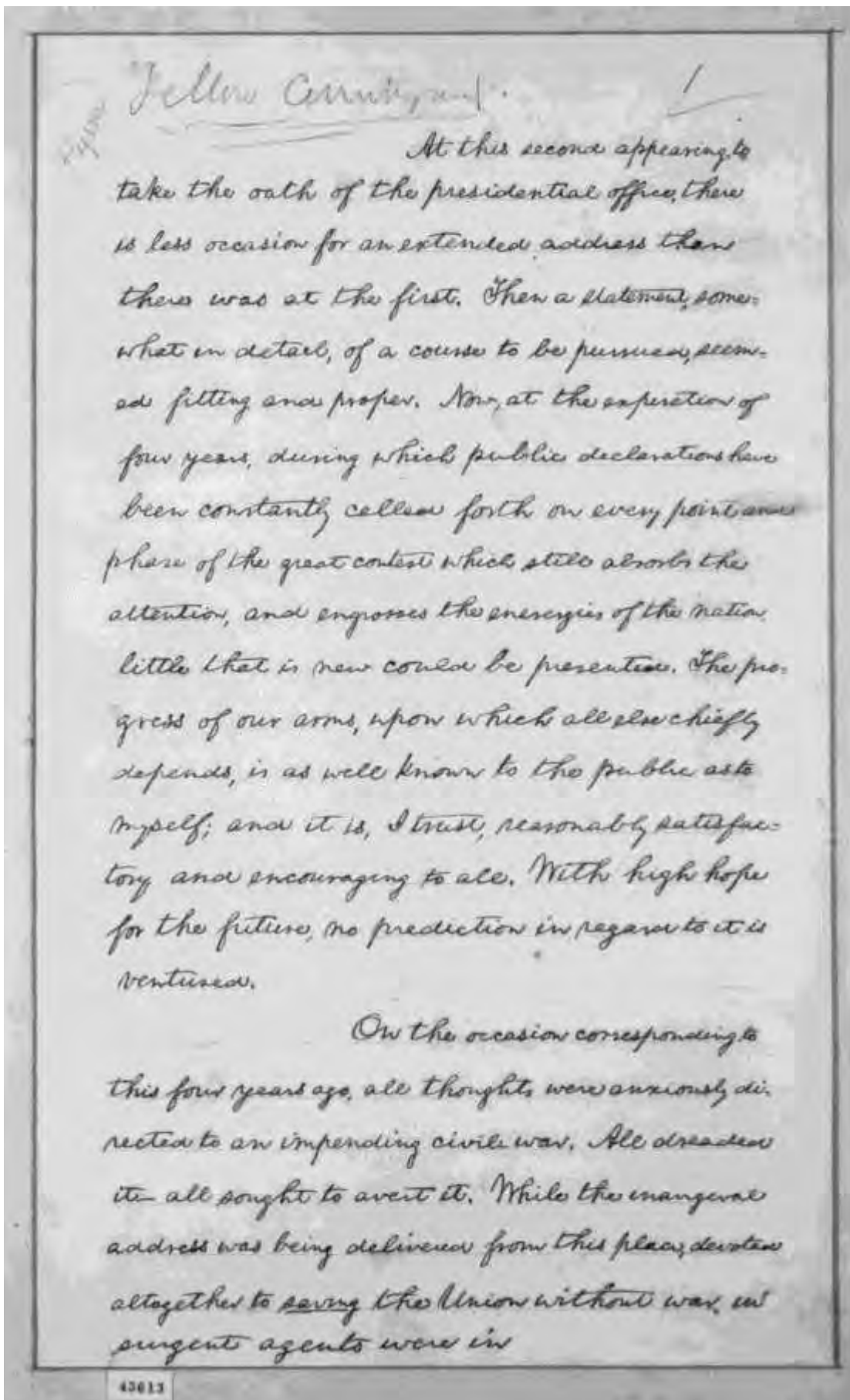
Once these disparate parts were held together by a common enemy, by the fault lines of world wars and the electrified fence of communism. With the end of the cold war there was the creeping concern that without a focus for hatred and distrust, a sense of national identity would evaporate, that the left side of the hyphen--African-American, Mexican-American, Irish-American--would overwhelm the

right. And slow-growing domestic traumas like economic unrest and increasing crime seemed more likely to emphasize division than community. Today the citizens of the United States have come together once more because of armed conflict and enemy attack. Terrorism has led to devastation--and unity.

Yet even in 1994, the overwhelming majority of those surveyed by the National Opinion Research Center agreed with this statement: "The U.S. is a unique **country** that stands for something special in the world." One of the things that it stands for is this vexing notion that a great nation can consist entirely of refugees from other nations, that people of different, even warring religions and cultures can live, if not side by side, than on either side of the **country's** Chester Avenues. Faced with this diversity there is little point in trying to isolate anything remotely resembling a national character, but there are two strains of behavior that, however tenuously, abet the concept of unity.

There is that Calvinist undercurrent in the American psyche that loves the difficult, the demanding, that sees mastering the impossible, whether it be prairie or subway, as a test of character, and so glories in the struggle of this fractured coalescing. And there is a grudging fairness among the citizens of the United States that eventually leads most to admit that, no matter what the English-only advocates try to suggest, the new immigrants are not so different from our own parents or grandparents. Leonel Castillo, former director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and himself the grandson of Mexican immigrants, once told the writer Studs Terkel proudly, "The old neighborhood Ma-Pa stores are still around. They are not Italian or Jewish or Eastern European any more. Ma and Pa are now Korean, Vietnamese, Iraqi, Jordanian, Latin American. They live in the store. They work seven days a week. Their kids are doing well in school. They're making it. Sound familiar?"

Tolerance is the word used most often when this kind of coexistence succeeds, but tolerance is a vanilla-pudding word, standing for little more than the allowance of letting others live unremarked and unmolested. Pride seems excessive, given the American willingness to endlessly complain about them, them being whoever is new, different, unknown or currently under suspicion. But patriotism is partly taking pride in this unlikely ability to throw all of us together in a **country** that across its length and breadth is as different as a dozen countries, and still be able to call it by one name. When photographs of the faces of all those who died in the World Trade Center destruction are assembled in one place, it will be possible to trace in the skin color, the shape of the eyes and the noses, the texture of the hair, a map of the world. These are the representatives of a mongrel nation that somehow, at times like this, has one spirit. Like many improbable ideas, when it actually works, it's a wonder.



2

the city seeking to destroy it without war seek-
 ing to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by ne-
 gotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one
 of them would make war rather than let the
 nation survive; and the other would accept
 war rather than let it perish. And the war
 came.

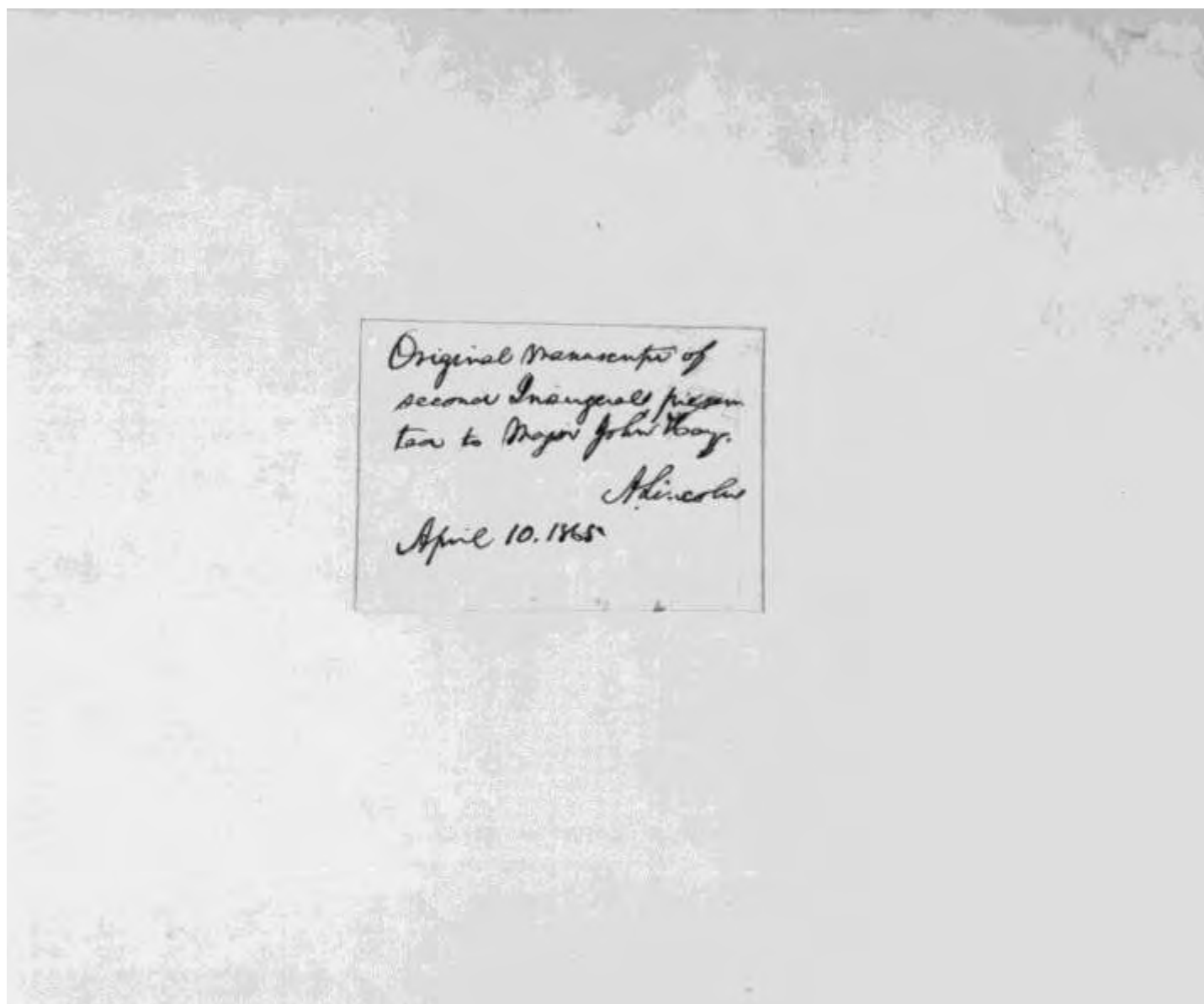
One eighth of the whole
 population were colored slaves, not distri-
 buted generally over the Union, but localized
 in the southern ^{part} of it. These slaves con-
 stituted a peculiar and powerful interest.
 All knew that this interest was, somehow,
 the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpet-
 uate, and extend this interest was the ob-
 ject for which the insurgents would rend
 the Union, even by war; while the govern-
 ment claimed no right to do more than
 to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.
 Neither party expected for the war, the mag-
 nitude, or the duration, which it has already
 attained. Neither anticipated that

3

the causes of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease, each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!" If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those

by whom the offence came, shall we discern there
 in any departure from those divine attributes
 which the believers in a living God always
 ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope— fervent-
 ly do we pray— that this mighty scourge of
 war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God
 wills that it continue, until all the wealth
 piled by the bond-man's two hundred and
 fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk,
 and until every drop ^{of} blood drawn with the
 lash, shall be paid by another drawn with
 the sword, as was said ~~three~~ thousand years
 ago, so still it must be said "the judgments
 of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether"

With malice toward none;
 with charity for all; with firmness in the
 right, as God gives us to see the right,
 let us strive on to finish the work we
 are in; to bind up the nation's wounds;
 to care for him who shall ^{have} borne the bat-
 tle, and for his widow, and his orphan—
 to do all which may achieve and cherish a just
 and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with ^{all nations} ~~the world~~.



Birmingham City Jail

April 16, 1963

My dear Fellow Clergymen,

While confined here in the Birmingham City Jail, I came across your recent statement calling our present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom, if ever, do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all the criticisms that cross my desk, my secretaries would be engaged in little else in the course of the day and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine goodwill and your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I would like to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should give the reason for my being in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the argument of "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every Southern state with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some eighty-five affiliate organizations all across the South -- one being the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Whenever necessary and possible we share staff, educational, and financial resources with our affiliates. Several months ago our local affiliate here in Birmingham invited us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented and when the hour came we lived up to our promises. So I am here, along with several members of my staff, because we were invited here. I am here because I have basic organizational ties here. Beyond this, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the eighth century prophets left their little villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home town, and just as the Apostle Paul left his little village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to practically every hamlet and city of the Graeco-Roman world, I too am compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my particular home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere in this country.

You deplore the demonstrations that are presently taking place in Birmingham. But I am sorry that your statement did not express a similar concern for the conditions that brought the demonstrations into being. I am sure that each of you would want to go beyond the superficial social analyst who looks merely at effects, and does not grapple with underlying causes. I would not hesitate to say that it is unfortunate that so-called demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham at this time, but I would say in more emphatic terms that it is even more unfortunate that the white power structure of this city left the Negro community with no other alternative.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: (1) Collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive; (2) Negotiation; (3) Self-purification; and (4) Direct action. We have gone through all of these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that racial injustice

engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is known in every section of this country. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than any city in this nation. These are the hard, brutal, and unbelievable facts. On the basis of these conditions Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the political leaders consistently refused to engage in good faith negotiation.

Then came the opportunity last September to talk with some of the leaders of the economic community. In these negotiating sessions certain promises were made by the merchants -- such as the promise to remove the humiliating racial signs from the stores. On the basis of these promises Rev. Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to call a moratorium on any type of demonstrations. As the weeks and months unfolded we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. The signs remained. As in so many experiences of the past we were confronted with blasted hopes, and the dark shadow of a deep disappointment settled upon us. So we had no alternative except that of preparing for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and national community. We were not unmindful of the difficulties involved. So we decided to go through a process of self-purification. We started having workshops on nonviolence and repeatedly asked ourselves the questions, "Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?" "Are you able to endure the ordeals of jail?"

We decided to set our direct-action program around the Easter season, realizing that with the exception of Christmas, this was the largest shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong economic withdrawal program would be the by-product of direct action, we felt that this was the best time to bring pressure on the merchants for the needed changes. Then it occurred to us that the March election was ahead, and so we speedily decided to postpone action until after election day. When we discovered that Mr. Connor was in the run-off, we decided again to postpone action so that the demonstrations could not be used to cloud the issues. At this time we agreed to begin our nonviolent witness the day after the run-off.

This reveals that we did not move irresponsibly into direct action. We too wanted to see Mr. Connor defeated; so we went through postponement after postponement to aid in this community need. After this we felt that direct action could be delayed no longer.

You may well ask, Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc.? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. I just referred to the creation of tension as a part of the work of the nonviolent resister. This may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word tension. I have earnestly worked and preached against violent tension, but there is a type of constructive nonviolent tension that is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, we must see the need of having nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood. So the purpose of the direct action is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the

door to negotiation. We, therefore, concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved Southland been bogged down in the tragic attempt to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

One of the basic points in your statement is that our acts are untimely. Some have asked, "Why didn't you give the new administration time to act?" The only answer that I can give to this inquiry is that the new administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one before it acts. We will be sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Mr. Boutwell will bring the millennium to Birmingham. While Mr. Boutwell is much more articulate and gentle than Mr. Connor, they are both segregationists dedicated to the task of maintaining the status quo. The hope I see in Mr. Boutwell is that he will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive resistance to desegregation. But he will not see this without pressure from the devotees of civil rights. My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups are more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This "wait" has almost always meant "never." It has been a tranquilizing thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment, only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." We have waited for more than three hundred and forty years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter.

I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say wait. But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize, and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an air-tight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son asking in agonizing pathos: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross-country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white men and "colored"; when your first name becomes "nigger" and your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tip-toe stance never quite knowing what to expect next, and

plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness" -- then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice where they experience the bleakness of corroding despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us consciously breaking laws. One may well ask: "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws: There are just laws and there are unjust laws. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that "An unjust law is no law at all."

Now what is the difference between the two? How does one determine when a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of Saint Thomas Aquinas, an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. To use the words of Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, segregation substitutes an "I-it" relationship for an "I-thou" relationship, and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. So segregation is not only politically, economically, and sociologically unsound, but it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Isn't segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, an expression of his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness? So I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court because it is morally right, and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances because they are morally wrong.

Let us turn to a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a majority inflicts on a minority that is not binding on itself. This is difference made legal. On the other hand a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow that it is willing to follow itself. This is sameness made legal.

Let me give another explanation. An unjust law is a code inflicted upon a minority which that minority had no part in enacting or creating because they did not have the unhampered right to vote. Who can say that the legislature of Alabama which set up the segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout the state of Alabama all types of conniving methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters and there are some counties without a single Negro registered to vote despite the fact that the Negro constitutes a majority of the population. Can any law set up in such a state be considered democratically structured?

These are just a few examples of unjust and just laws. There are some instances when a law is just on its face but unjust in its application. For instance, I was arrested Friday on a charge of parading without a permit. Now there is nothing wrong with an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade,

but when the ordinance is used to preserve segregation and to deny citizens the First Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and peaceful protest, then it becomes unjust.

I hope you can see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law as the rabid segregationist would do. This would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do it openly, lovingly (not hatefully as the white mothers did in New Orleans when they were seen on television screaming "nigger, nigger, nigger") and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law.

Of course there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. It was seen sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar because a higher moral law was involved. It was practiced superbly by the early Christians who were willing to face hungry lions and the excruciating pain of chopping blocks, before submitting to certain unjust laws of the Roman Empire. To a degree academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience.

We can never forget that everything Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." It was "illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. But I am sure that, if I had lived in Germany during that time, I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers even though it was illegal. If I lived in a communist country today where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I believe I would openly advocate disobeying these anti-religious laws.

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the last few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negroes' great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's "Council" or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternalistically feels that he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by the myth of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice, and that when they fail to do this they become dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress. I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that the present tension in the South is merely a necessary phase of the transition from an obnoxious negative peace, where the Negro passively accepted his unjust plight, to a substance-filled positive peace, where all men will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured as long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its pus-flowing ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light, injustice must likewise be exposed, with all of the

tension its exposing creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured.

In your statement you asserted that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. But can this assertion be logically made? Isn't this like condemning the robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical delvings precipitated the misguided popular mind to make him drink the hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because His unique God consciousness and never-ceasing devotion to His will precipitated the evil act of crucifixion? We must come to see, as federal courts have consistently affirmed, that it is immoral to urge an individual to withdraw his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest precipitates violence. Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber.

I had also hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth of time. I received a letter this morning from a white brother in Texas which said: "All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but is it possible that you are in too great of a religious hurry? It has taken Christianity almost 2,000 years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth." All that is said here grows out of a tragic misconception of time. It is the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time that will inevitably cure all ills. Actually time is neutral. It can be used either destructively or constructively. I am coming to feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people. We must come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and persistent work of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation.

We must use time creatively, and forever realize that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy, and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.

You spoke of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of the extremist. I started thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency made up of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, have been so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation, and of a few Negroes in the middle class who, because of a degree of academic and economic security, and because at points they profit by segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred and comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up over the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. This movement is nourished by the contemporary frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination. It is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incurable "devil." I have tried to stand between these two forces saying that we need not follow the "do-nothingism" of the complacent or the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. There is the more

excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I'm grateful to God that, through the Negro church, the dimension of nonviolence entered our struggle. If this philosophy had not emerged I am convinced that by now many streets of the South would be flowing with floods of blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss us as "rabble rousers" and "outside agitators" -- those of us who are working through the channels of nonviolent direct action -- and refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes, out of frustration and despair, will seek solace and security in black-nationalist ideologies, a development that will lead inevitably to a frightening racial nightmare.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The urge for freedom will eventually come. This is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom; something without has reminded him that he can gain it. Consciously and unconsciously, he has been swept in by what the Germans call the *Zeitgeist*, and with his black brothers of Africa, and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America, and the Caribbean, he is moving with a sense of cosmic urgency toward the promised land of racial justice. Recognizing this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand public demonstrations. The Negro has many pent-up resentments and latent frustrations. He has to get them out. So let him march sometime; let him have his prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; understand why he must have sit-ins and freedom rides. If his repressed emotions do not come out in these nonviolent ways, they will come out in ominous expressions of violence. This is not a threat; it is a fact of history. So I have not said to my people, "Get rid of your discontent." But I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled through the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. Now this approach is being dismissed as extremist. I must admit that I was initially disappointed in being so categorized.

