

American Heritage

GECIV 100

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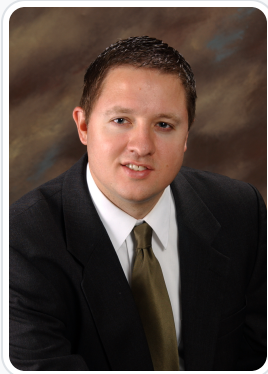
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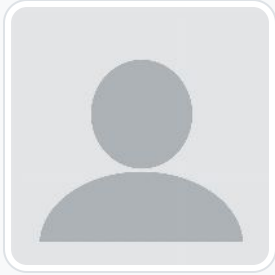
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Week 2

Foundational Principles

Culture

Jesus Christ

American Heritage is an exploration of the foundational principles that underlie American tradition and culture. This course will operate with an understanding of the doctrine and teachings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. We will examine aspects of American Heritage in light of what we can learn from Church leaders and the scriptures.

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If we truly cherish the heritage we have received, we must maintain the same virtues and ... character of our stalwart forebears—faith in God, courage, industry, frugality, self-reliance, and integrity. We have the obligation to maintain what those who pledged their life, their fortunes, and their sacred honor gave to future generations.

Ezra Taft Benson

Introduction

This course, American Heritage, will be an exploration of the foundational principles that underlie American tradition and culture. The material in this course covers the basic political, economic, and religious ideas that supported the founding and creation of the United States with a general, thematic, and chronological overview of its history and struggles. However, unlike American history courses taught at other universities, this course will operate with an understanding of the doctrine and teachings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. We will examine aspects of American Heritage in light of what we can learn from Church leaders and the scriptures, as well as the ways in which those true principles contribute to the formation of good government and society.

We will begin our study in this week's reading by answering the following questions:

1. Why is the study of American Heritage valuable?
2. Why are Agency and Accountability, Liberty, and Rule of Law foundational principles of American Heritage?
3. How does understanding these principles through the lens of British culture help us understand American Heritage?

It is our goal that the answers to these questions will provide you with a solid foundation that you can build on throughout this semester. We know that “it is [God’s] will that [we] should hasten to ... obtain a knowledge of history, and of countries, and of kingdoms, of laws of God and man.” Therefore, we encourage you to think critically about these principles and test them through personal observation and by studying them out in your mind. Like the New Testament prophet Paul instructed the Thessalonians, “Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.”

Why the Study of American Heritage is Valuable

The United States as a Light and a Land of Hope

The first Puritan settlers to the American continent borrowed the phrase “a city that is set on a hill” from the New Testament to describe their venture into the New World. The Puritan religious mission was to purify the Church of England and to stand before the world as an example of a true religious community. Their mission, which involved the land that would become the United States, has remained to this day. During America’s revolutionary period, the 1620 Mayflower Compact idea evolved into one of the first examples of liberty and self-government. This mission can be seen throughout the history of the United States, including in America’s continuing efforts to spread peace and democracy throughout the world. Throughout its history, the United States has stood as a beacon of hope for a better life. Hillsdale College Professor Wilfred M. McClay had this to say on the subject:

The western hemisphere was inhabited by people who had come from elsewhere, unwilling to settle for the conditions into which they were born and drawn by the prospect of a new beginning, the lure of freedom, and the space to pursue their ambitions in ways their respective Old Worlds did not permit. Hope has both theological and secular meanings, spiritual ones as well as material ones. Both these sets of meanings exist in abundance in America. In fact, nothing about America better defines its distinctive character than the ubiquity of hope, a sense that the way things are initially given to us cannot be the final word about them, that we can never settle for that. Even those who are bitterly critical of America, and find its hopes to be delusions, cannot deny the enduring energy of those hopes and are not immune to their pull.



Many people may think that the United States has a divine mission as a light unto the world; this is a dangerous thought, as it does not mean that everything that has happened throughout the history of the country has been led by God. Mistakes and wrongdoings have been made in the history of the United States. The Book of Mormon prophet Moroni reminds readers to learn from these mistakes: “Rather give thanks unto God that he had made manifest unto you our imperfections, that ye may learn to be more wise than we have been.” Therefore, we assert that the hope for a better life, due to the divine principles the United States was founded on, has blessed innumerable people and continues to do so as we learn from our mistakes.