But as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a bit of satisfaction from being considered an extremist. Was not Jesus an extremist in love? "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice -- "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the gospel of Jesus Christ -- "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist -- "Here I stand; I can do none other so help me God." Was not John Bunyan an extremist -- "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience." Was not Abraham Lincoln an extremist -- "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." Was not Thomas Jefferson an extremist -- "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." So the question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice -- or will we be extremists for the cause of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill three men were crucified. We must never forget that all three were crucified for the same crime -- the crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thus fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth, and goodness, and thereby rose above His environment. So, after all, maybe the South, the nation, and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

I had hoped that the white moderate would see this. Maybe I was too optimistic. Maybe I expected too much. I guess I should have realized that few members of a race that has oppressed another race can understand or appreciate the deep groans and passionate yearnings of those that have been oppressed, and still fewer have the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent, and determined action. I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers have

grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it. They are still all too small in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some like Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, Harry Golden, and James Dabbs have written about our struggle in eloquent, prophetic, and understanding terms. Others have marched with us down nameless streets of the South. They have languished in filthy, roach-infested jails, suffering the abuse and brutality of angry policemen who see them as "dirty nigger lovers." They, unlike so many of their moderate brothers and sisters, have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful "action" antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.

Let me rush on to mention my other disappointment. I have been so greatly disappointed with the white Church and its leadership. Of course there are some notable exceptions. I am not unmindful of the fact that each of you has taken some significant stands on this issue. I commend you, Rev. Stallings, for your Christian stand on this past Sunday, in welcoming Negroes to your worship service on a non-segregated basis. I commend the Catholic leaders of this state for integrating Spring Hill College several years ago.

But despite these notable exceptions I must honestly reiterate that I have been disappointed with the Church. I do not say that as one of those negative critics who can always find something wrong with the Church. I say it as a minister of the gospel, who loves the Church; who was nurtured in its bosom; who has been sustained by its spiritual blessings and who will remain true to it as long as the cord of life shall lengthen.

I had the strange feeling when I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery several years ago that we would have the support of the white Church. I felt that the white ministers, priests, and rabbis of the South would be some of our strongest allies. Instead, some have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of the stained glass windows.

In spite of my shattered dreams of the past, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause and with deep moral concern, serve as the channel through which our just grievances could get to the power structure. I had hoped that each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed.

I have heard numerous religious leaders of the South call upon their worshippers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers say follow this decree because integration is morally right and the Negro is your brother. In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churches stand on the sideline and merely mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard so many ministers say, "Those are social issues with which the gospel has no real concern," and I have watched so many churches commit themselves to a completely other-worldly religion which made a strange distinction between body and soul, the sacred and the secular.

So here we are moving toward the exit of the twentieth century with a religious community largely adjusted to the status quo, standing as a tail-light behind other community agencies rather than a headlight leading men to higher levels of justice.

I have travelled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi and all the other southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at her beautiful churches with their spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlay of her massive religious education buildings. Over and over again I have found myself asking: "Who worships here? Who is their God? Where were their voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with words of interposition and nullification? Where were they when Governor Wallace gave the clarion call for defiance and hatred? Where were their voices of support when tired, bruised, and weary Negro men and women decided to rise from the dark dungeons of complacency to the bright hills of creative protest?"

Yes, these questions are still in my mind. In deep disappointment, I have wept over the laxity of the church. But be assured that my tears have been tears of love. There can be no deep disappointment where there is not deep love. Yes, I love the Church; I love her sacred walls. How could I do otherwise? I am in the rather unique position of being the son, the grandson, and the great-grandson of preachers. Yes, I see the Church as the body of Christ. But, oh! How we have blemished and scarred that body through social neglect and fear of being nonconformist.

There was a time when the Church was very powerful. It was during that period when the early Christians rejoiced when they were deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the Church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was a thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Wherever the early Christians entered a town the power structure got disturbed and immediately sought to convict them for being "disturbers of the peace" and "outside agitators." But they went on with the conviction that they were "a colony of heaven" and had to obey God rather than man. They were small in number but big in commitment. They were too God-intoxicated to be "astronomically intimidated." They brought an end to such ancient evils as infanticide and gladiatorial contest.

Things are different now. The contemporary Church is so often a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. It is so often the arch-supporter of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the Church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the Church's silent and often vocal sanction of things as they are.

But the judgment of God is upon the Church as never before. If the Church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early Church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. I am meeting young people every day whose disappointment with the Church has risen to outright disgust.

Maybe again I have been too optimistic. Is organized religion too inextricably bound to the status quo to save our nation and the world? Maybe I must turn my faith to the inner spiritual Church, the church within the Church, as the true ecclesia and the hope of the world. But again I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the ranks of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom. They have left their secure congregations and walked the streets of Albany, Georgia, with us. They have gone through the highways of the South on torturous rides for freedom. Yes, they have gone to jail with us. Some have been kicked out of their churches and lost the support of their bishops and fellow ministers. But they have gone with the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. These men have been the leaven in the lump of the race. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the

true meaning of the Gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment.

I hope the Church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the Church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are presently misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with the destiny of America. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson etched across the pages of history the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence, we were here. For more than two centuries our foreparents labored in this country without wages; they made cotton "king"; and they built the homes of their masters in the midst of brutal injustice and shameful humiliation -- and yet out of a bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

I must close now. But before closing I am impelled to mention one other point in your statement that troubled me profoundly. You warmly commend the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I don't believe you would have so warmly commended the police force if you had seen its angry violent dogs literally biting six unarmed, nonviolent Negroes. I don't believe you would so quickly commend the policemen if you would observe their ugly and inhuman treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you would watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you would see them slap and kick old Negro men and young Negro boys; if you will observe them, as they did on two occasions, refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I'm sorry that I can't join you in your praise for the police department.

It is true that they have been rather disciplined in their public handling of the demonstrators. In this sense they have been rather publicly "nonviolent." But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the last few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. So I have tried to make it clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But now I must affirm that it is just as wrong or even more so to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Maybe Mr. Connor and his policemen have been rather publicly nonviolent, as Chief Pritchett was in Albany, Georgia, but they have used the moral means of nonviolence to maintain the immoral end of flagrant injustice. T. S. Eliot has said that there is no greater treason than to do the right deed for the wrong reason.

I wish you had commended the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer, and their amazing discipline in the midst of the most inhuman provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, courageously and with a majestic sense of purpose, facing jeering and hostile mobs and the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two year old woman of Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride the segregated buses, and responded to one who inquired about her tiredness with ungrammatical profundity: "My feets is tired, but my soul is rested." They will be the young high school and college students, young ministers of the gospel and a host of their elders courageously and nonviolently sitting-in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat

down at lunch counters they were in reality standing up for the best in the American dream and the most sacred values in our Judaeo-Christian heritage, and thus carrying our whole nation back to great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in the formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Never before have I written a letter this long (or should I say a book?). I'm afraid it is much too long to take your precious time. I can assure you that it would have been much shorter if I had been writing from a comfortable desk, but what else is there to do when you are alone for days in the dull monotony of a narrow jail cell other than write long letters, think strange thoughts, and pray long prayers?

If I have said anything in this letter that is an overstatement of the truth and is indicative of an unreasonable impatience, I beg you to forgive me. If I have said anything in this letter that is an understatement of the truth and is indicative of my having a patience that makes me patient with anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me.

I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as an integrationist or a civil rights leader, but as a fellow clergyman and a Christian brother. Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away and the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear-drenched communities and in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all their scintillating beauty.

Yours for the cause of
Peace and Brotherhood,

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness, but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety, and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions,

agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments, which their own rival ships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations, Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is

a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common counsels and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit, which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked: Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering

also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it, avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertion in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another a habitual hatred or a habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation), facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding, with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a

commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils? Such an attachment of a small or weak towards a great and powerful nation dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop. Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none; or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people under an efficient government. the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing (with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them) conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the twenty-second of April, 1793, is the index of my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

Washington's Farewell Speech

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever-favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

United States
19th September, 1796

Geo. Washington

Transcription courtesy of the [Avalon Project](#) at Yale Law School.

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Friends & Fellow Citizens

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the Executive Government of the United States, being now near at hand, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in deliberating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust ~~for a term~~, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appearing to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country — and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which your own situation might imply, I am influenced by no disposition of disavowal for your future interests; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but ^{as necessarily} ~~as necessarily~~ ^{by} a full conviction

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 myself for four generations. -
 Relying on its kindness in this
 as in other things, and actuated by that
 fervent love towards it, which is so nat-
 ural to a Man, who views in it the native
 soil of himself and his progenitors for
 four generations, - I anticipate with plea-
 sure expectation that retreat, in which I
 promise myself to indulge, at Mount Vernon,
 the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the
 midst of my Fellow Citizens, the benign
 influence of good Laws under a free go-
 vernment - the ever laudable object of
 my heart, and the happy reward, I trust,
 of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

Declaration of the Independence
 of the United States of America
 1776

United States }
 19th September 1796 } George Washington

Franklin D. Roosevelt

State of the Union Message to Congress *January 11, 1944*

To the Congress:

This Nation in the past two years has become an active partner in the world's greatest war against human slavery.

We have joined with like-minded people in order to defend ourselves in a world that has been gravely threatened with gangster rule.

But I do not think that any of us Americans can be content with mere survival. Sacrifices that we and our allies are making impose upon us all a sacred obligation to see to it that out of this war we and our children will gain something better than mere survival.

We are united in determination that this war shall not be followed by another interim which leads to new disaster- that we shall not repeat the tragic errors of ostrich isolationism—that we shall not repeat the excesses of the wild twenties when this Nation went for a joy ride on a roller coaster which ended in a tragic crash.

When Mr. Hull went to Moscow in October, and when I went to Cairo and Teheran in November, we knew that we were in agreement with our allies in our common determination to fight and win this war. But there were many vital questions concerning the future peace, and they were discussed in an atmosphere of complete candor and harmony.

In the last war such discussions, such meetings, did not even begin until the shooting had stopped and the delegates began to assemble at the peace table. There had been no previous opportunities for man-to-man discussions which lead to meetings of minds. The result was a peace which was not a peace. That was a mistake which we are not repeating in this war.

And right here I want to address a word or two to some suspicious souls who are fearful that Mr. Hull or I have made "commitments" for the future which might pledge this Nation to secret treaties, or to enacting the role of Santa Claus.

To such suspicious souls—using a polite terminology—I wish to say that Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek are all thoroughly conversant with the provisions of our Constitution. And so is Mr. Hull. And so am I.

Of course we made some commitments. We most certainly committed ourselves to very large and very specific military plans which require the use of all Allied forces to bring about the defeat of our enemies at the earliest possible time.

But there were no secret treaties or political or financial commitments.

The one supreme objective for the future, which we discussed for each Nation individually, and for all the United Nations, can be summed up in one word: Security.

And that means not only physical security which provides safety from attacks by aggressors. It means also economic security, social security, moral security—in a family of Nations.

In the plain down-to-earth talks that I had with the Generalissimo and Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill, it was abundantly clear that they are all most deeply interested in the resumption of peaceful progress by their own peoples—progress toward a better life. All our allies want freedom

to develop their lands and resources, to build up industry, to increase education and individual opportunity, and to raise standards of living.

All our allies have learned by bitter experience that real development will not be possible if they are to be diverted from their purpose by repeated wars—or even threats of war.

China and Russia are truly united with Britain and America in recognition of this essential fact: The best interests of each Nation, large and small, demand that all freedom-loving Nations shall join together in a just and durable system of peace. In the present world situation, evidenced by the actions of Germany, Italy, and Japan, unquestioned military control over disturbers of the peace is as necessary among Nations as it is among citizens in a community. And an equally basic essential to peace is a decent standard of living for all individual men and women and children in all Nations. Freedom from fear is eternally linked with freedom from want.

There are people who burrow through our Nation like unseeing moles, and attempt to spread the suspicion that if other Nations are encouraged to raise their standards of living, our own American standard of living must of necessity be depressed.

The fact is the very contrary. It has been shown time and again that if the standard of living of any country goes up, so does its purchasing power- and that such a rise encourages a better standard of living in neighboring countries with whom it trades. That is just plain common sense—and it is the kind of plain common sense that provided the basis for our discussions at Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran.

Returning from my journeyings, I must confess to a sense of "let-down" when I found many evidences of faulty perspective here in Washington. The faulty perspective consists in overemphasizing lesser problems and thereby underemphasizing the first and greatest problem.

The overwhelming majority of our people have met the demands of this war with magnificent courage and understanding. They have accepted inconveniences; they have accepted hardships; they have accepted tragic sacrifices. And they are ready and eager to make whatever further contributions are needed to win the war as quickly as possible- if only they are given the chance to know what is required of them.

However, while the majority goes on about its great work without complaint, a noisy minority maintains an uproar of demands for special favors for special groups. There are pests who swarm through the lobbies of the Congress and the cocktail bars of Washington, representing these special groups as opposed to the basic interests of the Nation as a whole. They have come to look upon the war primarily as a chance to make profits for themselves at the expense of their neighbors- profits in money or in terms of political or social preferment.

Such selfish agitation can be highly dangerous in wartime. It creates confusion. It damages morale. It hampers our national effort. It muddies the waters and therefore prolongs the war.

If we analyze American history impartially, we cannot escape the fact that in our past we have not always forgotten individual and selfish and partisan interests in time of war—we have not always been united in purpose and direction. We cannot overlook the serious dissensions and the lack of unity in our war of the Revolution, in our War of 1812, or in our War Between the States, when the survival of the Union itself was at stake.

In the first World War we came closer to national unity than in any previous war. But that war lasted only a year and a half, and increasing signs of disunity began to appear during the final months of the conflict.

In this war, we have been compelled to learn how interdependent upon each other are all groups and sections of the population of America.

Increased food costs, for example, will bring new demands for wage increases from all war workers, which will in turn raise all prices of all things including those things which the farmers themselves have to buy. Increased wages or prices will each in turn produce the same results. They all have a particularly disastrous result on all fixed income groups.

And I hope you will remember that all of us in this Government represent the fixed income group just as much as we represent business owners, workers, and farmers. This group of fixed income people includes: teachers, clergy, policemen, firemen, widows and minors on fixed incomes, wives and dependents of our soldiers and sailors, and old-age pensioners. They and their families add up to one-quarter of our one hundred and thirty million people. They have few or no high pressure representatives at the Capitol. In a period of gross inflation they would be the worst sufferers.

If ever there was a time to subordinate individual or group selfishness to the national good, that time is now. Disunity at home—bickerings, self-seeking partisanship, stoppages of work, inflation, business as usual, politics as usual, luxury as usual these are the influences which can undermine the morale of the brave men ready to die at the front for us here.

Those who are doing most of the complaining are not deliberately striving to sabotage the national war effort. They are laboring under the delusion that the time is past when we must make prodigious sacrifices— that the war is already won and we can begin to slacken off. But the dangerous folly of that point of view can be measured by the distance that separates our troops from their ultimate objectives in Berlin and Tokyo—and by the sum of all the perils that lie along the way.

Overconfidence and complacency are among our deadliest enemies. Last spring—after notable victories at Stalingrad and in Tunisia and against the U-boats on the high seas—overconfidence became so pronounced that war production fell off. In two months, June and July, 1943, more than a thousand airplanes that could have been made and should have been made were not made. Those who failed to make them were not on strike. They were merely saying, "The war's in the bag— so let's relax."

That attitude on the part of anyone—Government or management or labor—can lengthen this war. It can kill American boys.

Let us remember the lessons of 1918. In the summer of that year the tide turned in favor of the allies. But this Government did not relax. In fact, our national effort was stepped up. In August, 1918, the draft age limits were broadened from 21-31 to 18-45. The President called for "force to the utmost," and his call was heeded. And in November, only three months later, Germany surrendered.

That is the way to fight and win a war—all out—and not with half-an-eye on the battlefronts abroad and the other eye-and-a-half on personal, selfish, or political interests here at home.

Therefore, in order to concentrate all our energies and resources on winning the war, and to maintain a fair and stable economy at home, I recommend that the Congress adopt:

(1) A realistic tax law—which will tax all unreasonable profits, both individual and corporate, and reduce the ultimate cost of the war to our sons and daughters. The tax bill now under consideration by the Congress does not begin to meet this test.

(2) A continuation of the law for the renegotiation of war contracts—which will prevent exorbitant profits and assure fair prices to the Government. For two long years I have pleaded with the Congress to take undue profits out of war.

(3) A cost of food law—which will enable the Government (a) to place a reasonable floor under the prices the farmer may expect for his production; and (b) to place a ceiling on the prices a consumer will have to pay for the food he buys. This should apply to necessities only; and will require public funds to carry out. It will cost in appropriations about one percent of the present annual cost of the war.

(4) Early reenactment of the stabilization statute of October, 1942. This expires June 30, 1944, and if it is not extended well in advance, the country might just as well expect price chaos by summer.

We cannot have stabilization by wishful thinking. We must take positive action to maintain the integrity of the American dollar.

(5) A national service law- which, for the duration of the war, will prevent strikes, and, with certain appropriate exceptions, will make available for war production or for any other essential services every able-bodied adult in this Nation.

These five measures together form a just and equitable whole. I would not recommend a national service law unless the other laws were passed to keep down the cost of living, to share equitably the burdens of taxation, to hold the stabilization line, and to prevent undue profits.

The Federal Government already has the basic power to draft capital and property of all kinds for war purposes on a basis of just compensation.

As you know, I have for three years hesitated to recommend a national service act. Today, however, I am convinced of its necessity. Although I believe that we and our allies can win the war without such a measure, I am certain that nothing less than total mobilization of all our resources of manpower and capital will guarantee an earlier victory, and reduce the toll of suffering and sorrow and blood.

I have received a joint recommendation for this law from the heads of the War Department, the Navy Department, and the Maritime Commission. These are the men who bear responsibility for the procurement of the necessary arms and equipment, and for the successful prosecution of the war in the field. They say:

"When the very life of the Nation is in peril the responsibility for service is common to all men and women. In such a time there can be no discrimination between the men and women who are assigned by the Government to its defense at the battlefield and the men and women assigned to producing the vital materials essential to successful military operations. A prompt enactment of a National Service Law would be merely an expression of the universality of this responsibility."

I believe the country will agree that those statements are the solemn truth.

National service is the most democratic way to wage a war. Like selective service for the armed forces, it rests on the obligation of each citizen to serve his Nation to his utmost where he is best qualified. It does not mean reduction in wages. It does not mean loss of retirement and seniority rights and benefits. It does not mean that any substantial numbers of war workers will be disturbed in their present jobs. Let these facts be wholly clear.

Experience in other democratic Nations at war—Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand- has shown that the very existence of national service makes unnecessary the widespread use of compulsory power. National service has proven to be a unifying moral force based on an equal and comprehensive legal obligation of all people in a Nation at war.

There are millions of American men and women who are not in this war at all. It is not because they do not want to be in it. But they want to know where they can best do their share. National service

provides that direction. It will be a means by which every man and woman can find that inner satisfaction which comes from making the fullest possible contribution to victory.

I know that all civilian war workers will be glad to be able to say many years hence to their grandchildren: "Yes, I, too, was in service in the great war. I was on duty in an airplane factory, and I helped make hundreds of fighting planes. The Government told me that in doing that I was performing my most useful work in the service of my country."

It is argued that we have passed the stage in the war where national service is necessary. But our soldiers and sailors know that this is not true. We are going forward on a long, rough road- and, in all journeys, the last miles are the hardest. And it is for that final effort—for the total defeat of our enemies-that we must mobilize our total resources. The national war program calls for the employment of more people in 1944 than in 1943.

It is my conviction that the American people will welcome this win-the-war measure which is based on the eternally just principle of "fair for one, fair for all."

It will give our people at home the assurance that they are standing four-square behind our soldiers and sailors. And it will give our enemies demoralizing assurance that we mean business -that we, 130,000,000 Americans, are on the march to Rome, Berlin, and Tokyo.

I hope that the Congress will recognize that, although this is a political year, national service is an issue which transcends politics. Great power must be used for great purposes.

As to the machinery for this measure, the Congress itself should determine its nature—but it should be wholly nonpartisan in its make-up.

Our armed forces are valiantly fulfilling their responsibilities to our country and our people. Now the Congress faces the responsibility for taking those measures which are essential to national security in this the most decisive phase of the Nation's greatest war.

Several alleged reasons have prevented the enactment of legislation which would preserve for our soldiers and sailors and marines the fundamental prerogative of citizenship—the right to vote. No amount of legalistic argument can becloud this issue in the eyes of these ten million American citizens. Surely the signers of the Constitution did not intend a document which, even in wartime, would be construed to take away the franchise of any of those who are fighting to preserve the Constitution itself.

Our soldiers and sailors and marines know that the overwhelming majority of them will be deprived of the opportunity to vote, if the voting machinery is left exclusively to the States under existing State laws—and that there is no likelihood of these laws being changed in time to enable them to vote at the next election. The Army and Navy have reported that it will be impossible effectively to administer forty-eight different soldier voting laws. It is the duty of the Congress to remove this unjustifiable discrimination against the men and women in our armed forces- and to do it as quickly as possible.

It is our duty now to begin to lay the plans and determine the strategy for the winning of a lasting peace and the establishment of an American standard of living higher than ever before known. We cannot be content, no matter how high that general standard of living may be, if some fraction of our people—whether it be one-third or one-fifth or one-tenth- is ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill housed, and insecure.

This Republic had its beginning, and grew to its present strength, under the protection of certain inalienable political rights—among them the right of free speech, free press, free worship, trial by jury, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty.

As our Nation has grown in size and stature, however—as our industrial economy expanded—these political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness.

We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. "Necessitous men are not free men." People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all regardless of station, race, or creed.

Among these are:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the Nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been carried into practice for our citizens. For unless there is security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world.

One of the great American industrialists of our day—a man who has rendered yeoman service to his country in this crisis—recently emphasized the grave dangers of "rightist reaction" in this Nation. All clear-thinking businessmen share his concern. Indeed, if such reaction should develop—if history were to repeat itself and we were to return to the so-called "normalcy" of the 1920's—then it is certain that even though we shall have conquered our enemies on the battlefields abroad, we shall have yielded to the spirit of Fascism here at home.

I ask the Congress to explore the means for implementing this economic bill of rights— for it is definitely the responsibility of the Congress so to do. Many of these problems are already before committees of the Congress in the form of proposed legislation. I shall from time to time communicate with the Congress with respect to these and further proposals. In the event that no adequate program of progress is evolved, I am certain that the Nation will be conscious of the fact.

Our fighting men abroad— and their families at home— expect such a program and have the right to insist upon it. It is to their demands that this Government should pay heed rather than to the whining demands of selfish pressure groups who seek to feather their nests while young Americans are dying.

The foreign policy that we have been following—the policy that guided us at Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran—is based on the common sense principle which was best expressed by Benjamin Franklin on July 4, 1776: "We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

I have often said that there are no two fronts for America in this war. There is only one front. There is one line of unity which extends from the hearts of the people at home to the men of our attacking forces in our farthest outposts. When we speak of our total effort, we speak of the factory and the field, and the mine as well as of the battleground -- we speak of the soldier and the civilian, the citizen and his Government.

Each and every one of us has a solemn obligation under God to serve this Nation in its most critical hour—to keep this Nation great -- to make this Nation greater in a better world.

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We have come to a clear realization of the fact, however, that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. 'Necessitous men are not free men'. People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

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The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the nation:

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

9.25

-20-

The right of every business man, large and small,
to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair
competition and domination by monopolies at home or
abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the
opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the
economic fears of old age, sickness, accident
and unemployment;

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of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in
large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been
carried into practice for our citizens. For unless there is
security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the
world.

Source: [Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum](#)

Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776

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

We hold these truths to be self-evident:

That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776

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

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

[Signed by] JOHN HANCOCK [President]

New Hampshire
JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WM. WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

Massachusetts Bay
SAML. ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBT. TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY

Rhode Island
STEP. HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut
ROGER SHERMAN,
SAM'EL HUNTINGTON,
WM. WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York
WM. FLOYD,
PHIL. LIVINGSTON,
FRANS. LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey
RICHD. STOCKTON,
JNO. WITHERSPOON,
FRAS. HOPKINSON,

JOHN HART,
ABRA. CLARK.

Pennsylvania
ROBT. MORRIS
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJA. FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEO. CLYMER,
JAS. SMITH,
GEO. TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEO. ROSS.

Delaware
CAESAR RODNEY,
GEO. READ,
THO. M'KEAN.

Maryland
SAMUEL CHASE,
WM. PACA,
THOS. STONE,
CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton.

Virginia
GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
TH. JEFFERSON,
BENJA. HARRISON,
THS. NELSON, JR.,

Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776

FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.

North Carolina
WM. HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.

South Carolina

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOS. HAYWARD, JUNR.,
THOMAS LYNCH, JUNR.,
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia
BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEO. WALTON.

NOTE.-Mr. Ferdinand Jefferson, Keeper of the Rolls in the Department of State, at Washington, says: "The names of the signers are spelt above as in the facsimile of the original, but the punctuation of them is not always the same; neither do the names of the States appear in the facsimile of the original. The names of the signers of each State are grouped together in the facsimile of the original, except the name of Matthew Thornton, which follows that of Oliver Wolcott."- Revised Statutes of the United States, 2d edition, 1878, p. 6.

Source: The [Avalon Project](#) at Yale Law School

Primary Source:

Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States.

Government Printing Office, 1927.

House Document No. 398.

Selected, Arranged and Indexed by Charles C. Tansill

Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal."

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it, as a final resting place for those who died here, that the nation might live. This we may, in all propriety do. But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow, this ground—The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have hallowed it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here; while it can never forget what they did here.

It is rather for us, the living, we here be dedicated to the great task remaining before us —that, from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here, gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people by the people for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

(Please note that the Nicolay and Hay versions of the Gettysburg Address differ somewhat from the generally printed Bliss version. [View the transcription of the standard text inscribed on the wall of the Lincoln Memorial.](#))

Source: [Library of Congress; myLOC](#)

"I Have A Dream"

by Martin Luther King, Jr,

Delivered on the steps at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C. on August 28, 1963.

Source: Martin Luther King, Jr: The Peaceful Warrior, Pocket Books, NY 1968

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the lames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity. But one hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact mat the Negro is still not free.

One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languishing in the coiners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land.

So we have come here today to dramatize an appalling condition. In a sense we have come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir.

This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check which has come back marked "insufficient funds." But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation.

So we have come to cash this check ~ a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice. We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling of or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to open the doors of opportunity to all of God's children. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment and to underestimate the

determination of the Negro. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow of steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights.

The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges. But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred.

We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline, we must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny and their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.

We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" we can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

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

Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair. I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal." I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at a table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state, sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day the state of Alabama, whose governor's lips are presently dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls and walk together as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today. I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together. This is our hope. This is the faith with which I return to the South. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with a new meaning, "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring." And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania! Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado! Let freedom ring from the curvaceous peaks of California! But not only that; let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia! Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee! Let freedom ring from every hill and every molehill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! Free at last! thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"

WARREN, C.J., Opinion of the Court

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

347 U.S. 483

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka

APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF KANSAS

No. 1. Argued: Argued December 9, 1952Reargued December 8, 1953 --- Decided: Decided May 17, 1954

[p*486] MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN delivered the opinion of the Court.

These cases come to us from the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion.^[n1][p487]

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a nonsegregated basis. In each instance, [p488]they had been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the [Fourteenth Amendment](#). In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, [163 U.S. 537](#). Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to that doctrine, but ordered that the plaintiffs be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools.

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction.^[n2] Argument was heard in the 1952 Term, and reargument was heard this Term on certain questions propounded by the Court.^[n3][p489]

Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the [Fourteenth Amendment](#) in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the Amendment in Congress, ratification by the states, then-existing practices in racial segregation, and the views

of proponents and opponents of the Amendment. This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post-War Amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the Amendment's history with respect to segregated schools is the status of public education at that time.^[n4] In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported[p490] by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost nonexistent, and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences, as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public school education at the time of the Amendment had advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states, and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the [Fourteenth Amendment](#) relating to its intended effect on public education.

In the first cases in this Court construing the [Fourteenth Amendment](#), decided shortly after its adoption, the Court interpreted it as proscribing all state-imposed discriminations against the Negro race.^[n5] The doctrine of[p491]"separate but equal" did not make its appearance in this Court until 1896 in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, *supra*, involving not education but transportation.^[n6] American courts have since labored with the doctrine for over half a century. In this Court, there have been six cases involving the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education.^[n7] In *Cumming v. County Board of Education*, [175 U.S. 528](#), and *Gong Lum v. Rice*, [275 U.S. 78](#), the validity of the doctrine itself was not challenged.^[n8] In more recent cases, all on the graduate school[p492] level, inequality was found in that specific benefits enjoyed by white students were denied to Negro students of the same educational qualifications. *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, [305 U.S. 337](#); *Sipuel v. Oklahoma*, [332 U.S. 631](#); *Sweatt v. Painter*, [339 U.S. 629](#); *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, [339 U.S. 637](#). In none of these cases was it necessary to reexamine the doctrine to grant relief to the Negro plaintiff. And in *Sweatt v. Painter*, *supra*, the Court expressly reserved decision on the question whether *Plessy v. Ferguson* should be held inapplicable to public education.

In the instant cases, that question is directly presented. Here, unlike *Sweatt v. Painter*, there are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other "tangible" factors.^[n9] Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these

tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868, when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896, when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout [p493] the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

In *Sweatt v. Painter*, *supra*, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, *supra*, the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations: ". . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession." [p*494] Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs: Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system. ^[n10] Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at

the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority.^[n11] Any language^[p495] in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that, in the field of public education, the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the [Fourteenth Amendment](#). This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the [Fourteenth Amendment](#).^[n12]

Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question -- the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. In order that we may have the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be restored to the docket, and the parties are requested to present further argument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court for the reargument this Term.^[n13] The Attorney General^[p496] of the United States is again invited to participate. The Attorneys General of the states requiring or permitting segregation in public education will also be permitted to appear as *amici curiae* upon request to do so by September 15, 1954, and submission of briefs by October 1, 1954.^[n14]

It is so ordered.

² Together with No. 2, *Briggs et al. v. Elliott et al.*, on appeal from the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina, argued December 9-10, 1952, reargued December 7-8, 1953; No. 4, *Davis et al. v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, et al.*, on appeal from the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, argued December 10, 1952, reargued December 7-8, 1953, and No. 10, *Gebhart et al. v. Belton et al.*, on certiorari to the Supreme Court of Delaware, argued December 11, 1952, reargued December 9, 1953.

¹ In the Kansas case, *Brown v. Board of Education*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of elementary school age residing in Topeka. They brought this action in the United States District Court for the District of Kansas to enjoin enforcement of a Kansas statute which permits, but does not require, cities of more than 15,000 population to maintain separate school facilities for Negro and white students. Kan.Gen.Stat. § 72-1724 (1949). Pursuant to that authority, the Topeka Board of Education elected to establish segregated elementary schools. Other public schools in the community, however, are operated on a nonsegregated basis. The three-judge District Court, convened under 28 U.S.C. §§ 2281 and 2284, found that segregation in public education has a detrimental effect upon Negro children, but denied relief on the ground that the Negro and white schools were substantially equal with respect to buildings, transportation, curricula, and educational qualifications of teachers. 98 F.Supp. 797. The case is here on direct appeal under 28 U.S.C. § 1253.

In the South Carolina case, *Briggs v. Elliott*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of both elementary and high school age residing in Clarendon County. They brought this action in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina to enjoin enforcement of provisions in the state constitution and statutory code which require the segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. S.C.Const., Art. XI, § 7; S.C.Code § 5377 (1942). The three-judge District Court, convened under [28 U.S.C. §§ 2281](#) and 2284, denied the requested relief. The court found that the Negro schools were inferior to the white schools, and ordered the defendants to begin immediately to equalize the facilities. But the court sustained the validity of the contested provisions and denied the plaintiffs admission to the white schools during the equalization program. 98 F.Supp. 529. This Court vacated the District Court's judgment and remanded the case for the purpose of obtaining the court's views on a report filed by the defendants concerning the progress made in the equalization program. [342 U.S. 350](#). On remand, the District Court found that substantial equality had been achieved except for buildings and that the defendants were proceeding to rectify this inequality as well. 103 F.Supp. 920. The case is again here on direct appeal under [28 U.S.C. § 1253](#).

In the Virginia case, *Davis v. County School Board*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of high school age residing in Prince Edward County. They brought this action in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia to enjoin enforcement of provisions in the state constitution and statutory code which require the segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. Va.Const., § 140; Va.Code § 22-221 (1950). The three-judge District Court, convened under [28 U.S.C. §§ 2281](#) and 2284, denied the requested relief. The court found the Negro school inferior in physical plant, curricula, and transportation, and ordered the defendants forthwith to provide substantially equal curricula and transportation and to "proceed with all reasonable diligence and dispatch to remove" the inequality in physical plant. But, as in the South Carolina case, the court sustained the validity of the contested provisions and denied the plaintiffs admission to the white schools during the equalization program. 103 F.Supp. 337. The case is here on direct appeal under [28 U.S.C. § 1253](#).

In the Delaware case, *Gebhart v. Belton*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of both elementary and high school age residing in New Castle County. They brought this action in the Delaware Court of Chancery to enjoin enforcement of provisions in the state constitution and statutory code which require the segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. Del.Const., Art. X, § 2; Del.Rev.Code § 2631 (1935). The Chancellor gave judgment for the plaintiffs and ordered their immediate admission to schools previously attended only by white children, on the ground that the Negro schools were inferior with respect to teacher training, pupil-teacher ratio, extracurricular activities, physical plant, and time and distance involved in travel. 87 A.2d 862. The Chancellor also found that segregation itself results in an inferior education for Negro children (*seenote 10, infra*), but did not rest his decision on that ground. *Id.* at 865. The Chancellor's decree was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Delaware, which intimated, however, that the defendants might be able to obtain a modification of the decree after equalization of the Negro and white schools had been accomplished. 91 A.2d 137, 152. The defendants, contending only that the Delaware courts had erred in ordering the immediate admission of the Negro plaintiffs to the white schools, applied to this Court for certiorari. The writ was

granted, [344 U.S. 891](#). The plaintiffs, who were successful below, did not submit a cross-petition.

² 344 U.S. 1, 141, 891.

³ 345 U.S. 972. The Attorney General of the United States participated both Terms as amicus curiae.

⁴ For a general study of the development of public education prior to the Amendment, see Butts and Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (1953), Pts. I, II; Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (1934 ed.), cc. II-XII. School practices current at the time of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment are described in Butts and Cremin, *supra*, at 269-275; Cubberley, *supra*, at 288-339, 408-431; Knight, *Public Education in the South* (1922), cc. VIII, IX. See also H. Ex.Doc. No. 315, 41st Cong., 2d Sess. (1871). Although the demand for free public schools followed substantially the same pattern in both the North and the South, the development in the South did not begin to gain momentum until about 1850, some twenty years after that in the North. The reasons for the somewhat slower development in the South (e.g., the rural character of the South and the different regional attitudes toward state assistance) are well explained in Cubberley, *supra*, at 408-423. In the country as a whole, but particularly in the South, the War virtually stopped all progress in public education. *Id.* at 427-428. The low status of Negro education in all sections of the country, both before and immediately after the War, is described in Beale, *A History of Freedom of Teaching in American Schools* (1941), 112-132, 175-195. Compulsory school attendance laws were not generally adopted until after the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, and it was not until 1918 that such laws were in force in all the states. Cubberley, *supra*, at 563-565.

⁵ *Slaughter-House Cases*, 16 Wall. 36, 67-72 (1873); *Strauder v. West Virginia*, 100 U.S. 303, 307-308 (1880): It ordains that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. What is this but declaring that the law in the States shall be the same for the black as for the white; that all persons, whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the States, and, in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color? The words of the amendment, it is true, are prohibitory, but they contain a necessary implication of a positive immunity, or right, most valuable to the colored race -- the right to exemption from unfriendly legislation against them distinctively as colored -- exemption from legal discriminations, implying inferiority in civil society, lessening the security of their enjoyment of the rights which others enjoy, and discriminations which are steps towards reducing them to the condition of a subject race. See also *Virginia v. Rives*, 100 U.S. 313, 318 (1880); *Ex parte Virginia*, 100 U.S. 339, 344-345 (1880).

⁶ The doctrine apparently originated in *Roberts v. City of Boston*, 59 Mass.198, 206 (1850), upholding school segregation against attack as being violative of a state constitutional guarantee of equality. Segregation in Boston public schools was eliminated in 1855. Mass.Acts 1855, c. 256. But elsewhere in the North, segregation in public education has persisted in some communities

until recent years. It is apparent that such segregation has long been a nationwide problem, not merely one of sectional concern.

⁷ See also *Berea College v. Kentucky*, 211 U.S. 45 (1908).

⁸ In the *Cummin* case, Negro taxpayers sought an injunction requiring the defendant school board to discontinue the operation of a high school for white children until the board resumed operation of a high school for Negro children. Similarly, in the *Gong Lum* case, the plaintiff, a child of Chinese descent, contended only that state authorities had misapplied the doctrine by classifying him with Negro children and requiring him to attend a Negro school.

⁹ In the *Kansas* case, the court below found substantial equality as to all such factors. 98 F.Supp. 797, 798. In the *South Carolina* case, the court below found that the defendants were proceeding "promptly and in good faith to comply with the court's decree." 103 F.Supp. 920, 921. In the *Virginia* case, the court below noted that the equalization program was already "afoot and progressing" (103 F.Supp. 337, 341); since then, we have been advised, in the *Virginia* Attorney General's brief on reargument, that the program has now been completed. In the *Delaware* case, the court below similarly noted that the state's equalization program was well under way. 91 A.2d 137, 149.

¹⁰ A similar finding was made in the *Delaware* case: I conclude from the testimony that, in our Delaware society, State-imposed segregation in education itself results in the Negro children, as a class, receiving educational opportunities which are substantially inferior to those available to white children otherwise similarly situated. 87 A.2d 862, 865.

¹¹ K.B. Clark, *Effect of Prejudice and Discrimination on Personality Development* (Mid-century White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1950); Witmer and Kotinsky, *Personality in the Making* (1952), c. VI; Deutscher and Chein, *The Psychological Effects of Enforced Segregation A Survey of Social Science Opinion*, 26 *J.Psychol.* 259 (1948); Chein, *What are the Psychological Effects of Segregation Under Conditions of Equal Facilities?*, 3 *Int.J.Opinion and Attitude Res.* 229 (1949); Brameld, *Educational Costs, in Discrimination and National Welfare* (MacIver, ed., 1949), 44-48; Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (1949), 674-681. And see generally Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (1944).

¹² See *Bolling v. Sharpe*, post, p. 497, concerning the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment.

¹³ 4. Assuming it is decided that segregation in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment (a) would a decree necessarily follow providing that, within the limits set by normal geographic school districting, Negro children should forthwith be admitted to schools of their choice, or (b) may this Court, in the exercise of its equity powers, permit an effective gradual adjustment to be brought about from existing segregated systems to a system not based on color distinctions? 5. On the assumption on which questions 4(a) and (b) are based, and assuming further that this Court will exercise its equity powers to the end described in question 4(b), (a) should this Court formulate detailed decrees in these cases; (b) if so, what specific issues should the decrees reach; (c) should this Court appoint a special master to hear evidence with a view to

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recommending specific terms for such decrees;(d) should this Court remand to the courts of first instance with directions to frame decrees in these cases and, if so, what general directions should the decrees of this Court include and what procedures should the courts of first instance follow in arriving at the specific terms of more detailed decrees?

¹⁴. See Rule 42, Revised Rules of this Court (effective July 1, 1954).

Source: [Cornell University Law School](#)

APPENDIX C – 11th & 12th GRADE TEXT EXEMPLARS

Thomas Paine Common Sense

[1776]

Introduction

Perhaps the sentiments contained in the following pages, are not yet sufficiently fashionable to procure them general favor; a long habit of not thinking a thing wrong, gives it a superficial appearance of being right, and raises at first a formidable outcry in defence of custom. But tumult soon subsides. Time makes more converts than reason.

As a long and violent abuse of power is generally the means of calling the right of it in question, (and in matters too which might never have been thought of, had not the sufferers been aggravated into the inquiry,) and as the king of England hath undertaken in his own right, to support the parliament in what he calls theirs, and as the good people of this country are grievously oppressed by the combination, they have an undoubted privilege to inquire into the pretensions of both, and equally to reject the usurpations of either.

In the following sheets, the author hath studiously avoided every thing which is personal among ourselves. Compliments as well as censure to individuals make no part thereof. The wise and the worthy need not the triumph of a pamphlet; and those whose sentiments are injudicious or unfriendly, will cease of themselves, unless too much pains is bestowed upon their conversion.

The cause of America is, in a great measure, the cause of all mankind. Many circumstances have, and will arise, which are not local, but universal, and through which the principles of all lovers of mankind are affected, and in the event of which, their affections are interested. The laying a country desolate with fire and sword, declaring war against the natural rights of all mankind, and extirpating the defenders thereof from the face of the earth, is the concern of every man to whom nature hath given the power of feeling; of which class, regardless of party censure, is

The author.

Philadelphia, Feb. 14, 1776.

Of the Origin and Design of Government in General. With concise Remarks on the English Constitution

Some writers have so confounded society with government, as to leave little or no distinction between them; whereas they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness; the former promotes our happiness positively by uniting our affections, the latter negatively by restraining our vices. The one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions. The first is a patron, the last a punisher.