The United States as the Host Nation for the Restoration of the Gospel

According to scripture and the teachings of prophets, the true mission of the United States is for it to be a preserved and protected place for religious liberty against tyranny and oppression. It is also the place from which the law of the Lord shall go forth throughout the world. Examples from sacred text include:

Wherefore, I will consecrate this land unto thy seed, and them who shall be numbered among thy seed, forever, for the land of their inheritance; for it is a choice land, saith God unto me, above all other lands, wherefore I will have all men that dwell thereon that they shall worship me, saith God.

Behold, this is a choice land, and whatsoever nation shall possess it shall be free from bondage, and from captivity, and from all other nations under heaven, if they will but serve the God of the land, who is Jesus Christ, who hath been manifested by the things which we have written.

And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountains of the Lord and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths; for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

The United States has a prophetic mission to be a choice land where free people can worship. As part of that mission, it was the only place where the gospel of Jesus Christ could be restored to the earth in the latter days. As President Joseph F. Smith taught:



This great American nation the Almighty raised up by the power of his omnipotent hand, that it might be possible in the latter days for the kingdom of God to be established in the earth. If the Lord had not prepared the way by laying the foundations of this glorious nation, it would have been impossible (under the stringent laws and bigotry of the monarchical governments of the world) to have laid the foundations for the coming of his great kingdom. The Lord has done this.

Although the restoration of the Gospel began in the United States, it continues to unfold in nations throughout the world. This is because the foundational principles within the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution have spread to other nations. These two documents carry with them the pattern for an environment of freedom that is ideal for our human experience. The spread of these principles and the opportunity they provide for freedom of religion and choice is part of the great work of the gathering of Israel.

Agency and Accountability, Liberty, and Rule of Law

Several concepts are foundational to understanding the heritage of America. These divine principles continue to be crucial for individuals and nations throughout the world.

Agency and Accountability

Agency is defined as “the ability and privilege God gives us to choose to act for ourselves,” and it is the principle in our individual lives that allows us to progress or regress according to God’s plan. Apostle D. Todd Christofferson said in an October 2014 Conference talk:

God intends that His children should act according to the moral agency He has given them, 'that every man may be accountable for his own sins in the day of judgment.' It is His plan and His will that we have the principal decision-making role in our own life's drama.

Lehi taught the principle that each individual is free to choose the direction of his or her life:

Wherefore men are free according to the flesh; and all things are given them which are expedient unto man. And they are free to choose liberty and eternal life, through the great Mediator of all men, or to choose captivity and death, according to the captivity and power of the devil; for he seeketh that all men might be miserable like unto himself.

Whether seen in the temples' endowment session or read in the scriptures, the story of Adam and Eve is a reminder of the foundational principle of agency. Eve's use of agency, along with Adam's decision to support her, put Heavenly Father's entire plan in motion. President Russell M. Nelson once said:

We and all mankind are forever blessed because of Eve's great courage and wisdom. By partaking of the fruit first, she did what needed to be done. Adam was wise enough to do likewise.

In order for individuals to fully enjoy the benefits of agency, it is crucial that they live in an environment of **liberty** (defined later in this section). The United States Constitution was crafted to create a government with power to act on a national level but not as much as to risk the agency, liberty, and fundamental rights of its constituents. We learn from modern day revelation and prophets that the United States Constitution was "established ... for the rights and protection of all flesh" because "the most desirable condition for the exercise of that agency is maximum freedom for men and women to act according to their individual choices." The vital reason for us being free to act is so that "every man may be accountable for his own sins on the day of judgment." There is an important connection between agency and accountability.

There is also an important distinction to be made between agency and freedom. Elder Oaks said that "because free agency is a God-given precondition to the purpose of mortal life, no person or organization can take away our free agency in mortality." Therefore, the laws made by governments may limit our freedoms, "the right to act upon our choices," but they cannot take away our ability to make choices. We sometimes link our agency to our freedoms, but "interferences with our freedom do not deprive us of our free agency." Elder Oaks then gave an example of Joseph, the prophet who was sold into Egypt. As a servant of Pharaoh, he was wrongly put in prison. This action by the government, "restricted Joseph's freedom, but he [Pharaoh] did not take away his free agency."