Society in every state is a blessing, but government even in its best state is but a necessary evil in its worst state an intolerable one; for when we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries by a government, which we might expect in a country without government, our calamities is heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer!

Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence; the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of paradise. For were the impulses of conscience clear, uniform, and irresistibly obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but that not being the case, he finds it necessary to surrender up a part of his property to furnish means for the protection of the rest; and this he is induced to do by the same prudence which in every other case advises him out of two evils to choose the least. Wherefore, security being the true design and end of government, it unanswerably follows that whatever form thereof appears most likely to ensure it to us, with the least expense and greatest benefit, is preferable to all others.

In order to gain a clear and just idea of the design and end of government, let us suppose a small number of persons settled in some sequestered part of the earth, unconnected with the rest, they will then represent the first peopling of any country, or of the world. In this state of natural liberty, society will be their first thought. A thousand motives will excite them thereto, the strength of one man is so unequal to his wants, and his mind so unfitted for perpetual solitude, that he is soon obliged to seek assistance and relief of another, who in his turn requires the same. Four or five united would be able to raise a tolerable dwelling in the midst of a wilderness, but one man might labor out the common period of life without accomplishing any thing; when he had felled his timber he could not remove it, nor erect it after it was removed; hunger in the mean time would urge him from his work, and every different want call him a different way. Disease, nay even misfortune would be death, for though neither might be mortal, yet either would disable him from living, and reduce him to a state in which he might rather be said to perish than to die.

Thus necessity, like a gravitating power, would soon form our newly arrived emigrants into society, the reciprocal blessings of which, would supersede, and render the obligations of law and government unnecessary while they remained perfectly just to each other; but as nothing but heaven is impregnable to vice, it will unavoidably happen,

that in proportion as they surmount the first difficulties of emigration, which bound them together in a common cause, they will begin to relax in their duty and attachment to each other; and this remissness, will point out the necessity, of establishing some form of government to supply the defect of moral virtue.

Some convenient tree will afford them a State-House, under the branches of which, the whole colony may assemble to deliberate on public matters. It is more than probable that their first laws will have the title only of Regulations, and be enforced by no other penalty than public disesteem. In this first parliament every man, by natural right will have a seat.

But as the colony increases, the public concerns will increase likewise, and the distance at which the members may be separated, will render it too inconvenient for all of them to meet on every occasion as at first, when their number was small, their habitations near, and the public concerns few and trifling. This will point out the convenience of their consenting to leave the legislative part to be managed by a select number chosen from the whole body, who are supposed to have the same concerns at stake which those have who appointed them, and who will act in the same manner as the whole body would act were they present. If the colony continue increasing, it will become necessary to augment the number of the representatives, and that the interest of every part of the colony may be attended to, it will be found best to divide the whole into convenient parts, each part sending its proper number; and that the elected might never form to themselves an interest separate from the electors, prudence will point out the propriety of having elections often; because as the elected might by that means return and mix again with the general body of the electors in a few months, their fidelity to the public will be secured by the prudent reflection of not making a rod for themselves. And as this frequent interchange will establish a common interest with every part of the community, they will mutually and naturally support each other, and on this (not on the unmeaning name of king) depends the strength of government, and the happiness of the governed.

Here then is the origin and rise of government; namely, a mode rendered necessary by the inability of moral virtue to govern the world; here too is the design and end of government, viz., freedom and security. And however our eyes may be dazzled with snow, or our ears deceived by sound; however prejudice may warp our wills, or interest darken our understanding, the simple voice of nature and of reason will say, it is right.

I draw my idea of the form of government from a principle in nature, which no art can overturn, viz., that the more simple any thing is, the less liable it is to be disordered, and the easier repaired when disordered; and with this maxim in view, I offer a few remarks on the so much boasted constitution of England. That it was noble for the dark and slavish times in which it was erected is granted. When the world was overrun with tyranny the least therefrom was a glorious rescue. But that it is imperfect, subject to convulsions, and incapable of producing what it seems to promise, is easily demonstrated.

Absolute governments (though the disgrace of human nature) have this advantage with them, that they are simple; if the people suffer, they know the head from which their suffering springs, know likewise the remedy, and are not bewildered by a variety of causes and cures. But the constitution of England is so exceedingly complex, that the nation may suffer for years together without being able to discover in which part the fault lies, some will say in one and some in another, and every political physician will advise a different medicine.

I know it is difficult to get over local or long standing prejudices, yet if we will suffer ourselves to examine the component parts of the English constitution, we shall find them to be the base remains of two ancient tyrannies, compounded with some new republican materials.

First. — The remains of monarchical tyranny in the person of the king.

Secondly. — The remains of aristocratical tyranny in the persons of the peers.

Thirdly. — The new republican materials, in the persons of the commons, on whose virtue depends the freedom of England.

The two first, by being hereditary, are independent of the people; wherefore in a constitutional sense they contribute nothing towards the freedom of the state.

To say that the constitution of England is a union of three powers reciprocally checking each other, is farcical, either the words have no meaning, or they are flat contradictions.

To say that the commons is a check upon the king, presupposes two things.

First. — That the king is not to be trusted without being looked after, or in other words, that a thirst for absolute power is the natural disease of monarchy.

Secondly. — That the commons, by being appointed for that purpose, are either wiser or more worthy of confidence than the crown.

But as the same constitution which gives the commons a power to check the king by withholding the supplies, gives afterwards the king a power to check the commons, by empowering him to reject their other bills; it again supposes that the king is wiser than those whom it has already supposed to be wiser than him. A mere absurdity!

There is something exceedingly ridiculous in the composition of monarchy; it first excludes a man from the means of information, yet empowers him to act in cases where the highest judgment is required. The state of a king shuts

him from the world, yet the business of a king requires him to know it thoroughly; wherefore the different parts, unnaturally opposing and destroying each other, prove the whole character to be absurd and useless.

Some writers have explained the English constitution thus; the king, say they, is one, the people another; the peers are an house in behalf of the king; the commons in behalf of the people; but this hath all the distinctions of an house divided against itself; and though the expressions be pleasantly arranged, yet when examined they appear idle and ambiguous; and it will always happen, that the nicest construction that words are capable of, when applied to the description of something which either cannot exist, or is too incomprehensible to be within the compass of description, will be words of sound only, and though they may amuse the ear, they cannot inform the mind, for this explanation includes a previous question, viz. How came the king by a power which the people are afraid to trust, and always obliged to check? Such a power could not be the gift of a wise people, neither can any power, which needs checking, be from God; yet the provision, which the constitution makes, supposes such a power to exist.

But the provision is unequal to the task; the means either cannot or will not accomplish the end, and the whole affair is a *felo de se*; for as the greater weight will always carry up the less, and as all the wheels of a machine are put in motion by one, it only remains to know which power in the constitution has the most weight, for that will govern; and though the others, or a part of them, may clog, or, as the phrase is, check the rapidity of its motion, yet so long as they cannot stop it, their endeavors will be ineffectual; the first moving power will at last have its way, and what it wants in speed is supplied by time.

That the crown is this overbearing part in the English constitution needs not be mentioned, and that it derives its whole consequence merely from being the giver of places pensions is self evident, wherefore, though we have and wise enough to shut and lock a door against absolute monarchy, we at the same time have been foolish enough to put the crown in possession of the key.

The prejudice of Englishmen, in favor of their own government by king, lords, and commons, arises as much or more from national pride than reason. Individuals are undoubtedly safer in England than in some other countries, but the will of the king is as much the law of the land in Britain as in France, with this difference, that instead of proceeding directly from his mouth, it is handed to the people under the most formidable shape of an act of parliament. For the fate of Charles the First, hath only made kings more subtle — not more just.

Wherefore, laying aside all national pride and prejudice in favor of modes and forms, the plain truth is, that it is wholly owing to the constitution of the people, and not to the constitution of the government that the crown is not as oppressive in England as in Turkey.

An inquiry into the constitutional errors in the English form of government is at this time highly necessary; for as we are never in a proper condition of doing justice to others, while we continue under the influence of some leading partiality, so neither are we capable of doing it to ourselves while we remain fettered by any obstinate prejudice. And as a man, who is attached to a prostitute, is unfitted to choose or judge of a wife, so any prepossession in favor of a rotten constitution of government will disable us from discerning a good one.

Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession

Mankind being originally equals in the order of creation, the equality could only be destroyed by some subsequent circumstance; the distinctions of rich, and poor, may in a great measure be accounted for, and that without having recourse to the harsh, ill-sounding names of oppression and avarice. Oppression is often the consequence, but seldom or never the means of riches; and though avarice will preserve a man from being necessitously poor, it generally makes him too timorous to be wealthy.

But there is another and greater distinction for which no truly natural or religious reason can be assigned, and that is, the distinction of men into kings and subjects. Male and female are the distinctions of nature, good and bad the distinctions of heaven; but how a race of men came into the world so exalted above the rest, and distinguished like some new species, is worth enquiring into, and whether they are the means of happiness or of misery to mankind.

In the early ages of the world, according to the scripture chronology, there were no kings; the consequence of which was there were no wars; it is the pride of kings which throw mankind into confusion. Holland without a king hath enjoyed more peace for this last century than any of the monarchical governments in Europe. Antiquity favors the same remark; for the quiet and rural lives of the first patriarchs hath a happy something in them, which vanishes away when we come to the history of Jewish royalty.

Government by kings was first introduced into the world by the Heathens, from whom the children of Israel copied the custom. It was the most prosperous invention the Devil ever set on foot for the promotion of idolatry. The Heathens paid divine honors to their deceased kings, and the Christian world hath improved on the plan by doing the same to their living ones. How impious is the title of sacred majesty applied to a worm, who in the midst of his splendor is crumbling into dust!

As the exalting one man so greatly above the rest cannot be justified on the equal rights of nature, so neither can it be defended on the authority of scripture; for the will of the Almighty, as declared by Gideon and the prophet Samuel, expressly disapproves of government by kings. All anti-monarchical parts of scripture have been very smoothly glossed over in monarchical governments, but they undoubtedly merit the attention of countries which

have their governments yet to form. Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's is the scriptural doctrine of courts, yet it is no support of monarchical government, for the Jews at that time were without a king, and in a state of vassalage to the Romans.

Near three thousand years passed away from the Mosaic account of the creation, till the Jews under a national delusion requested a king. Till then their form of government (except in extraordinary cases, where the Almighty interposed) was a kind of republic administered by a judge and the elders of the tribes. Kings they had none, and it was held sinful to acknowledge any being under that title but the Lords of Hosts. And when a man seriously reflects on the idolatrous homage which is paid to the persons of kings he need not wonder, that the Almighty, ever jealous of his honor, should disapprove of a form of government which so impiously invades the prerogative of heaven.

Monarchy is ranked in scripture as one of the sins of the Jews, for which a curse in reserve is denounced against them. The history of that transaction is worth attending to.

The children of Israel being oppressed by the Midianites, Gideon marched against them with a small army, and victory, through the divine interposition, decided in his favor. The Jews elate with success, and attributing it to the generalship of Gideon, proposed making him a king, saying, Rule thou over us, thou and thy son and thy son's son. Here was temptation in its fullest extent; not a kingdom only, but an hereditary one, but Gideon in the piety of his soul replied, I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you, the Lord shall rule over you. Words need not be more explicit; Gideon doth not decline the honor but denieth their right to give it; neither doth he compliment them with invented declarations of his thanks, but in the positive stile of a prophet charges them with disaffection to their proper sovereign, the King of Heaven.

About one hundred and thirty years after this, they fell again into the same error. The hankering which the Jews had for the idolatrous customs of the Heathens, is something exceedingly unaccountable; but so it was, that laying hold of the misconduct of Samuel's two sons, who were entrusted with some secular concerns, they came in an abrupt and clamorous manner to Samuel, saying, Behold thou art old and thy sons walk not in thy ways, now make us a king to judge us like all the other nations. And here we cannot but observe that their motives were bad, viz., that they might be like unto other nations, i.e., the Heathen, whereas their true glory laid in being as much unlike them as possible.

But the thing displeased Samuel when they said, give us a king to judge us; and Samuel prayed unto the Lord, and the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee, for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, then I should not reign over them. According to all the works which have done since

the day; wherewith they brought them up out of Egypt, even unto this day; wherewith they have forsaken me and served other Gods; so do they also unto thee. Now therefore hearken unto their voice, howbeit, protest solemnly unto them and show them the manner of the king that shall reign over them, i.e., not of any particular king, but the general manner of the kings of the earth, whom Israel was so eagerly copying after. And notwithstanding the great distance of time and difference of manners, the character is still in fashion. And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people, that asked of him a king. And he said, This shall be the manner of the king that shall reign over you; he will take your sons and appoint them for himself for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and some shall run before his chariots (this description agrees with the present mode of impressing men) and he will appoint him captains over thousands and captains over fifties, and will set them to ear his ground and to read his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots; and he will take your daughters to be confectionaries and to be cooks and to be bakers (this describes the expense and luxury as well as the oppression of kings) and he will take your fields and your olive yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants; and he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give them to his officers and to his servants (by which we see that bribery, corruption, and favoritism are the standing vices of kings) and he will take the tenth of your men servants, and your maid servants, and your goodliest young men and your asses, and put them to his work; and he will take the tenth of your sheep, and ye shall be his servants, and ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen, and the Lord will not hear you in that day. This accounts for the continuation of monarchy; neither do the characters of the few good kings which have lived since, either sanctify the title, or blot out the sinfulness of the origin; the high encomium given of David takes no notice of him officially as a king, but only as a man after God's own heart. Nevertheless the People refused to obey the voice of Samuel, and they said, Nay, but we will have a king over us, that we may be like all the nations, and that our king may judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles. Samuel continued to reason with them, but to no purpose; he set before them their ingratitude, but all would not avail; and seeing them fully bent on their folly, he cried out, I will call unto the Lord, and he shall sent thunder and rain (which then was a punishment, being the time of wheat harvest) that ye may perceive and see that your wickedness is great which ye have done in the sight of the Lord, in asking you a king. So Samuel called unto the Lord, and the Lord sent thunder and rain that day, and all the people greatly feared the Lord and Samuel And all the people said unto Samuel, Pray for thy servants unto the Lord thy God that we die not, for we have added unto our sins this evil, to ask a king. These portions of scripture are direct and positive. They admit of no equivocal construction. That the Almighty hath here entered his protest against monarchical government is true, or the scripture is false. And a man hath good reason to believe that there is as much of kingcraft, as priestcraft in withholding the scripture from the public in Popish countries. For monarchy in every instance is the Popery of government.

To the evil of monarchy we have added that of hereditary succession; and as the first is a degradation and lessening of ourselves, so the second, claimed as a matter of right, is an insult and an imposition on posterity. For all men

being originally equals, no one by birth could have a right to set up his own family in perpetual preference to all others for ever, and though himself might deserve some decent degree of honors of his contemporaries, yet his descendants might be far too unworthy to inherit them. One of the strongest natural proofs of the folly of hereditary right in kings, is, that nature disapproves it, otherwise she would not so frequently turn it into ridicule by giving mankind an ass for a lion.

Secondly, as no man at first could possess any other public honors than were bestowed upon him, so the givers of those honors could have no power to give away the right of posterity, and though they might say, "We choose you for our head," they could not, without manifest injustice to their children, say, "that your children and your children's children shall reign over ours for ever." Because such an unwise, unjust, unnatural compact might (perhaps) in the next succession put them under the government of a rogue or a fool. Most wise men, in their private sentiments, have ever treated hereditary right with contempt; yet it is one of those evils, which when once established is not easily removed; many submit from fear, others from superstition, and the more powerful part shares with the king the plunder of the rest.

This is supposing the present race of kings in the world to have had an honorable origin; whereas it is more than probable, that could we take off the dark covering of antiquity, and trace them to their first rise, that we should find the first of them nothing better than the principal ruffian of some restless gang, whose savage manners of preeminence in subtlety obtained him the title of chief among plunderers; and who by increasing in power, and extending his depredations, overawed the quiet and defenseless to purchase their safety by frequent contributions. Yet his electors could have no idea of giving hereditary right to his descendants, because such a perpetual exclusion of themselves was incompatible with the free and unrestrained principles they professed to live by. Wherefore, hereditary succession in the early ages of monarchy could not take place as a matter of claim, but as something casual or complemental; but as few or no records were extant in those days, and traditionary history stuffed with fables, it was very easy, after the lapse of a few generations, to trump up some superstitious tale, conveniently timed, Mahomet like, to cram hereditary right down the throats of the vulgar. Perhaps the disorders which threatened, or seemed to threaten on the decease of a leader and the choice of a new one (for elections among ruffians could not be very orderly) induced many at first to favor hereditary pretensions; by which means it happened, as it hath happened since, that what at first was submitted to as a convenience, was afterwards claimed as a right.

England, since the conquest, hath known some few good monarchs, but groaned beneath a much larger number of bad ones, yet no man in his senses can say that their claim under William the Conqueror is a very honorable one. A French bastard landing with an armed banditti, and establishing himself king of England against the consent of the natives, is in plain terms a very paltry rascally original. It certainly hath no divinity in it. However, it is needless to

spend much time in exposing the folly of hereditary right, if there are any so weak as to believe it, let them promiscuously worship the ass and lion, and welcome. I shall neither copy their humility, nor disturb their devotion.

Yet I should be glad to ask how they suppose kings came at first? The question admits but of three answers, viz., either by lot, by election, or by usurpation. If the first king was taken by lot, it establishes a precedent for the next, which excludes hereditary succession. Saul was by lot, yet the succession was not hereditary, neither does it appear from that transaction there was any intention it ever should. If the first king of any country was by election, that likewise establishes a precedent for the next; for to say, that the right of all future generations is taken away, by the act of the first electors, in their choice not only of a king, but of a family of kings for ever, hath no parallel in or out of scripture but the doctrine of original sin, which supposes the free will of all men lost in Adam; and from such comparison, and it will admit of no other, hereditary succession can derive no glory. For as in Adam all sinned, and as in the first electors all men obeyed; as in the one all mankind were subjected to Satan, and in the other to Sovereignty; as our innocence was lost in the first, and our authority in the last; and as both disable us from reassuming some former state and privilege, it unanswerably follows that original sin and hereditary succession are parallels. Dishonorable rank! Inglorious connection! Yet the most subtle sophist cannot produce a juster simile.

As to usurpation, no man will be so hardy as to defend it; and that William the Conqueror was an usurper is a fact not to be contradicted. The plain truth is, that the antiquity of English monarchy will not bear looking into.

But it is not so much the absurdity as the evil of hereditary succession which concerns mankind. Did it ensure a race of good and wise men it would have the seal of divine authority, but as it opens a door to the foolish, the wicked; and the improper, it hath in it the nature of oppression. Men who look upon themselves born to reign, and others to obey, soon grow insolent; selected from the rest of mankind their minds are early poisoned by importance; and the world they act in differs so materially from the world at large, that they have but little opportunity of knowing its true interests, and when they succeed to the government are frequently the most ignorant and unfit of any throughout the dominions.

Another evil which attends hereditary succession is, that the throne is subject to be possessed by a minor at any age; all which time the regency, acting under the cover of a king, have every opportunity and inducement to betray their trust. The same national misfortune happens, when a king worn out with age and infirmity, enters the last stage of human weakness. In both these cases the public becomes a prey to every miscreant, who can tamper successfully with the follies either of age or infancy.

The most plausible plea, which hath ever been offered in favor of hereditary succession, is, that it preserves a nation from civil wars; and were this true, it would be weighty; whereas, it is the most barefaced falsity ever

imposed upon mankind. The whole history of England disowns the fact. Thirty kings and two minors have reigned in that distracted kingdom since the conquest, in which time there have been (including the Revolution) no less than eight civil wars and nineteen rebellions. Wherefore instead of making for peace, it makes against it, and destroys the very foundation it seems to stand on.

The contest for monarchy and succession, between the houses of York and Lancaster, laid England in a scene of blood for many years. Twelve pitched battles, besides skirmishes and sieges, were fought between Henry and Edward. Twice was Henry prisoner to Edward, who in his turn was prisoner to Henry. And so uncertain is the fate of war and the temper of a nation, when nothing but personal matters are the ground of a quarrel, that Henry was taken in triumph from a prison to a palace, and Edward obliged to fly from a palace to a foreign land; yet, as sudden transitions of temper are seldom lasting, Henry in his turn was driven from the throne, and Edward recalled to succeed him. The parliament always following the strongest side.

This contest began in the reign of Henry the Sixth, and was not entirely extinguished till Henry the Seventh, in whom the families were united. Including a period of 67 years, viz., from 1422 to 1489.

In short, monarchy and succession have laid (not this or that kingdom only) but the world in blood and ashes. 'Tis a form of government which the word of God bears testimony against, and blood will attend it.

If we inquire into the business of a king, we shall find that (in some countries they have none) and after sauntering away their lives without pleasure to themselves or advantage to the nation, withdraw from the scene, and leave their successors to tread the same idle round. In absolute monarchies the whole weight of business civil and military, lies on the king; the children of Israel in their request for a king, urged this plea "that he may judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles." But in countries where he is neither a judge nor a general, as in England, a man would be puzzled to know what is his business.

The nearer any government approaches to a republic, the less business there is for a king. It is somewhat difficult to find a proper name for the government of England. Sir William Meredith calls it a republic; but in its present state it is unworthy of the name, because the corrupt influence of the crown, by having all the places in its disposal, hath so effectually swallowed up the power, and eaten out the virtue of the house of commons (the republican part in the constitution) that the government of England is nearly as monarchical as that of France or Spain. Men fall out with names without understanding them. For it is the republican and not the monarchical part of the constitution of England which Englishmen glory in, viz., the liberty of choosing a house of commons from out of their own body — and it is easy to see that when the republican virtue fails, slavery ensues. My is the constitution of England sickly, but because monarchy hath poisoned the republic, the crown hath engrossed the commons?

In England a king hath little more to do than to make war and give away places; which in plain terms, is to impoverish the nation and set it together by the ears. A pretty business indeed for a man to be allowed eight hundred thousand sterling a year for, and worshipped into the bargain! Of more worth is one honest man to society, and in the sight of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived.

Thoughts of the present state of American Affairs

In the following pages I offer nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense; and have no other preliminaries to settle with the reader, than that he will divest himself of prejudice and prepossession, and suffer his reason and his feelings to determine for themselves; that he will put on, or rather that he will not put off the true character of a man, and generously enlarge his views beyond the present day.

Volumes have been written on the subject of the struggle between England and America. Men of all ranks have embarked in the controversy, from different motives, and with various designs; but all have been ineffectual, and the period of debate is closed. Arms, as the last resource, decide the contest; the appeal was the choice of the king, and the continent hath accepted the challenge.

It hath been reported of the late Mr. Pelham (who tho' an able minister was not without his faults) that on his being attacked in the house of commons, on the score, that his measures were only of a temporary kind, replied, "they will fast my time." Should a thought so fatal and unmanly possess the colonies in the present contest, the name of ancestors will be remembered by future generations with detestation.

The sun never shined on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a city, a country, a province, or a kingdom, but of a continent — of at least one eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected, even to the end of time, by the proceedings now. Now is the seed time of continental union, faith and honor. The least fracture now will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak; The wound will enlarge with the tree, and posterity read it in full grown characters.

By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new area for politics is struck; a new method of thinking hath arisen. All plans, proposals, &c. prior to the nineteenth of April, i.e., to the commencement of hostilities, are like the almanacs of the last year; which, though proper then, are superseded and useless now. Whatever was advanced by the advocates on either side of the question then, terminated in one and the same point, viz., a union with Great Britain; the only difference between the parties was the method of effecting it; the one proposing force,

the other friendship; but it hath so far happened that the first hath failed, and the second hath withdrawn her influence.

As much hath been said of the advantages of reconciliation, which, like an agreeable dream, hath passed away and left us as we were, it is but right, that we should examine the contrary side of the argument, and inquire into some of the many material injuries which these colonies sustain, and always will sustain, by being connected with, and dependant on Great Britain. To examine that connection and dependance, on the principles of nature and common sense, to see what we have to trust to, if separated, and what we are to expect, if dependant.

I have heard it asserted by some, that as America hath flourished under her former connection with Great Britain, that the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well assert, that because a child has thrived upon milk, that it is never to have meat; or that the first twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true, for I answer roundly, that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power had any thing to do with her. The commerce by which she hath enriched herself are the necessaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe.

But she has protected us, say some. That she hath engrossed us is true, and defended the continent at our expense as well as her own is admitted, and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, viz., the sake of trade and dominion.

Alas! we have been long led away by ancient prejudices and made large sacrifices to superstition. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was interest not attachment; that she did not protect us from our enemies on our account, but from her enemies on her own account, from those who had no quarrel with us on any other account, and who will always be our enemies on the same account. Let Britain wave her pretensions to the continent, or the continent throw off the dependance, and we should be at peace with France and Spain were they at war with Britain. The miseries of Hanover last war, ought to warn us against connections.

It hath lately been asserted in parliament, that the colonies have no relation to each other but through the parent country, i.e., that Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, and so on for the rest, are sister colonies by the way of England; this is certainly a very round-about way of proving relation ship, but it is the nearest and only true way of proving enemyship, if I may so call it. France and Spain never were, nor perhaps ever will be our enemies as Americans, but as our being the subjects of Great Britain.

But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young; nor savages make war upon their families; wherefore the assertion, if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly so, and the phrase parent or mother country hath been jesuitically adopted by the king and his parasites, with a low papistical design of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakness of our minds. Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America. This new world hath been the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from every Part of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of England, that the same tyranny which drove the first emigrants from home pursues their descendants still.

In this extensive quarter of the globe, we forget the narrow limits of three hundred and sixty miles (the extent of England) and carry our friendship on a larger scale; we claim brotherhood with every European Christian, and triumph in the generosity of the sentiment.

It is pleasant to observe by what regular gradations we surmount the force of local prejudice, as we enlarge our acquaintance with the world. A man born in any town in England divided into parishes, will naturally associate most with his fellow parishioners (because their interests in many cases will be common) and distinguish him by the name of neighbor; if he meet him but a few miles from home, he drops the narrow idea of a street, and salutes him by the name of townsman; if he travels out of the county, and meet him in any other, he forgets the minor divisions of street and town, and calls him countryman; i.e., countyman; but if in their foreign excursions they should associate in France or any other part of Europe, their local remembrance would be enlarged into that of Englishmen. And by a just parity of reasoning, all Europeans meeting in America, or any other quarter of the globe, are countrymen; for England,

Holland, Germany, or Sweden, when compared with the whole, stand in the same places on the larger scale, which the divisions of street, town, and county do on the smaller ones; distinctions too limited for continental minds. Not one third of the inhabitants, even of this province, are of English descent. Wherefore, I reprobate the phrase of parent or mother country applied to England only, as being false, selfish, narrow and ungenerous.

But admitting that we were all of English descent, what does it amount to? Nothing. Britain, being now an open enemy, extinguishes every other name and title: And to say that reconciliation is our duty, is truly farcical. The first king of England, of the present line (William the Conqueror) was a Frenchman, and half the peers of England are descendants from the same country; wherefore by the same method of reasoning, England ought to be governed by France.

Much hath been said of the united strength of Britain and the colonies, that in conjunction they might bid defiance to the world. But this is mere presumption; the fate of war is uncertain, neither do the expressions mean anything; for this continent would never suffer itself to be drained of inhabitants to support the British arms in either Asia, Africa, or Europe.

Besides, what have we to do with setting the world at defiance? Our plan is commerce, and that, well attended to, will secure us the peace and friendship of all Europe; because it is the interest of all Europe to have America a free port. Her trade will always be a protection, and her barrenness of gold and silver secure her from invaders.

I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation, to show, a single advantage that this continent can reap, by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge, not a single advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods must be paid for buy them where we will.

But the injuries and disadvantages we sustain by that connection, are without number; and our duty to mankind I at large, as well as to ourselves, instruct us to renounce the alliance: Because, any submission to, or dependance on Great Britain, tends directly to involve this continent in European wars and quarrels; and sets us at variance with nations, who would otherwise seek our friendship, and against whom, we have neither anger nor complaint. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she never can do, while by her dependance on Britain, she is made the make-weight in the scale of British politics.

Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, because of her connection with Britain. The next war may not turn out like the Past, and should it not, the advocates for reconciliation now will be wishing for separation then, because, neutrality in that case, would be a safer convoy than a man of war. Every thing that is right or natural pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'tis time to part. Even the distance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America, is a strong and natural proof, that the authority of the one, over the other, was never the design of Heaven. The time likewise at which the continent was discovered, adds weight to the argument, and the manner in which it was peopled increases the force of it. The reformation was preceded by the discovery of America, as if the Almighty graciously meant to open a sanctuary to the persecuted in future years, when home should afford neither friendship nor safety.

The authority of Great Britain over this continent, is a form of government, which sooner or later must have an end: And a serious mind can draw no true pleasure by looking forward, under the painful and positive conviction, that what he calls "the present constitution" is merely temporary. As parents, we can have no joy, knowing that

this government is not sufficiently lasting to ensure any thing which we may bequeath to posterity: And by a plain method of argument, as we are running the next generation into debt, we ought to do the work of it, otherwise we use them meanly and pitifully. In order to discover the line of our duty rightly, we should take our children in our hand, and fix our station a few years farther into life; that eminence will present a prospect, which a few present fears and prejudices conceal from our sight.

Though I would carefully avoid giving unnecessary offence, yet I am inclined to believe, that all those who espouse the doctrine of reconciliation, may be included within the following descriptions:

Interested men, who are not to be trusted; weak men who cannot see; prejudiced men who will not see; and a certain set of moderate men, who think better of the European world than it deserves; and this last class by an ill-judged deliberation, will be the cause of more calamities to this continent than all the other three.

It is the good fortune of many to live distant from the scene of sorrow; the evil is not sufficiently brought to their doors to make them feel the precariousness with which all American property is possessed. But let our imaginations transport us for a few moments to Boston, that seat of wretchedness will teach us wisdom, and instruct us for ever to renounce a power in whom we can have no trust. The inhabitants of that unfortunate city, who but a few months ago were in ease and affluence, have now no other alternative than to stay and starve, or turn out to beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by the soldiery if they leave it. In their present condition they are prisoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief, they would be exposed to the fury of both armies.

Men of passive tempers look somewhat lightly over the offenses of Britain, and, still hoping for the best, are apt to call out, Come we shall be friends again for all this. But examine the passions and feelings of mankind. Bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchstone of nature, and then tell me, whether you can hereafter love, honor, and faithfully serve the power that hath carried fire and sword into your land? If you cannot do all these, then are you only deceiving yourselves, and by your delay bringing ruin upon posterity. Your future connection with Britain, whom you can neither love nor honor, will be forced and unnatural, and being formed only on the plan of present convenience, will in a little time fall into a relapse more wretched than the first. But if you say, you can still pass the violations over, then I ask, Hath your house been burnt? Hath your property been destroyed before your face? Are your wife and children destitute of a bed to lie on, or bread to live on? Have you lost a parent or a child by their hands, and yourself the ruined and wretched survivor? If you have not, then are you not a judge of those who have. But if you have, and can

still shake hands with the murderers, then are you unworthy the name of husband, father, friend, or lover, and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward, and the spirit of a sycophant.

This is not inflaming or exaggerating matters, but trying them by those feelings and affections which nature justifies, and without which, we should be incapable of discharging the social duties of life, or enjoying the felicities of it. I mean not to exhibit horror for the purpose of provoking revenge, but to awaken us from fatal and unmanly slumbers, that we may pursue determinately some fixed object. It is not in the power of Britain or of Europe to conquer America, if she do not conquer herself by delay and timidity. The present winter is worth an age if rightly employed, but if lost or neglected, the whole continent will partake of the misfortune; and there is no punishment which that man will not deserve, be he who, or what, or where he will, that may be the means of sacrificing a season so precious and useful.

It is repugnant to reason, to the universal order of things, to all examples from the former ages, to suppose, that this continent can longer remain subject to any external power. The most sanguine in Britain does not think so. The utmost stretch of human wisdom cannot, at this time compass a plan short of separation, which can promise the continent even a year's security. Reconciliation is was a fallacious dream. Nature hath deserted the connection, and Art cannot supply her place. For, as Milton wisely expresses, "never can true reconcilment grow where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep."

Every quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual. Our prayers have been rejected with disdain; and only tended to convince us, that nothing flatters vanity, or confirms obstinacy in kings more than repeated petitioning — and nothing hath contributed more than that very measure to make the kings of Europe absolute: Witness Denmark and Sweden.

Wherefore since nothing but blows will do, for God's sake, let us come to a final separation, and not leave the next generation to be cutting throats, under the violated unmeaning names of parent and child.

To say, they will never attempt it again is idle and visionary, we thought so at the repeal of the stamp act, yet a year or two undeceived us; as well me we may suppose that nations, which have been once defeated, will never renew the quarrel.

As to government matters, it is not in the powers of Britain to do this continent justice: The business of it will soon be too weighty, and intricate, to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power, so distant from us, and so very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. To be always running three or four thousand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting four or five months for an answer, which when obtained requires five or six more to explain it in, will in a few years be looked upon as folly and childishness — there was a time when it was proper, and there is a proper time for it to cease.

Small islands not capable of protecting themselves, are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is something very absurd, in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet, and as England and America, with respect to each Other, reverses the common order of nature, it is evident they belong to different systems: England to Europe — America to itself.

I am not induced by motives of pride, party, or resentment to espouse the doctrine of separation and independence; I am clearly, positively, and conscientiously persuaded that it is the true interest of this continent to be so; that every thing short of that is mere patchwork, that it can afford no lasting felicity, — that it is leaving the sword to our children, and shrinking back at a time, when, a little more, a little farther, would have rendered this continent the glory of the earth.

As Britain hath not manifested the least inclination towards a compromise, we may be assured that no terms can be obtained worthy the acceptance of the continent, or any ways equal to the expense of blood and treasure we have been already put to.

The object contended for, ought always to bear some just proportion to the expense. The removal of the North, or the whole detestable junto, is a matter unworthy the millions we have expended. A temporary stoppage of trade, was an inconvenience, which would have sufficiently balanced the repeal of all the acts complained of, had such repeals been obtained; but if the whole continent must take up arms, if every man must be a soldier, it is scarcely worth our while to fight against a contemptible ministry only. Dearly, dearly, do we pay for the repeal of the acts, if that is all we fight for; for in a just estimation, it is as great a folly to pay a Bunker Hill price for law, as for land. As I have always considered the independency of this continent, as an event, which sooner or later must arrive, so from the late rapid progress of the continent to maturity, the event could not be far off. Wherefore, on the breaking out of hostilities, it was not worth the while to have disputed a matter, which time would have finally redressed, unless we meant to be in earnest; otherwise, it is like wasting an estate of a suit at law, to regulate the trespasses of a tenant, whose lease is just expiring. No man was a warmer wisher for reconciliation than myself, before the fatal nineteenth of April, 1775 (Massacre at Lexington), but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen tempered Pharaoh of England for ever; and disdain the wretch, that with the pretended title of Father of his people, can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul.

But admitting that matters were now made up, what would be the event? I answer, the ruin of the continent. And that for several reasons:

First. The powers of governing still remaining in the hands of the king, he will have a negative over the whole legislation of this continent. And as he hath shown himself such an inveterate enemy to liberty, and discovered such a thirst for arbitrary power, is he, or is he not, a proper man to say to these colonies, "You shall make no laws but what I please?" And is there any inhabitants in America so ignorant, as not to know, that according to what is called the present constitution, that this continent can make no laws but what the king gives leave to? and is there any man so unwise, as not to see, that (considering what has happened) he will suffer no Law to be made here, but such as suit his purpose? We may be as effectually enslaved by the want of laws in America, as by submitting to laws made for us in England. After matters are make up (as it is called) can there be any doubt but the whole power of the crown will be exerted, to keep this continent as low and humble as possible? Instead of going forward we shall go backward, or be perpetually quarrelling or ridiculously petitioning. We are already greater than the king wishes us to be, and will he not hereafter endeavor to make us less? To bring the matter to one point. Is the power who is jealous of our prosperity, a proper power to govern us? Whoever says No to this question is an independent, for independency means no more, than, whether we shall make our own laws, or whether the king, the greatest enemy this continent hath, or can have, shall tell us, "there shall be now laws but such as I like."

But the king you will say has a negative in England; the people there can make no laws without his consent. In point of right and good order, there is something very ridiculous, that a youth of twenty-one (which hath often happened) shall say to several millions of people, older and wiser than himself, I forbid this or that act of yours to be law. But in this place I decline this sort of reply, though I will never cease to expose the absurdity of it, and only answer, that England being the king's residence, and America not so, make quite another case. The king's negative here is ten times more dangerous and fatal than it can be in England, for there he will scarcely refuse his consent to a bill for putting England into as strong a state of defence as possible, and in America he would never suffer such a bill to be passed.

America is only a secondary object in the system of British politics — England consults the good of this country, no farther than it answers her own purpose. Wherefore, her own interest leads her to suppress the growth of ours in every case which doth not promote her advantage, or in the least interfere with it. A pretty state we should soon be in under such a second-hand government, considering what has happened! Men do not change from enemies to friends by the alteration of a name; and in order to show that reconciliation now is a dangerous doctrine, I affirm, that it would be policy in the kingdom at this time, to repeal the acts for the sake of reinstating himself in the government of the provinces; in order, that he may accomplish by craft and subtlety, in the long run, what he cannot do by force and violence in the short one. Reconciliation and ruin are nearly related.

Secondly. That as even the best terms, which we can expect to obtain, can amount to no more than a temporary expedient, or a kind of government by guardianship, which can last no longer than till the colonies come of age, so

the general face and state of things, in the interim, will be unsettled and unpromising. Emigrants of property will not choose to come to a country whose form of government hangs but by a thread, and who is every day tottering on the brink of commotion and disturbance; and numbers of the present inhabitants would lay hold of the interval, to dispose of their effects, and quit the continent.

But the most powerful of all arguments, is, that nothing but independence, i.e., a continental form of government, can keep the peace of the continent and preserve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation with Britain now, as it is more than probable, that it will be followed by a revolt somewhere or other, the consequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain.

Thousands are already ruined by British barbarity; (thousands more will probably suffer the same fate.) Those men have other feelings than us who have nothing suffered. All they now possess is liberty, what they before enjoyed is sacrificed to its service, and having nothing more to lose, they disdain submission. Besides, the general temper of the colonies, towards a British government, will be like that of a youth, who is nearly out of his time, they will care very little about her. And a government which cannot preserve the peace, is no government at all, and in that case we pay our money for nothing; and pray what is it that Britain can do, whose power will be wholly on paper, should a civil tumult break out the very day after reconciliation? I have heard some men say, many of whom I believe spoke without thinking, that they dreaded independence, fearing that it would produce civil wars. It is but seldom that our first thoughts are truly correct, and that is the case here; for there are ten times more to dread from a patched up connection than from independence. I make the sufferers case my own, and I protest, that were I driven from house and home, my property destroyed, and my circumstances ruined, that as man, sensible of injuries, I could never relish the doctrine of reconciliation, or consider myself bound thereby.

The colonies have manifested such a spirit of good order and obedience to continental government, as is sufficient to make every reasonable person easy and happy on that head. No man can assign the least pretence for his fears, on any other grounds, that such as are truly childish and ridiculous, viz., that one colony will be striving for superiority over another.

Where there are no distinctions there can be no superiority, perfect equality affords no temptation. The republics of Europe are all (and we may say always) in peace. Holland and Switzerland are without wars, foreign or domestic; monarchical governments, it is true, are never long at rest: the crown itself is a temptation to enterprising ruffians at home; and that degree of pride and insolence ever attendant on regal authority swells into a rupture with foreign powers, in instances where a republican government, by being formed on more natural principles, would negotiate the mistake.

If there is any true cause of fear respecting independence it is because no plan is yet laid down. Men do not see their way out; wherefore, as an opening into that business I offer the following hints; at the same time modestly affirming, that I have no other opinion of them myself, than that they may be the means of giving rise to something better. Could the straggling thoughts of individuals be collected, they would frequently form materials for wise and able men to improve to useful matter.

Let the assemblies be annual, with a President only. The representation more equal. Their business wholly domestic, and subject to the authority of a continental congress.

Let each colony be divided into six, eight, or ten, convenient districts, each district to send a proper number of delegates to congress, so that each colony send at least thirty. The whole number in congress will be at least three hundred ninety. Each congress to sit..... and to choose a president by the following method. When the delegates are met, let a colony be taken from the whole thirteen colonies by lot, after which let the whole congress choose (by ballot) a president from out of the delegates of that province. In the next Congress, let a colony be taken by lot from twelve only, omitting that colony from which the president was taken in the former congress, and so proceeding on till the whole thirteen shall have had their proper rotation. And in order that nothing may pass into a law but what is satisfactorily just, not less than three fifths of the congress to be called a majority. He that will promote discord, under a government so equally formed as this, would join Lucifer in his revolt.