Knowing that our agency can never be taken away, we should seek out principles that help us exercise our agency, which also helps us experience accountability. **Accountability** is "the opportunity to assume personal responsibility" for our choices. Elder D. Todd Christofferson explains that this is "a God-given gift without which we cannot realize our full potential as daughters and sons of God." In fact, like agency, "personal accountability becomes both a right and a duty that we must constantly defend; it has been under assault since before the Creation."

Our life's progression is not possible if we simply exercise our agency. We must also be responsible for our decisions in order to reach our full potential. Elder Christofferson says that we must defend accountability against:

1. Persons and programs that would (sometimes with the best intentions) make us dependent.
2. Our own inclination to avoid the work that is required to cultivate talents, abilities, and Christlike character."

Yeomni Park, a North Korean defector, explained this connection between choice and responsibility for choice in her memoir.

I never knew freedom could be such a cruel and difficult thing. Until now [before escaping to South Korea], I had always thought that being free meant being able to wear jeans and watch whatever movies I wanted without worrying about being arrested. Now I realized that I had to think all the time—and it was exhausting. There were times when I wondered whether, if it wasn't for the constant hunger, I would be

better off in North Korea, where all my thinking and all my choices were taken care of for me. I was tired of being so responsible.

Our ability to make choices, act on them, and then be responsible for those choices is an “indispensable prerequisite” to experience and enjoy liberty.

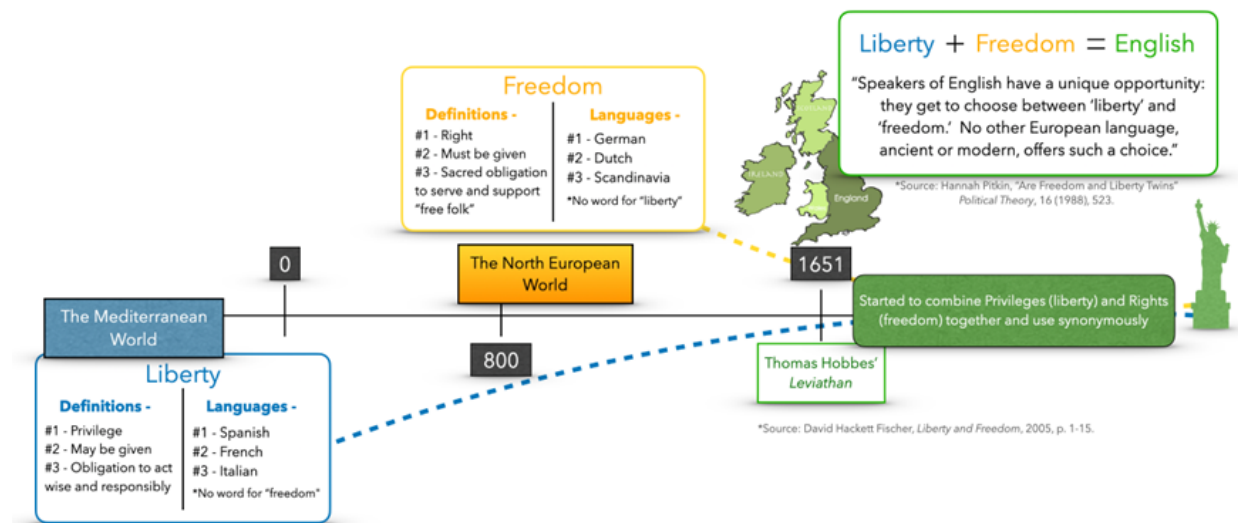
Liberty

Liberty is a term that means different things to different people. Abraham Lincoln made this same point while speaking at a convention in Maryland in 1864 during the Civil War.

The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things called by the same name—liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—liberty and tyranny.

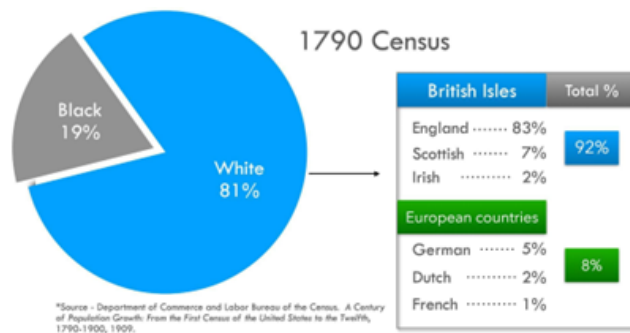
In these types of debates, individuals argue over what they think the true definition of liberty is. For example, in 1748 the *Maryland Gazette* newspaper featured a series of letters between the citizens who were debating the nature of constitutionalism in British America. One citizen, who named himself “Freeholder,” argued against allowing for the taxing power to go solely to the county court without any oversight because “true Liberty consists in being secured from the wicked Impositions of a Tyrant and Oppressor.”

If there are so many definitions, is there really a true definition of liberty? The answer depends on many variables like time period, culture, customs and history of the people using the term, to name a few. For example, liberty and freedom are synonyms for us today, but these words had different meanings before the 18th century. Here is a brief timeline with the corresponding definitions:



From the timeline above, we see that the Mediterranean world thought in terms of liberty, and the North European World thought in terms of freedom, but the English language was the only European language that allowed for both. Words shape our thoughts which can correlate to our actions. For example, North Korean dissenter Yeomni Park wrote that even though they (North Koreans) share the same ethnic background and language as South Korea, North Koreans have “no words for things like ‘shopping malls,’ ‘liberty,’ or even ‘love.’” This was an effort by the government to prevent people from higher thinking that might result in rebellion. Therefore, it is significant to American Heritage that the English

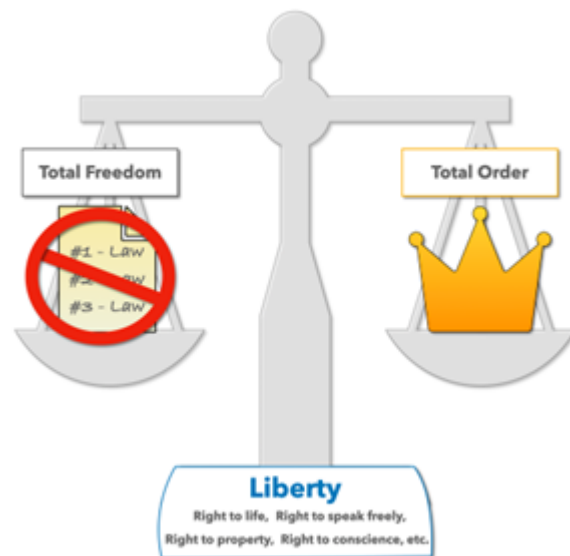
language had ideas of both freedom and liberty because the people and culture that formed the United States were primarily from the British Isles. On the left is a snapshot of the demographics in America right after the US Constitution was ratified in 1787.



Our understanding of liberty is shaped by the Founding Fathers' understanding of the word, drawn from their experiences, British culture and language, and their study of political philosophers. They understood liberty to describe the opportunity to make choices (agency). Choices exist when we have rights, privileges, and ownership over something. Those rights, privileges, and ownership matter if they are protected by law from others and from the government itself.

For example, a person has liberty by making a choice to buy a house and have that house protected from property destruction by others, or from arbitrary confiscation by the government. Therefore, **liberty** strives to find the perfect balance between too little government (anarchy) and too much government (tyranny).

This basic definition guided the Founders to try and find the best way to construct a government. Here are some quotes from political philosophers and American Founders that help explain the need for balance between freedom for choice and laws restricting choice:



1689—John Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*: “The End of the law is not to abolish or restrain but to preserve and enlarge freedom. For in all the states of created beings capable of laws, where there is no law there is no freedom.”

1788—Alexander Hamilton, speech in New York Convention, 25 June 1788: The aim of the US Constitution was to find “the perfect balance between liberty and power ... Good constitutions are formed upon a comparison of the liberty of the individual with the strength of government: If the tone of either be too high, the other will be weakened too much.”