But as there is a peculiar delicacy, from whom, or in what manner, this business must first arise, and as it seems most agreeable and consistent, that it should come from some intermediate body between the governed and the governors, that is between the Congress and the people, let a Continental Conference be held, in the following manner, and for the following purpose:

A committee of twenty-six members of Congress, viz., two for each colony. Two members for each house of assembly, or provincial convention; and five representatives of the people at large, to be chosen in the capital city or town of each province, for, and in behalf of the whole province, by as many qualified voters as shall think proper to attend from all parts of the province for that purpose; or, if more convenient, the representatives may be chosen in two or three of the most populous parts thereof. In this conference, thus assembled, will be united, the two grand principles of business, knowledge and power. The members of Congress, Assemblies, or Conventions, by having had experience in national concerns, will be able and useful counsellors, and the whole, being empowered by the people will have a truly legal authority.

The conferring members being met, let their business be to frame a Continental Charter, or Charter of the United Colonies; (answering to what is called the Magna Charta of England) fixing the number and manner of choosing

members of Congress, members of Assembly, with their date of sitting, and drawing the line of business and jurisdiction between them: always remembering, that our strength is continental, not provincial: Securing freedom and property to all men, and above all things the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; with such other matter as is necessary for a charter to contain. Immediately after which, the said conference to dissolve, and the bodies which shall be chosen conformable to the said charter, to be the legislators and governors of this continent for the time being: Whose peace and happiness, may God preserve, Amen.

Should any body of men be hereafter delegated for this or some similar purpose, I offer them the following extracts from that wise observer on governments Dragonetti. "The science" says he, "of the politician consists in fixing the true point of happiness and freedom. Those men would deserve the gratitude of ages, who should discover a mode of government that contained the greatest sum of individual happiness, with the least national expense." — Dragonetti on Virtue and Rewards.

But where says some is the king of America? I'll tell you Friend, he reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind like the Royal of Britain. Yet that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honors, let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the charter; let it be brought forth placed on the divine law, the word of God; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know, that so far as we approve of monarchy, that in America the law is king. For as in absolute governments the king is law, so in free countries the law ought to be king; and there ought to be no other. But lest any ill use should afterwards arise, let the crown at the conclusion of the ceremony be demolished, and scattered among the people whose right it is.

A government of our own is our natural right: And when a man seriously reflects on the precariousness of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is in finitely wiser and safer, to form a constitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to trust such an interesting event to time and chance.

If we omit it now, some Massanello¹ may hereafter arise, who laying hold of popular disquietudes, may collect together the desperate and the discontented, and by assuming to themselves the powers of government, may sweep away the liberties of the continent like a deluge. Should the government of America return again into the hands of Britain, the tottering situation of things, will be a temptation for some desperate adventurer to try his fortune; and in such a case, what relief can Britain give? Ere she could hear the news the fatal business might be done, and ourselves suffering like the wretched Britons under the oppression of the Conqueror. Ye that oppose independence now, ye know not what ye do; ye are opening a door to eternal tyranny, by keeping vacant the seat of government.

1 Thomas Anello, otherwise Massenello, a fisherman of Naples, who after spiriting up his countrymen in the public market place, against the oppression of the Spaniards, to whom the place was then subject, prompted them to revolt, and in the space of a day became king.

There are thousands and tens of thousands; who would think it glorious to expel from the continent, that barbarous and hellish power, which hath stirred up the Indians and Negroes to destroy us; the cruelty hath a double guilt, it is dealing brutally by us, and treacherously by them. To talk of friendship with those in whom our reason forbids us to have faith, and our affections, (wounded through a thousand pores) instruct us to detest, is madness and folly. Every day wears out the little remains of kindred between us and them, and can there be any reason to hope, that as the relationship expires, the affection will increase, or that we shall agree better, when we have ten times more and greater concerns to quarrel over than ever?

Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye restore to us the time that is past? Can ye give to prostitution its former innocence? Neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The last cord now is broken, the people of England are presenting addresses against us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive; she would cease to be nature if she did. As well can the lover forgive the ravisher of his mistress, as the continent forgive the murders of Britain. The Almighty hath implanted in us these inextinguishable feelings for good and wise purposes. They are the guardians of his image in our hearts. They distinguish us from the herd of common animals. The social compact would dissolve, and justice be extirpated the earth, if we have only a casual existence were we callous to the touches of affection. The robber and the murderer, would often escape unpunished, did not the injuries which our tempers sustain, provoke us into justice.

O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose, not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia, and Africa, have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.

Of the Present Ability of America, with some miscellaneous Reflections

I have never met with a man, either in England or America, who hath not confessed his opinion, that a separation between the countries, would take place one time or other. And there is no instance in which we have shown less judgment, than in endeavoring to describe, what we call, the ripeness or fitness of the Continent for independence.

As all men allow the measure, and vary only in their opinion of the time, let us, in order to remove mistakes, take a general survey of things and endeavor if possible, to find out the very time. But we need not go far, the inquiry ceases at once, for the time hath found us. The general concurrence, the glorious union of all things prove the fact.

It is not in numbers but in unity, that our great strength lies; yet our present numbers are sufficient to repel the force of all the world. The Continent hath, at this time, the largest body of armed and disciplined men of any power under Heaven; and is just arrived at that pitch of strength, in which no single colony is able to support itself, and the whole, who united can accomplish the matter, and either more, or, less than this, might be fatal in its effects. Our land force is already sufficient, and as to naval affairs, we cannot be insensible, that Britain would never suffer an American man of war to be built while the continent remained in her hands. Wherefore we should be no forwarder an hundred years hence in that branch, than we are now; but the truth is, we should be less so, because the timber of the country is every day diminishing, and that which will remain at last, will be far off and difficult to procure.

Were the continent crowded with inhabitants, her sufferings under the present circumstances would be intolerable. The more sea port towns we had, the more should we have both to defend and to loose. Our present numbers are so happily proportioned to our wants, that no man need be idle. The diminution of trade affords an army, and the necessities of an army create a new trade. Debts we have none; and whatever we may contract on this account will serve as a glorious memento of our virtue. Can we but leave posterity with a settled form of government, an independent constitution of its own, the purchase at any price will be cheap. But to expend millions for the sake of getting a few we acts repealed, and routing the present ministry only, is unworthy the charge, and is using posterity with the utmost cruelty; because it is leaving them the great work to do, and a debt upon their backs, from which they derive no advantage. Such a thought is unworthy a man of honor, and is the true characteristic of a narrow heart and a peddling politician.

The debt we may contract doth not deserve our regard if the work be but accomplished. No nation ought to be without a debt. A national debt is a national bond; and when it bears no interest, is in no case a grievance.

Britain is oppressed with a debt of upwards of one hundred and forty millions sterling, for which she pays upwards of four millions interest. And as a compensation for her debt, she has a large navy; America is without a debt, and without a navy; yet for the twentieth part of the English national debt, could have a navy as large again. The navy of England is not worth, at this time, more than three millions and a half sterling.

The first and second editions of this pamphlet were published without the following calculations, which are now given as a proof that the above estimation of the navy is a just one. (See Entick's naval history, intro. page 56.)

The charge of building a ship of each rate, and furnishing her with masts, yards, sails and rigging, together with a proportion of eight months boatswain's and carpenter's sea-stores, as calculated by Mr. Burchett, Secretary to the navy, is as follows:

For a ship of 100 guns £½35,533	
90	29,886
80	23,638
70	17,785
60	14,197
50	10,606
40	7,558
30	5,846
20	3,710

And from hence it is easy to sum up the value, or cost rather, of the whole British navy, which in the year 1757, when it was at its greatest glory consisted of the following ships and guns:

Ships	Guns	Cost of one	Cost of all
6	100	£½35,533	£½213,318
12	90	29,886	358,632
12	80	23,638	283,656
43	70	17,785	746,755
35	60	14,197	496,895
40	50	10,606	424,240
45	40	7,758	344,110
58	20	3,710	215,180
85 Sloops, bombs, and fireships, one another		2,000	170,000
		Cost	3,266,786
		Remains for guns	229,214
		Total	3,500,000

No country on the globe is so happily situated, so internally capable of raising a fleet as America. Tar, timber, iron, and cordage are her natural produce. We need go abroad for nothing. Whereas the Dutch, who make large profits by hiring out their ships of war to the Spaniards and Portuguese, are obliged to import most of the materials they use. We ought to view the building a fleet as an article of commerce, it being the natural manufactory of this country. It is the best money we can lay out. A navy when finished is worth more than it cost. And is that nice point

in national policy, in which commerce and protection are united. Let us build; if we want them not, we can sell; and by that means replace our paper currency with ready gold and silver.

In point of manning a fleet, people in general run into great errors; it is not necessary that one-fourth part should be sailors. The privateer *Terrible*, Captain Death, stood the hottest engagement of any ship last war, yet had not twenty sailors on board, though her complement of men was upwards of two hundred. A few able and social sailors will soon instruct a sufficient number of active landmen in the common work of a ship. Wherefore, we never can be more capable to begin on maritime matters than now, while our timber is standing, our fisheries blocked up, and our sailors and shipwrights out of employ. Men of war of seventy and eighty guns were built forty years ago in New England, and why not the same now? Ship building is America's greatest pride, and in which, she will in time excel the whole world. The great empires of the east are mostly inland, and consequently excluded from the possibility of rivalling her. Africa is in a state of barbarism; and no power in Europe, hath either such an extent or coast, or such an internal supply of materials. Where nature hath given the one, she has withheld the other; to America only hath she been liberal of both. The vast empire of Russia is almost shut out from the sea; wherefore, her boundless forests, her tar, iron, and cordage are only articles of commerce.

In point of safety, ought we to be without a fleet? We are not the little people now, which we were sixty years ago; at that time we might have trusted our property in the streets, or fields rather; and slept securely without locks or bolts to our doors or windows. The case now is altered, and our methods of defence ought to improve with our increase of property. A common pirate, twelve months ago, might have come up the Delaware, and laid the city of Philadelphia under instant contribution, for what sum he pleased; and the same might have happened to other places. Nay, any daring fellow, in a brig of fourteen or sixteen guns, might have robbed the whole Continent, and carried off half a million of money. These are circumstances which demand our attention, and point out the necessity of naval protection.

Some, perhaps, will say, that after we have made it up with Britain, she will protect us. Can we be so unwise as to mean, that she shall keep a navy in our harbors for that purpose? Common sense will tell us, that the power which hath endeavored to subdue us, is of all others the most improper to defend us. Conquest may be effected under the pretence of friendship; and ourselves, after a long and brave resistance, be at last cheated into slavery. And if her ships are not to be admitted into our harbors, I would ask, how is she to protect us? A navy three or four thousand miles off can be of little use, and on sudden emergencies, none at all. Wherefore, if we must hereafter protect ourselves, why not do it for ourselves? Why do it for another?

The English list of ships of war is long and formidable, but not a tenth part of them are at any one time fit for service, numbers of them not in being; yet their names are pompously continued in the list, if only a plank be left of

the ship: and not a fifth part, of such as are fit for service, can be spared on any one station at one time. The East, and

West Indies, Mediterranean, Africa, and other parts over which Britain extends her claim, make large demands upon her navy. From a mixture of prejudice and inattention, we have contracted a false notion respecting the navy of England, and have talked as if we should have the whole of it to encounter at once, and for that reason, supposed that we must have one as large; which not being instantly practicable, have been made use of by a set of disguised Tories to discourage our beginning thereon. Nothing can be farther from truth than this; for if America had only a twentieth part of the naval force of Britain, she would be by far an over match for her; because, as we neither have, nor claim any foreign dominion, our whole force would be employed on our own coast, where we should, in the long run, have two to one the advantage of those who had three or four thousand miles to sail over, before they could attack us, and the same distance to return in order to refit and recruit. And although Britain by her fleet, hath a check over our trade to Europe, we have as large a one over her trade to the West Indies, which, by laying in the neighborhood of the Continent, is entirely at its mercy.

Some method might be fallen on to keep up a naval force in time of peace, if we should not judge it necessary to support a constant navy. If premiums were to be given to merchants, to build and employ in their service, ships mounted with twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty guns, (the premiums to be in proportion to the loss of bulk to the merchants) fifty or sixty of those ships, with a few guard ships on constant duty, would keep up a sufficient navy, and that without burdening ourselves with the evil so loudly complained of in England, of suffering their fleet, in time of peace to lie rotting in the docks. To unite the sinews of commerce and defence is sound policy; for when our strength and our riches, play into each other's hand, we need fear no external enemy.

In almost every article of defence we abound. Hemp flourishes even to rankness, so that we need not want cordage. Our iron is superior to that of other countries. Our small arms equal to any in the world. Cannon we can cast at pleasure. Saltpetre and gunpowder we are every day producing. Our knowledge is hourly improving. Resolution is our inherent character, and courage hath never yet forsaken us. Wherefore, what is it that we want? Why is it that we hesitate? From Britain we can expect nothing but ruin. If she is once admitted to the government of America again, this Continent will not be worth living in. Jealousies will be always arising; insurrections will be constantly happening; and who will go forth to quell them? Who will venture his life to reduce his own countrymen to a foreign obedience? The difference between Pennsylvania and Connecticut, respecting some unlocated lands, shows the insignificance of a British government, and fully proves, that nothing but Continental authority can regulate Continental matters.

Another reason why the present time is preferable to all others, is, that the fewer our numbers are, the more land there is yet unoccupied, which instead of being lavished by the king on his worthless dependents, may be hereafter

applied, not only to the discharge of the present debt, but to the constant support of government. No nation under heaven hath such an advantage as this.

The infant state of the Colonies, as it is called, so far from being against, is an argument in favor of independence. We are sufficiently numerous, and were we more so, we might be less united. It is a matter worthy of observation, that the more a country is peopled, the smaller their armies are. In military numbers, the ancients far exceeded the moderns: and the reason is evident, for trade being the consequence of population, men become too much absorbed thereby to attend to anything else. Commerce diminishes the spirit, both of patriotism and military defence. And history sufficiently informs us, that the bravest achievements were always accomplished in the non-age of a nation. With the increase of commerce England hath lost its spirit. The city of London, notwithstanding its numbers, submits to continued insults with the patience of a coward. The more men have to lose, the less willing are they to venture. The rich are in general slaves to fear, and submit to courtly power with the trembling duplicity of a spaniel.

Youth is the seed-time of good habits, as well in nations as in individuals. It might be difficult, if not impossible, to form the Continent into one government half a century hence. The vast variety of interests, occasioned by an increase of trade and population, would create confusion. Colony would be against colony. Each being able might scorn each other's assistance: and while the proud and foolish gloried in their little distinctions, the wise would lament that the union had not been formed before. Wherefore, the present time is the true time for establishing it. The intimacy which is contracted in infancy, and the friendship which is formed in misfortune, are, of all others, the most lasting and unalterable. Our present union is marked with both these characters: we are young, and we have been distressed; but our concord hath withstood our troubles, and fixes a memorable era for posterity to glory in.

The present time, likewise, is that peculiar time, which never happens to a nation but once, viz., the time of forming itself into a government. Most nations have let slip the opportunity, and by that means have been compelled to receive laws from their conquerors, instead of making laws for themselves. First, they had a king, and then a form of government; whereas, the articles or charter of government, should be formed first, and men delegated to execute them afterwards: but from the errors of other nations, let us learn wisdom, and lay hold of the present opportunity — to begin government at the right end.

When William the Conqueror subdued England he gave them law at the point of the sword; and until we consent that the seat of government in America, be legally and authoritatively occupied, we shall be in danger of having it filled by some fortunate ruffian, who may treat us in the same manner, and then, where will be our freedom? where our property?

As to religion, I hold it to be the indispensable duty of all government, to protect all conscientious professors thereof, and I know of no other business which government hath to do therewith. Let a man throw aside that narrowness of soul, that selfishness of principle, which the niggards of all professions are so unwilling to part with, and he will be at once delivered of his fears on that head. Suspicion is the companion of mean souls, and the bane of all good society. For myself I fully and conscientiously believe, that it is the will of the Almighty, that there should be diversity of religious opinions among us: It affords a larger field for our Christian kindness. Were we all of one way of thinking, our religious dispositions would want matter for probation; and on this liberal principle, I look on the various denominations among us, to be like children of the same family, differing only, in what is called their Christian names.

Earlier in this work, I threw out a few thoughts on the propriety of a Continental Charter, (for I only presume to offer hints, not plans) and in this place, I take the liberty of rementioning the subject, by observing, that a charter is to be understood as a bond of solemn obligation, which the whole enters into, to support the right of every separate part, whether of religion, personal freedom, or property, A firm bargain and a right reckoning make long friends. In a former page I likewise mentioned the necessity of a large and equal representation; and there is no political matter which more deserves our attention. A small number of electors, or a small number of representatives, are equally dangerous. But if the number of the representatives be not only small, but unequal, the danger is increased. As an instance of this, I mention the following; when the Associators petition was before the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania; twenty-eight members only were present, all the Bucks County members, being eight, voted against it, and had seven of the Chester members done the same, this whole province had been governed by two counties only, and this danger it is always exposed to. The unwarrantable stretch likewise, which that house made in their last sitting, to gain an undue authority over the delegates of that province, ought to warn the people at large, how they trust power out of their own hands. A set of instructions for the Delegates were put together, which in point of sense and business would have dishonored a school-boy, and after being approved by a few, a very few without doors, were carried into the house, and there passed in behalf of the whole colony; whereas, did the whole colony know, with what ill-will that House hath entered on some necessary public measures, they would not hesitate a moment to think them unworthy of such a trust.

Immediate necessity makes many things convenient, which if continued would grow into oppressions. Expedience and right are different things. When the calamities of America required a consultation, there was no method so ready, or at that time so proper, as to appoint persons from the several Houses of Assembly for that purpose and the wisdom with which they have proceeded hath preserved this continent from ruin. But as it is more than probable that we shall never be without a Congress, every well-wisher to good order, must own, that the mode for choosing members of that body, deserves consideration. And I put it as a question to those, who make a study of mankind, whether representation and election is not too great a power for one and the same body of men to

possess? When we are planning for posterity, we ought to remember that virtue is not hereditary. It is from our enemies that we often gain excellent maxims, and are frequently surprised into reason by their mistakes. Mr. Cornwall (one of the Lords of the Treasury) treated the petition of the New York Assembly with contempt, because that House, he said, consisted but of twenty-six members, which trifling number, he argued, could not with decency be put for the whole. We thank him for his involuntary honesty.²

² Those who would fully understand of what great consequence a large and equal representation is to a state, should read Burgh's political Disquisitions.

To conclude: However strange it may appear to some, or however unwilling they may be to think so, matters not, but many strong and striking reasons may be given, to show, that nothing can settle our affairs so expeditiously as an open and determined declaration for independence. Some of which are:

First. It is the custom of nations, when any two are at war, for some other powers, not engaged in the quarrel, to step in as mediators, and bring about the preliminaries of a peace: but while America calls herself the subject of Great Britain, no power, however well disposed she may be, can offer her mediation. Wherefore, in our present state we may quarrel on for ever.

Secondly. It is unreasonable to suppose, that France or Spain will give us any kind of assistance, if we mean only to make use of that assistance for the purpose of repairing the breach, and strengthening the connection between Britain and America; because, those powers would be sufferers by the consequences.

Thirdly. While we profess ourselves the subjects of Britain, we must, in the eye of foreign nations, be considered as rebels. The precedent is somewhat dangerous to their peace, for men to be in arms under the name of subjects; we on the spot, can solve the paradox: but to unite resistance and subjection, requires an idea much too refined for common understanding.

Fourthly. Were a manifesto to be published, and despatched to foreign courts, setting forth the miseries we have endured, and the peaceable methods we have ineffectually used for redress; declaring, at the same time, that not being able, any longer to live happily or safely under the cruel disposition of the British court, we had been driven to the necessity of breaking off all connection with her; at the same time assuring all such courts of our peaceable disposition towards them, and of our desire of entering into trade with them. Such a memorial would produce more good effects to this Continent, than if a ship were freighted with petitions to Britain.

Under our present denomination of British subjects we can neither be received nor heard abroad: The custom of all courts is against us, and will be so, until, by an independence, we take rank with other nations.

These proceedings may at first appear strange and difficult; but, like all other steps which we have already passed over, will in a little time become familiar and agreeable; and, until an independence is declared, the continent will feel itself like a man who continues putting off some unpleasant business from day to day, yet knows it must be done, hates to set about it, wishes it over, and is continually haunted with the thoughts of its necessity.

Appendix

Since the publication of the first edition of this pamphlet, or rather, on the same day on which it came out, the king's speech made its appearance in this city. Had the spirit of prophecy directed the birth of this production, it could not have brought it forth, at a more seasonable juncture, or a more necessary time. The bloody-mindedness of the one, show the necessity of pursuing the doctrine of the other. Men read by way of revenge. And the speech instead of terrifying, prepared a way for the manly principles of independence.

Ceremony, and even, silence, from whatever motive they may arise, have a hurtful tendency, when they give the least degree of countenance to base and wicked performances; wherefore, if this maxim be admitted, it naturally follows, that the king's speech, as being a piece of finished villainy, deserved, and still deserves, a general execration both by the congress and the people. Yet as the domestic tranquility of a nation, depends greatly on the chastity of what may properly be called national manners, it is often better, to pass some things over in silent disdain, than to make use of such new methods of dislike, as might introduce the least innovation, on that guardian of our peace and safety. And perhaps, it is chiefly owing to this prudent delicacy, that the king's speech, hath not before now, suffered a public execution. The speech if it may be called one, is nothing better than a wilful audacious libel against the truth, the common good, and the existence of mankind; and is a formal and pompous method of offering up human sacrifices to the pride of tyrants. But this general massacre of mankind, is one of the privileges, and the certain consequences of kings; for as nature knows them not, they know not her, and although they are beings of our own creating, they know not us, and are become the gods of their creators. The speech hath one good quality, which is, that it is not calculated to deceive, neither can we, even if we would, be deceived by it. Brutality and tyranny appear on the face of it. It leaves us at no loss: And every line convinces, even in the moment of reading, that He, who hunts the woods for prey, the naked and untutored Indian, is less a savage than the king of Britain.

Sir John Dalrymple, the putative father of a whining jesuitical piece, fallaciously called, The address of the people of England to the inhabitants of America, hath, perhaps from a vain supposition, that the people here were to be

frightened at the pomp and description of a king, given, (though very unwisely on his part) the real character of the present one: "But," says this writer, "if you are inclined to pay compliments to an administration, which we do not complain of," (meaning the Marquis of Rockingham's at the repeal of the Stamp Act) "it is very unfair in you to withhold them from that prince, by whose nod alone they were permitted to do anything." This is toryism with a witness! Here is idolatry even without a mask: And he who can calmly hear, and digest such doctrine, hath forfeited his claim to rationality an apostate from the order of manhood; and ought to be considered — as one, who hath, not only given up the proper dignity of a man, but sunk himself beneath the rank of animals, and contemptibly crawl through the world like a worm.

However, it matters very little now, what the king of England either says or does; he hath wickedly broken through every moral and human obligation, trampled nature and conscience beneath his feet; and by a steady and constitutional spirit of insolence and cruelty, procured for himself an universal hatred. It is now the interest of America to provide for herself. She hath already a large and young family, whom it is more her duty to take care of, than to be granting away her property, to support a power who is become a reproach to the names of men and Christians. Ye, whose office it is to watch over the morals of a nation, of whatsoever sect or denomination ye are of, as well as ye, who are more immediately the guardians of the public liberty, if ye wish to preserve your native country uncontaminated by European corruption, ye must in secret wish a separation. But leaving the moral part to private reflection, I shall chiefly confine my farther remarks to the following heads:

First. That it is the interest of America to be separated from Britain.

Secondly. Which is the easiest and most practicable plan, reconciliation or independence? with some occasional remarks.

In support of the first, I could, if I judged it proper, produce the opinion of some of the ablest and most experienced men on this continent; and whose sentiments, on that head, are not yet publicly known. It is in reality a self-evident position: For no nation in a state of foreign dependance, limited in its commerce, and cramped and fettered in its legislative powers, can ever arrive at any material eminence. America doth not yet know what opulence is; and although the progress which she hath made stands unparalleled in the history of other nations, it is but childhood, compared with what she would be capable of arriving at, had she, as she ought to have, the legislative powers in her own hands. England is, at this time, proudly coveting what would do her no good, were she to accomplish it; and the Continent hesitating on a matter, which will be her final ruin if neglected. It is the commerce and not the conquest of America, by which England is to be benefited, and that would in a great measure continue, were the countries as independent of each other as France and Spain; because in many articles, neither can go to a better market. But it is the independence of this country on Britain or any other which is now the main and only object

worthy of contention, and which, like all other truths discovered by necessity, will appear clearer and stronger every day.

First. Because it will come to that one time or other.

Secondly. Because the longer it is delayed the harder it will be to accomplish.

I have frequently amused myself both in public and private companies, with silently remarking the spacious errors of those who speak without reflecting. And among the many which I have heard, the following seems the most general, viz., that had this rupture happened forty or fifty years hence, instead of now, the Continent would have been more able to have shaken off the dependance. To which I reply, that our military ability at this time, arises from the experience gained in the last war, and which in forty or fifty years time, would have been totally extinct. The Continent, would not, by that time, have had a General, or even a military officer left; and we, or those who may succeed us, would have been as ignorant of martial matters as the ancient Indians: And this single position, closely attended to, will unanswerably prove, that the present time is preferable to all others: The argument turns thus — at the conclusion of the last war, we had experience, but wanted numbers; and forty or fifty years hence, we should have numbers, without experience; wherefore, the proper point of time, must be some particular point between the two extremes, in which a sufficiency of the former remains, and a proper increase of the latter is obtained: And that point of time is the present time.

The reader will pardon this digression, as it does not properly come under the head I first set out with, and to which I again return by the following position, viz.:

Should affairs be patched up with Britain, and she to remain the governing and sovereign power of America, (which as matters are now circumstanced, is giving up the point entirely) we shall deprive ourselves of the very means of sinking the debt we have or may contract. The value of the back lands which some of the provinces are clandestinely deprived of, by the unjust extension of the limits of Canada, valued only at five pounds sterling per hundred acres, amount to upwards of twenty-five millions, Pennsylvania currency; and the quit-rents at one penny sterling per acre, to two millions yearly.

It is by the sale of those lands that the debt may be sunk, without burden to any, and the quit-rent reserved thereon, will always lessen, and in time, will wholly support the yearly expense of government. It matters not how long the debt is in paying, so that the lands when sold be applied to the discharge of it, and for the execution of which, the Congress for the time being, will be the continental trustees.

I proceed now to the second head, viz. Which is the earliest and most practicable plan, reconciliation or independence with some occasional remarks.

He who takes nature for his guide is not easily beaten out of his argument, and on that ground, I answer generally — That independence being a single simple line, contained within ourselves; and reconciliation, a matter exceedingly perplexed and complicated, and in which, a treacherous capricious court is to interfere, gives the answer without a doubt.

The present state of America is truly alarming to every man who is capable of reflection. Without law, without government, without any other mode of power than what is founded on, and granted by courtesy. Held together by an unexampled concurrence of sentiment, which is nevertheless subject to change, and which every secret enemy is endeavoring to dissolve. Our present condition, is, legislation without law; wisdom without a plan; a constitution without a name; and, what is strangely astonishing, perfect Independence contending for dependance. The instance is without a precedent; the case never existed before; and who can tell what may be the event? The property of no man is secure in the present unbraced system of things. The mind of the multitude is left at random, and feeling no fixed object before them, they pursue such as fancy or opinion starts. Nothing is criminal; there is no such thing as treason; wherefore, every one thinks himself at liberty to act as he pleases. The Tories dared not to have assembled offensively, had they known that their lives, by that act were forfeited to the laws of the state. A line of distinction should be drawn, between English soldiers taken in battle, and inhabitants of America taken in arms. The first are prisoners, but the latter traitors. The one forfeits his liberty the other his head.

Notwithstanding our wisdom, there is a visible feebleness in some of our proceedings which gives encouragement to dissensions. The Continental Belt is too loosely buckled. And if something is not done in time, it will be too late to do any thing, and we shall fall into a state, in which, neither reconciliation nor independence will be practicable. The king and his worthless adherents are got at their old game of dividing the continent, and there are not wanting among us printers, who will be busy spreading specious falsehoods. The artful and hypocritical letter which appeared a few months ago in two of the New York papers, and likewise in two others, is an evidence that there are men who want either judgment or honesty.

It is easy getting into holes and corners and talking of reconciliation: But do such men seriously consider, how difficult the task is, and how dangerous it may prove, should the Continent divide thereon. Do they take within their view, all the various orders of men whose situation and circumstances, as well as their own, are to be considered therein. Do they put themselves in the place of the sufferer whose all is already gone, and of the soldier, who hath quitted all for the defence of his country. If their ill judged moderation be suited to their own

private situations only, regardless of others, the event will convince them, that "they are reckoning without their Host."

Put us, says some, on the footing we were in the year 1763: To which I answer, the request is not now in the power of Britain to comply with, neither will she propose it; but if it were, and even should be granted, I ask, as a reasonable question, By what means is such a corrupt and faithless court to be kept to its engagements? Another parliament, nay, even the present, may hereafter repeal the obligation, on the pretence of its being violently obtained, or unwisely granted; and in that case, Where is our redress? No going to law with nations; cannon are the barristers of crowns; and the sword, not of justice, but of war, decides the suit. To be on the footing of 1763, it is not sufficient, that the laws only be put on the same state, but, that our circumstances, likewise, be put on the same state; our burnt and destroyed towns repaired or built up, our private losses made good, our public debts (contracted for defence) discharged; otherwise, we shall be millions worse than we were at that enviable period. Such a request had it been complied with a year ago, would have won the heart and soul of the continent — but now it is too late, "the Rubicon is passed."

Besides the taking up arms, merely to enforce the repeal of a pecuniary law, seems as unwarrantable by the divine law, and as repugnant to human feelings, as the taking up arms to enforce obedience thereto. The object, on either side, doth not justify the ways and means; for the lives of men are too valuable to be cast away on such trifles. It is the violence which is done and threatened to our persons; the destruction of our property by an armed force; the invasion of our country by fire and sword, which conscientiously qualifies the use of arms: And the instant, in which such a mode of defence became necessary, all subjection to Britain ought to have ceased; and the independency of America should have been considered, as dating its area from, and published by, the first musket that was fired against her. This line is a line of consistency; neither drawn by caprice, nor extended by ambition; but produced by a chain of events, of which the colonies were not the authors.

I shall conclude these remarks, with the following timely and well intended hints. We ought to reflect, that there are three different ways by which an independency may hereafter be effected; and that one of those three, will one day or other, be the fate of America, viz. By the legal voice of the people in congress; by a military power; or by a mob: It may not always happen that our soldiers are citizens, and the multitude a body of reasonable men; virtue, as I have already remarked, is not hereditary, neither is it perpetual. Should an independency be brought about by the first of those means, we have every opportunity and every encouragement before us, to form the noblest, purest constitution on the face of the earth. We have it in our power to begin the world over again. A situation, similar to the present, hath not happened since the days of Noah until now. The birthday of a new world is at hand, and a race of men perhaps as numerous as all Europe contains, are to receive their portion of freedom from the

event of a few months. The reflection is awful — and in this point of view, how trifling, how ridiculous, do the little, paltry cavillings, of a few weak or interested men appear, when weighed against the business of a world.

Should we neglect the present favorable and inviting period, and an independence be hereafter effected by any other means, we must charge the consequence to ourselves, or to those rather, whose narrow and prejudiced souls, are habitually opposing the measure, without either inquiring or reflecting. There are reasons to be given in support of

Independence, which men should rather privately think of, than be publicly told of. We ought not now to be debating whether we shall be independent or not, but, anxious to accomplish it on a firm, secure, and honorable basis, and uneasy rather that it is not yet begun upon. Every day convinces us of its necessity. Even the tories (if such beings yet remain among us) should, of all men, be the most solicitous to promote it; for, as the appointment of committees at first, protected them from popular rage, so, a wise and well established form of government, will be the only certain means of continuing it securely to them. Wherefore, if they have not virtue enough to be Whigs, they ought to have prudence enough to wish for independence.

In short, independence is the only bond that can tie and keep us together. We shall then see our object, and our ears will be legally shut against the schemes of an intriguing, as well as a cruel enemy. We shall then too, be on a proper footing, to treat with Britain; for there is reason to conclude, that the pride of that court, will be less hurt by treating with the American states for terms of peace, than with those, whom she denominates, "rebellious subjects," for terms of accommodation. It is our delaying it that encourages her to hope for conquest, and our backwardness tends only to prolong the war. As we have, without any good effect therefrom, withheld our trade to obtain a redress of our grievances, let us now try the alternative, by independently redressing them ourselves, and then offering to open the trade. The mercantile and reasonable part of England will be still with us; because, peace with trade, is preferable to war without it. And if this offer be not accepted, other courts may be applied to.

On these grounds I rest the matter. And as no offer hath yet been made to refute the doctrine contained in the former editions of this pamphlet, it is a negative proof, that either the doctrine cannot be refuted, or, that the party in favor of it are too numerous to be opposed. Wherefore, instead of gazing at each other with suspicious or doubtful curiosity, let each of us, hold out to his neighbor the hearty hand of friendship, and unite in drawing a line, which, like an act of oblivion, shall bury in forgetfulness every former dissention. Let the names of Whig and Tory be extinct; and let none other be heard among us, than those of a good citizen, an open and resolute friend, and a virtuous supporter of the rights of mankind and of the free and independent states of America.

Epistle to Quakers

To the Representatives of the Religious Society of the People called Quakers, or to so many of them as were concerned in publishing a late piece, entitled "The Ancient Testimony and Principles of the people called Quakers renewed with respect to the King and Government, and Touching the Commotions now prevailing in these and other parts of America, addressed to the people in general."

The writer of this is one of those few, who never dishonors religion either by ridiculing, or cavilling at any denomination whatsoever. To God, and not to man, are all men accountable on the score of religion. Wherefore, this epistle is not so properly addressed to you as a religious, but as a political body, dabbling in matters, which the professed quietude of your Principles instruct you not to meddle with.

As you have, without a proper authority for so doing, put yourselves in the place of the whole body of the Quakers, so, the writer of this, in order to be on an equal rank with yourselves, is under the necessity, of putting himself in the place of all those who approve the very writings and principles, against which your testimony is directed: And he hath chosen their singular situation, in order that you might discover in him, that presumption of character which you cannot see in yourselves. For neither he nor you have any claim or title to Political Representation.

When men have departed from the right way, it is no wonder that they stumble and fall. And it is evident from the manner in which ye have managed your testimony, that politics, (as a religious body of men) is not your proper walk; for however well adapted it might appear to you, it is, nevertheless, a jumble of good and bad put unwisely together, and the conclusion drawn therefrom, both unnatural and unjust.

The two first pages, (and the whole doth not make four) we give you credit for, and expect the same civility from you, because the love and desire of peace is not confined to Quakerism, it is the natural, as well as the religious wish of all denominations of men. And on this ground, as men laboring to establish an Independent Constitution of our own, do we exceed all others in our hope, end, and aim. Our plan is peace for ever. We are tired of contention with Britain, and can see no real end to it but in a final separation. We act consistently, because for the sake of introducing an endless and uninterrupted peace, do we bear the evils and burdens of the present day. We are endeavoring, and will steadily continue to endeavor, to separate and dissolve a connection which hath already filled our land with blood; and which, while the name of it remains, will be the fatal cause of future mischiefs to both countries.

We fight neither for revenge nor conquest; neither from pride nor passion; we are not insulting the world with our fleets and armies, nor ravaging the globe for plunder. Beneath the shade of our own vines are we attacked; in our own houses, and on our own lands, is the violence committed against us. We view our enemies in the characters of

highwaymen and housebreakers, and having no defence for ourselves in the civil law; are obliged to punish them by the military one, and apply the sword, in the very case, where you have before now, applied the halter. Perhaps we feel for the ruined and insulted sufferers in all and every part of the continent, and with a degree of tenderness which hath not yet made its way into some of your bosoms. But be ye sure that ye mistake not the cause and ground of your Testimony. Call not coldness of soul, religion; nor put the bigot in the place of the Christian.

O ye partial ministers of your own acknowledged principles! If the bearing arms be sinful, the first going to war must be more so, by all the difference between wilful attack and unavoidable defence.

Wherefore, if ye really preach from conscience, and mean not to make a political hobby-horse of your religion, convince the world thereof, by proclaiming your doctrine to our enemies, for they likewise bear arms. Give us proof of your sincerity by publishing it at St. James's, to the commanders in chief at Boston, to the admirals and captains who are practically ravaging our coasts, and to all the murdering miscreants who are acting in authority under HIM whom ye profess to serve. Had ye the honest soul of Barclay³ ye would preach repentance to your king; Ye would tell the royal tyrant of his sins, and warn him of eternal ruin. Ye would not spend your partial invectives against the injured and the insulted only, but like faithful ministers, would cry aloud and spare none. Say not that ye are persecuted, neither endeavor to make us the authors of that reproach, which, ye are bringing upon yourselves; for we testify unto all men, that we do not complain against you because ye are Quakers, but because ye pretend to be and are not Quakers.

3 "Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity; thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country, to be overruled as well as to rule, and set upon the throne; and being oppressed thou hast reason to know now hateful the oppressor is both to God and man. If after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to follow lust and vanity, surely great will be thy condemnation. Against which snare, as well as the temptation of those who may or do feed thee, and prompt thee to evil, the most excellent and prevalent remedy will be, to apply thyself to that light of Christ which shineth in thy conscience and which neither can, nor will flatter thee, nor suffer thee to be at ease in thy sins." – Barclay's Address to Charles II.

Alas! it seems by the particular tendency of some part of your Testimony, and other parts of your conduct, as if all sin was reduced to, and comprehended in the act of bearing arms, and that by the people only. Ye appear to us, to have mistaken party for conscience, because the general tenor of your actions wants uniformity: And it is exceedingly difficult to us to give credit to many of your pretended scruples; because we see them made by the same men, who, in the very instant that they are exclaiming against the mammon of this world, are nevertheless, hunting after it with a step as steady as Time, and an appetite as keen as Death.

The quotation which ye have made from Proverbs, in the third page of your testimony, that, "when a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him;" is very unwisely chosen on your part; because it amounts to a proof, that the king's ways (whom ye are so desirous of supporting) do not please the Lord, otherwise, his reign would be in peace.

I now proceed to the latter part of your testimony, and that, for which all the foregoing seems only an introduction, viz:

"It hath ever been our judgment and principle, since we were called to profess the light of Christ Jesus, manifested in our consciences unto this day, that the setting up and putting down kings and governments, is God's peculiar prerogative; for causes best known to himself: And that it is not our business to have any hand or contrivance therein; nor to be busy-bodies above our station, much less to plot and contrive the ruin, or overturn any of them, but to pray for the king, and safety of our nation, and good of all men: that we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all goodliness and honesty; under the government which God is pleased to set over us." If these are really your principles why do ye not abide by them? Why do ye not leave that, which ye call God's work, to be managed by himself? These very principles instruct you to wait with patience and humility, for the event of all public measures, and to receive that event as the divine will towards you. Wherefore, what occasion is there for your political Testimony if you fully believe what it contains? And the very publishing it proves, that either, ye do not believe what ye profess, or have not virtue enough to practice what ye believe.

The principles of Quakerism have a direct tendency to make a man the quiet and inoffensive subject of any, and every government which is set over him. And if the setting up and putting down of kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative, he most certainly will not be robbed thereof by us; wherefore, the principle itself leads you to approve of every thing, which ever happened, or may happen to kings as being his work. Oliver Cromwell thanks you. Charles, then, died not by the hands of man; and should the present proud imitator of him, come to the same untimely end, the writers and publishers of the Testimony, are bound by the doctrine it contains, to applaud the fact. Kings are not taken away by miracles, neither are changes in governments brought about by any other means than such as are common and human; and such as we are now using. Even the dispersing of the Jews, though foretold by our Savior, was effected by arms. Wherefore, as ye refuse to be the means on one side, ye ought not to be meddlers on the other; but to wait the issue in silence; and unless you can produce divine authority, to prove, that the Almighty who hath created and placed this new world, at the greatest distance it could possibly stand, east and west, from every part of the old, doth, nevertheless, disapprove of its being independent of the corrupt and abandoned court of Britain; unless I say, ye can show this, how can ye, on the ground of your principles, justify the exciting and stirring up of the people "firmly to unite in the abhorrence of all such writings, and measures, as

evidence a desire and design to break off the happy connection we have hitherto enjoyed, with the kingdom of Great Britain, and our just and necessary subordination to the king, and those who are lawfully placed in authority under him." What a slap in the face is here! the men, who, in the very paragraph before, have quietly and passively resigned up the ordering, altering, and disposal of kings and governments, into the hands of God, are now recalling their principles, and putting in for a share of the business. Is it possible, that the conclusion, which is here justly quoted, can any ways follow from the doctrine laid down? The inconsistency is too glaring not to be seen; the absurdity too great not to be laughed at; and such as could only have been made by those, whose understandings were darkened by the narrow and crabby spirit of a despairing political party; for ye are not to be considered as the whole body of the Quakers but only as a factional and fractional part thereof.

Here ends the examination of your testimony; (which I call upon no man to abhor, as ye have done, but only to read and judge of fairly;) to which I subjoin the following remark; "That the setting up and putting down of kings," most certainly mean, the making him a king, who is yet not so, and the making him no king who is already one. And pray what hath this to do in the present case? We neither mean to set up nor to put down, neither to make nor to unmake, but to have nothing to do with them. Wherefore your testimony in whatever light it is viewed serves only to dishonor your judgment, and for many other reasons had better have been let alone than published.