1790—James Wilson, *Lectures On Law*: Wilson defined American character as “the love of liberty and the love of law ... because neither of them can exist, without the other. Without liberty, law loses its nature and its name, and becomes oppression. Without law, liberty also loses its nature and its name, and becomes licentiousness.”^[31]

1796—George Washington, *Farewell Address*, 17 September 1796: “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.”

In summation, liberty cannot be achieved with finality at one time but must be maintained and balanced throughout time. We need to balance our opportunities to make choices (agency) with the need to have laws. What type of laws will help us achieve Liberty?

Rule of Law

The Doctrine and Covenants teach, “That which is governed by law is also preserved by law and perfected and sanctified by the same.”

Rule of law is the concept that the law is the rule *always*—in all cases and for all people. Law is supreme. This is the principle through which God functions and the Plan of Salvation is organized.

For instance, all things are organized according to the laws of nature. From the law of gravity to Newton's laws of motion, the natural world functions according to set, impartial, immutable laws. These laws provide order, stability, and assurance. Former apostle N. Eldon Tanner asked,

Have you ever stopped to think what would happen if we could not depend on the sun rising at a certain time each morning? Or if the earth failed to rotate on its axis for only one day, or for just a few minutes? Or if the law of gravity were suspended? In a very short time, the earth and all mankind would be destroyed. All bodies of the universe are controlled in space and move according to law ... All of this is possible only because through the laws of nature, the Creator keeps creation in its course.

In the same manner, the laws of God “are as clear and as binding and as irrevocable as those of nature, and our success or failure, our happiness or unhappiness, depend on our knowledge and application of these laws in our lives.” Divine law, like natural law, is foundational to our existence and progression. Divine law provides clarity and assurance throughout our life experience.

Joseph Smith taught concerning law:

There is a law, irrevocably decreed in heaven before the foundation of this world, upon which all blessings are predicated—and when we obtain any blessing from God, it is by obedience to that law upon which it is predicated.

In the Book of Mormon, we learn about the laws of Justice and Mercy. In the most complete manifestation of acting in accordance to divine law, our Savior “answered the ends of the law” by completing the Atonement. His Atonement fulfilled both the Law of Mercy and the Law of Justice. Because of this and other aspects of His divine godhood, Christ is the law.

We live in a world in which the rule of law—the rule of natural law and the rule of divine law—was established from the beginning. It continues to provide clarity, order, stability, and assurance in our lives.

Characteristics of Good Law

Divine laws, including laws of nature, have certain characteristics. First, they are impartial. These laws are fairly enforced, meaning they apply to everyone. Second, they are immutable. They do not change. Third, they are also fairly promulgated. That means they are made widely known to all. The Lord makes sure, through the prophets, that we know exactly what is expected of us. Finally, divine laws are in alignment with divine principles. Law is simply a manifestation of truth.

Good law is impartial, stable, clear, and good. It follows principles of Justice, which leads to peace, which leads to freedom and liberty, which leads to full exercise of agency.

For earthly laws to be good laws, they should have the same criteria. First, they should apply to everyone impartially. The rule of law, then, places everyone on equal footing and gives no one special advantages over others. It provides fair rules for society, just like the rules in a children's board game. One child playing checkers may want to move her pieces backwards to gain an unfair advantage over her opponent, but the rules prevent it. As in checkers, the rule of law means that all must abide by universal rules, regardless of what they might want. This applies to those governing as well as those being governed.

Second, law should be stable. In the secular world, laws change from time to time, but there should be an orderly way established for laws to change so those impacted are aware of the changes. The United States Constitution is one example of this. It is the supreme law of the land and cannot be changed unless the specific amendment process is followed.

Third, law should be widely promulgated—widely made known to all. It would be unjust for a motorist to be pulled over for speeding if the speed limit is not clearly indicated. It is the responsibility of citizens to be aware of current laws.