First. Because it tends to the decrease and reproach of religion whatever, and is of the utmost danger to society, to make it a party in political disputes.

Secondly. Because it exhibits a body of men, numbers of whom disavow the publishing political testimonies, as being concerned therein and approvers thereof.

Thirdly. Because it hath a tendency to undo that continental harmony and friendship which yourselves by your late liberal and charitable donations hath lent a hand to establish; and the preservation of which, is of the utmost consequence to us all.

And here, without anger or resentment I bid you farewell. Sincerely wishing, that as men and Christians, ye may always fully and uninterruptedly enjoy every civil and religious right; and be, in your turn, the means of securing it to others; but that the example which ye have unwisely set, of mingling religion with politics, may be disavowed and reprobated by every inhabitant of America.

-THE END-

Source: <http://www.constitution.org/tp/comsense.htm>

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Thoreau, Henry David. *Walden; or, Life in the Woods*. Boston: Houghton, 1893. (1854)

I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived. I did not wish to live what was not life, living is so dear; nor did I wish to practise resignation, unless it was quite necessary. I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to live so sturdily and Spartan-like as to put to rout all that was not life, to cut a broad swath and shave close, to drive life into a corner, and reduce it to its lowest terms, and, if it proved to be mean, why then to get the whole and genuine meanness of it, and publish its meanness to the world; or if it were sublime, to know it by experience, and be able to give a true account of it in my next excursion. For most men, it appears to me, are in a strange uncertainty about it, whether it is of the devil or of God, and have somewhat hastily concluded that it is the chief end of man here to “glorify God and enjoy him forever.”

Access full text [here](#).

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. "Society and Solitude." *Essays and Poems*. New York: Library of America, 1996. (1857)

'Tis hard to mesmerize ourselves, to whip our own top; but through sympathy we are capable of energy and endurance. Concert fires people to a certain fury of performance they can rarely reach alone. Here is the use of society: it is so easy with the great to be great; so easy to come up to an existing standard;—as easy as it is to the lover to swim to his maiden through waves so grim before. The benefits of affection are immense; and the one event which never loses its romance, is the encounter with superior persons on terms allowing the happiest intercourse.

It by no means follows that we are not fit for society, because soirees are tedious, and because the soiree finds us tedious. A backwoodsman, who had been sent to the university, told me that, when he heard the best-bred young men at the law school talk together, he reckoned himself a boor; but whenever he caught them apart, and had one to himself alone, then they were the boors, and he the better man. And if we recall the rare hours when we encountered the best persons, we then found ourselves, and then first society seemed to exist. That was society, though in the transom of a brig, or on the Florida Keys.

A cold, sluggish blood thinks it has not facts enough to the purpose, and must decline its turn in the conversation. But they who speak have no more,—have less. 'Tis not new facts that avail, but the heat to dissolve everybody's facts. The capital defect of cold, arid natures is the want of animal spirits. They seem a power incredible, as if God should raise the dead. The recluse witnesses what others perform by their aid, with a kind of fear. It is as much out of his possibility as the prowess of Coeur-de-Lion, or an Irishman's day's-work on the railroad. 'Tis said, the present and the future are always rivals. Animal spirits constitute the power of the present, and their feats are like the structure of a pyramid. Their result is a lord, a general, or a boon companion. Before these, what a base mendicant is Memory with his leathern badge! But this genial heat is latent in all constitutions, and is disengaged only by the friction of society. As Bacon said of manners, "To obtain them, it only needs not to despise them," so we say of animal spirits, that they are the spontaneous product of health and of a social habit. "For behavior, men learn it, as they take diseases, one of another."

But the people are to be taken in very small doses. If solitude is proud, so is society vulgar. In society, high advantages are set down to the individual as disqualifications. We sink as easily as we rise, through sympathy. So many men whom I know are degraded by their sympathies, their native aims being high enough, but their relation all too tender to the gross people about them. Men cannot afford to live together by their merits, and they adjust themselves by their demerits,—by their love of gossip, or by sheer tolerance and animal good-nature. They untune and dissipate the brave aspirant.

The remedy is, to reinforce each of these moods from the other. Conversation will not corrupt us, if we come to the assembly in our own garb and speech, and with the energy of health to select what is ours and reject what is not. Society we must have; but let it be society, and not exchanging news, or eating from the same dish. Is it society to sit in one of your chairs? I cannot go into the houses of my nearest relatives, because I do not wish to be alone. Society exists by chemical affinity, and not otherwise.

Put any company of people together with freedom for conversation, and a rapid self-distribution takes place, into sets and pairs. The best are accused of exclusiveness. It would be more true to say, they separate as oil

from water, as children from old people, without love or hatred in the matter, each seeking his like; and any interference with the affinities would produce constraint and suffocation. All conversation is a magnetic experiment. I know that my friend can talk eloquently; you know that he cannot articulate a sentence: we have seen him in different company. Assort your party, or invite none. Put Stubbs and Coleridge, Quintilian and Aunt Miriam, into pairs, and you make them all wretched. 'Tis an extempore Sing-Sing built in a parlor. Leave them to seek their own mates, and they will be as merry as sparrows.

A higher civility will re-establish in our customs a certain reverence which we have lost. What to do with these brisk young men who break through all fences, and make themselves at home in every house? I find out in an instant if my companion does not want me, and ropes cannot hold me when my welcome is gone. One would think that the affinities would pronounce themselves with a surer reciprocity.

Here again, as so often, Nature delights to put us between extreme antagonisms, and our safety is in the skill with which we keep the diagonal line. Solitude is impracticable, and society fatal. We must keep our head in the one and our hands in the other. The conditions are met, if we keep our independence, yet do not lose our sympathy. These wonderful horses need to be driven by fine hands. We require such a solitude as shall hold us to its revelations when we are in the street and in palaces; for most men are cowed in society, and say good things to you in private, but will not stand to them in public. But let us not be the victims of words. Society and solitude are deceptive names. It is not the circumstance of seeing more or fewer people, but the readiness of sympathy, that imports; and a sound mind will derive its principles from insight, with ever a purer ascent to the sufficient and absolute right, and will accept society as the natural element in which they are to be applied.

Chesterton, G. K. "The Fallacy of Success." *Selected Essays*. London: Methuen, 1949. (1909)

There has appeared in our time a particular class of books and articles which I sincerely and solemnly think may be called the silliest ever known among men. They are much more wild than the wildest romances of chivalry and much more dull than the dullest religious tract. Moreover, the romances of chivalry were at least about chivalry; the religious tracts are about religion. But these things are about nothing; they are about what is called Success. On every bookstall, in every magazine, you may find works telling people how to succeed. They are books showing men how to succeed in everything; they are written by men who cannot even succeed in writing books. To begin with, of course, there is no such thing as Success. Or, if you like to put it so, there is nothing that is not successful. That a thing is successful merely means that it is; a millionaire is successful in being a millionaire and a donkey in being a donkey. Any live man has succeeded in living; any dead man may have succeeded in committing suicide. But, passing over the bad logic and bad philosophy in the phrase, we may take it, as these writers do, in the ordinary sense of success in obtaining money or worldly position. These writers profess to tell the ordinary man how he may succeed in his trade or speculation—how, if he is a builder, he may succeed as a builder; how, if he is a stockbroker, he may succeed as a stockbroker. They profess to show him how, if he is a grocer, he may become a sporting yachtsman; how, if he is a tenth-rate journalist, he may become a peer; and how, if he is a German Jew, he may become an Anglo-Saxon. This is a definite and business-like proposal, and I really think that the people who buy these books (if any people do buy them) have a moral, if not a legal, right to ask for their money back. Nobody would dare to publish a book about electricity which literally told one nothing about electricity; no one would dare publish an article on botany which showed that the writer did not know which end of a plant grew in the earth. Yet our modern world is full of books about Success and successful people which literally contain no kind of idea, and scarcely and kind of verbal sense.

It is perfectly obvious that in any decent occupation (such as bricklaying or writing books) there are only two ways (in any special sense) of succeeding. One is by doing very good work, the other is by cheating. Both are much too simple to require any literary explanation. If you are in for the high jump, either jump higher than any one else, or manage somehow to pretend that you have done so. If you

Chesterton's "The Fallacy of Success"

want to succeed at whist, either be a good whist-player, or play with marked cards. You may want a book about jumping; you may want a book about whist; you may want a book about cheating at whist. But you cannot want a book about Success. Especially you cannot want a book about Success such as those which you can now find scattered by the hundred about the book-market. You may want to jump or to play cards; but you do not want to read wandering statements to the effect that jumping is jumping, or that games are won by winners. If these writers, for instance, said anything about success in jumping it would be something like this: 'The jumper must have a clear aim before him. He must desire definitely to jump higher than the other men who are in for the same competition. He must let no feeble feelings of mercy (sneaked from the sickening Little Englanders and Pro-Boers) prevent him from trying to do his best. He must remember that a competition in jumping is distinctly competitive, and that, as Darwin has gloriously demonstrated, THE WEAKEST GO TO THE WALL.' That is the kind of thing the book would say, and very useful it would be, no doubt, if read out in a low and tense voice to a young man just about to take the high jump. Or suppose that in the course of his intellectual rambles the philosopher of Success dropped upon our other case, that of playing cards, his bracing advice would run—'In playing cards it is very necessary to avoid the mistake (commonly made by maudlin humanitarians and Free Traders) of permitting your opponent to win the game. You must have grit and snap and go in to win. The days of idealism and superstition are over. We live in a time of science and hard common sense, and it has now been definitely proved that in any game where two are playing IF ONE DOES NOT WIN THE OTHER WILL.' It is all very stirring, of course; but I confess that if I were playing cards I would rather have some decent little book which told me the rules of the game. Beyond the rules of the game it is all a question either of talent or dishonesty; and I will undertake to provide either one or the other—which, it is not for me to say.

EXCERPT ONLY: Paine, Thomas. *Common Sense*. New York: Penguin, 2005. (1776)

A government of our own is our natural right: And when a man seriously reflects on the precariousness of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiser and safer, to form a constitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to trust such an interesting event to time and chance. If we omit it now, some Massanello* may hereafter arise, who laying hold of popular disquietudes, may collect together the desperate and the discontented, and by assuming to themselves the powers of government, may sweep away the liberties of the continent like a deluge. Should the government of America return again into the hands of Britain, the tottering situation of things, will be a temptation for some desperate adventurer to try his fortune; and in such a case, what relief can Britain give? Ere she could hear the news the fatal business might be done, and ourselves suffering like the wretched Britons under the oppression of the Conqueror. Ye that oppose independence now, ye know not what ye do; ye are opening a door to eternal tyranny, by keeping vacant the seat of government.

*Thomas Anello, otherwise Massanello, a fisherman of Naples, who after spiring up his countrymen in the public market place, against the oppression of the Spaniards, to whom the place was then subject, prompted them to revolt, and in the space of a day became king.

Declaration of Sentiments by the Seneca Falls Conference. An American Primer. Edited by Daniel J. Boorstin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966. (1848)

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled. The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in church, as well as state, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

Retrieved from: Fordham University at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/senecafalls.asp>.

Primary Source: from Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *A History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 1 (Rochester, N.Y.: Fowler and Wells, 1889), pages 70-71.

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Fredrick Douglass "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?"

Douglass, Frederick. "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?: An Address Delivered in Rochester, New York, on 5

July 1852." *The Oxford Frederick Douglass Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. (1852)

Fellow Citizens, I am not wanting in respect for the fathers of this republic. The signers of the Declaration of Independence were brave men. They were great men, too great enough to give frame to a great age. It does not often happen to a nation to raise, at one time, such a number of truly great men. The point from which I am compelled to view them is not, certainly, the most favorable; and yet I cannot contemplate their great deeds with less than admiration. They were statesmen, patriots and heroes, and for the good they did, and the principles they contended for, I will unite with you to honor their memory....

...Fellow-citizens, pardon me, allow me to ask, why am I called upon to speak here to-day? What have I, or those I represent, to do with your national independence? Are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice, embodied in that Declaration of Independence, extended to us? And am I, therefore, called upon to bring our humble offering to the national altar, and to confess the benefits and express devout gratitude for the blessings resulting from your independence to us?

Would to God, both for your sakes and ours, that an affirmative answer could be truthfully returned to these questions! Then would my task be light, and my burden easy and delightful. For who is there so cold, that a nation's sympathy could not warm him? Who so obdurate and dead to the claims of gratitude, that would not thankfully acknowledge such priceless benefits? Who so stolid and selfish, that would not give his voice to swell the hallelujahs of a nation's jubilee, when the chains of servitude had been torn from his limbs? I am not that man. In a case like that, the dumb might eloquently speak, and the "lame man leap as an hart."

But such is not the state of the case. I say it with a sad sense of the disparity between us. I am not included within the pale of glorious anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you, this day, rejoice, are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity and independence, bequeathed by your fathers, is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought light and healing to you, has brought stripes and death to me. This Fourth July is yours, not mine. You may rejoice, I must mourn. To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, were inhuman mockery and sacrilegious irony. Do you mean, citizens, to mock me, by asking me to speak to-day? If so, there is a parallel to your conduct. And let me warn you that it is dangerous to copy the example of a nation whose crimes, towering up to heaven, were thrown down by the breath of the Almighty, burying that nation in irrevocable ruin! I can to-day take up the plaintive lament of a peeled and woe-smitten people!

Fredrick Douglass "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?"

"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down. Yea! We wept when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there, they that carried us away captive, required of us a song; and they who wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion. How can we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."

Fellow-citizens, above your national, tumultuous joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions! whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are, to-day, rendered more intolerable by the jubilee shouts that reach them. If I do forget, if I do not faithfully remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, "may my right hand forget her cunning, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!" To forget them, to pass lightly over their wrongs, and to chime in with the popular theme, would be treason most scandalous and shocking, and would make me a reproach before God and the world. My subject, then, fellow-citizens, is American slavery. I shall see this day and its popular characteristics from the slave's point of view. Standing there identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine, I do not hesitate to declare, with all my soul, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this 4th of July! Whether we turn to the declarations of the past, or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future. Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will, in the name of humanity which is outraged, in the name of liberty which is fettered, in the name of the constitution and the Bible which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery the great sin and shame of America! "I will not equivocate; I will not excuse"; I will use the severest language I can command; and yet not one word shall escape me that any man, whose judgment is not blinded by prejudice, or who is not at heart a slaveholder, shall not confess to be right and just.

But I fancy I hear some one of my audience say, "It is just in this circumstance that you and your brother abolitionists fail to make a favorable impression on the public mind. Would you argue more, and denounce less; would you persuade more, and rebuke less; your cause would be much more likely to succeed." But, I submit, where all is plain there is nothing to be argued. What point in the anti-slavery creed would you have me argue? On what branch of the subject do the people of this country need light? Must I undertake to prove that the slave is a man? That point is conceded already. Nobody doubts it. The slaveholders themselves acknowledge it in the enactment of laws for their government. They acknowledge it when they punish disobedience on the part of the slave. There are seventy-two crimes in the State of Virginia which, if committed by a black man (no matter how ignorant he be), subject him to the punishment of death; while only two of the same crimes will subject a white man to the like punishment. What is this but the acknowledgment that the slave is a moral, intellectual, and responsible being? The manhood of the slave is conceded. It is admitted in the fact that Southern statute books are covered with enactments forbidding, under severe fines and penalties, the teaching of the slave to read or to write. When you can point to any such laws in reference to the beasts of the field, then I may consent to argue the manhood of the slave. When the dogs in your streets, when the

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fowls of the air, when the cattle on your hills, when the fish of the sea, and the reptiles that crawl, shall be unable to distinguish the slave from a brute, then will I argue with you that the slave is a man!

For the present, it is enough to affirm the equal manhood of the Negro race. Is it not astonishing that, while we are ploughing, planting, and reaping, using all kinds of mechanical tools, erecting houses, constructing bridges, building ships, working in metals of brass, iron, copper, silver and gold; that, while we are reading, writing and ciphering, acting as clerks, merchants and secretaries, having among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, poets, authors, editors, orators and teachers; that, while we are engaged in all manner of enterprises common to other men, digging gold in California, capturing the whale in the Pacific, feeding sheep and cattle on the hill-side, living, moving, acting, thinking, planning, living in families as husbands, wives and children, and, above all, confessing and worshipping the Christian's God, and looking hopefully for life and immortality beyond the grave, we are called upon to prove that we are men! Would you have me argue that man is entitled to liberty? That he is the rightful owner of his own body? You have already declared it. Must I argue the wrongfulness of slavery? Is that a question for Republicans? Is it to be settled by the rules of logic and argumentation, as a matter beset with great difficulty, involving a doubtful application of the principle of justice, hard to be understood? How should I look to-day, in the presence of Americans, dividing, and subdividing a discourse, to show that men have a natural right to freedom? Speaking of it relatively and positively, negatively and affirmatively. To do so, would be to make myself ridiculous, and to offer an insult to your understanding. There is not a man beneath the canopy of heaven that does not know that slavery is wrong for him.

What, am I to argue that it is wrong to make men brutes, to rob them of their liberty, to work them without wages, to keep them ignorant of their relations to their fellow men, to beat them with sticks, to flay their flesh with the lash, to load their limbs with irons, to hunt them with dogs, to sell them at auction, to sunder their families, to knock out their teeth, to burn their flesh, to starve them into obedience and submission to their masters? Must I argue that a system thus marked with blood, and stained with pollution, is wrong? No! I will not. I have better employment for my time and strength than such arguments would imply.

What, then, remains to be argued? Is it that slavery is not divine; that God did not establish it; that our doctors of divinity are mistaken? There is blasphemy in the thought. That which is inhuman, cannot be divine! Who can reason on such a proposition? They that can, may; I cannot. The time for such argument is passed.

At a time like this, scorching irony, not convincing argument, is needed. O! Had I the ability, and could reach the nation's ear, I would, to-day, pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke. For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder. We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be quickened; the conscience of the nation must be roused; the propriety of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crimes against God and man must be proclaimed and denounced.

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What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer; a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are, to Him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy — a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of the United States, at this very hour.

Go where you may, search where you will, roam through all the monarchies and despotisms of the Old World, travel through South America, search out every abuse, and when you have found the last, lay your facts by the side of the everyday practices of this nation, and you will say with me, that, for revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy, America reigns without a rival.

Preamble

The Preamble to the Constitution

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address

Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress. Transcribed and Annotated by the Lincoln Studies Center, Knox College. Galesburg, Illinois.

Abraham Lincoln, [March 4, 1865] (Second Inaugural Address; endorsed by Lincoln, April 10, 1865)

Abraham Lincoln, Second Inaugural Address(1), [March 4, 1865]

[Manuscript copy]

Fellow Countrymen(2)

At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention, and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil-war. All dreaded it -- all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war -- seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern half part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the

territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!" If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope -- fervently do we pray -- that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said f[our] three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether"

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to achieve and cherish a lasting peace among ourselves and with the world. to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with the world. all nations (3).

[Endorsed by Lincoln:]

Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address

[Note 1 The only known manuscript of Lincoln's famous Second Inaugural Address, this document appears to be a fair copy, rather than a composition draft. Its large lettering and well-spaced lines suggest it was copied out fair as a reading copy. This is confirmed by the revision he made to the address's ending, which could have been effected by inserting additional words between the lines. Instead, he made the revision by pasting a slip of paper, or tab, over the last two lines of his text and writing the revised version on the tab.

At some point it was decided to make printed copies available to the press. The name written in pencil in the top margin of the first page of the manuscript, "Flynn," is almost certainly that of the typesetter assigned by the printer to set the manuscript into type. After proofreading the galleys of what would become a three-page printed handout for the press, Lincoln seems to have retained a set of uncorrected galleys and fashioned this into his reading copy. He did this by cutting the printed galleys up into smaller segments (mostly consisting of one sentence), arranging them into two columns, and pasting them onto a larger sheet. The text of this reading copy shows two verbal changes, which are present also in the manuscript copy, and many punctuation changes, which are not. This is presumably the text that Lincoln read from at the inaugural ceremony at the Capitol on March 4, 1865.

For more details on the manuscript, the three-page printed press handout, and the reading copy, see David C. Mearns and Lloyd A. Dunlap, Library of Congress Press Release, Feb. 8, 1965. Both manuscript and reading copy were presented by the president to John Hay and were in turn presented by his family to the Library of Congress in 1916.

The text of the manuscript is followed by that of the reading copy.]

[Note 2 In pencil, possibly in another hand.]

[Note 3 Lincoln revised his text by covering the last two lines ("to achieve . . .the world.") with a tab, on which he wrote the revised ending ("to do all . . . the world."). A further change was made on the tab itself by striking "the world" and substituting "all nations."]

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