Finally, for law to truly be good, it should be in alignment with divine principles. Since not everyone on earth accepts divine principles as truth, creating earthly law that aligns with divine law is difficult to achieve. According to the Doctrine and Covenants, laws should “preserve,” “protect,” and “sanctify.” For example, there are many who believe that pro-abortion laws are good laws and, if measured against secular principles, these laws might be considered good laws. But, when measured against truth, a pro-abortion law does not “preserve,” “protect,” “sanctify,” and, as such, is not in alignment with divine truth. Therefore it could not be considered good law. In like manner, all laws can be measured against a divine metric to determine their true value and worth. Good law in its fullness is defined and established by or inspired by God. Bad law is defined by and established or promoted by the adversary.

Results of Rule of Law

If the rule of Law is in place in a society, it will protect against the arbitrary exercise of power. Dealing with power is one of the greatest challenges of earthly governments and achieving this protection against arbitrary power is justice. If every person is subject to law, no one can rise above the law and unjustly usurp power and authority. Thus, the rule of law is crucial for justice to be present in a society.

The rule of law furthermore ensures individual and collective good. Justice leads to an environment of peace and liberty. Under these conditions, individuals are able to fully act upon their choices in accordance with their agency. It also means that individuals are accountable for what happens to them. Remember that when the Nephites moved to a rule of law system, King Mosiah felt great joy. No longer would a single person be responsible for their actions and sins. The people themselves would assume responsibility. Under the rule of law, a person’s guilt determines punishment, so the people themselves are responsible for the consequences of their behavior. One’s own actions, not the caprices of a mob or a tyrant, decide their fate. The rule of law is absolutely crucial to the full functioning of agency and accountability.

In summary, rule of law is a condition in which well-defined and established law is applied equally to all, thus restricting arbitrary exercise of power and contributing to the individual and collective good. Ideally, such law is in accordance with divine principles.

Rule of Will

If we didn’t have the rule of law, if the law was not the rule for all people in all cases, then we would be subject to the rule of will. Rule of will can be manifest through excessive government (tyranny) or absence of government (anarchy). Both have the opposite effect of the rule of law. There will be no justice, no peace, no liberty, and, although people always have agency, it will be more difficult to act upon choices made. Protecting the rule of law is crucial: nothing less than the exercise of agency is at stake.

Anarchy

The Rule of Will comes in two forms. The first, we call anarchy. In anarchy, people take away rights by force because there is no government there to stop them. Anarchy, then, is defined as the Rule of Will in the absence of government. With no restraining government power, all become the enemy of all. Avarice and fear drive people to take the lives, liberties, and properties of others. The strong dominate the weak by theft, rape, enslavement, and murder.

Anarchy is the more brutal of the two forms of the Rule of Will and unfortunately, there have been many instances of anarchy throughout history. For instance, we often picture the 19th century American West as a time of honorable cowboys, peaceful sunsets, cattle drives, and heroic conquest of untamed land, but the reality was far crueler. Bandits sacked cabins, roving thugs raided wagon trains, men shot each other in the streets, and because of their remote location out West, little authority was there to stop them.

Anarchy is what finally killed the prophet Joseph Smith. The local authorities arrested and placed him in jail, but then withdrew all government protection and allowed mobs to come and lynch him. It is ironic that mobocracy killed the prophet since he had spent a lifetime combatting this evil. He had seen the saints persecuted by lawlessness in New York, Ohio, and Missouri and he constantly petitioned the government for help. President Van Buren's response "I can do nothing for you," summarized the unwillingness to stop the anarchy that caused such suffering among the Saints. When Senator Calhoun wrote to Joseph Smith that he would also do nothing for the LDS if elected president because the Federal Government's powers were "limited and specific," Joseph responded in a lengthy letter of righteous anger. Senator Calhoun, Joseph argued, failed to understand that the most basic function of government is to protect the rights of the people under its jurisdiction. A senator or president who failed to "reinstate expelled citizens to their rights," he said, was a "monstrous hypocrite fed and fostered from the hard earnings of the people."

Anarchy is still impacting people today. Numerous third-world countries are run by local warlords and gangs because their governments cannot or will not impose order. There are pockets of anarchy in our country where government rule is weaker than that of local criminals. Furthermore, anarchy can break out at any moment, even in well-established governments, as exemplified in post-Katrina New Orleans when looters took control after the government evacuated.

Tyranny

Let's now turn to the other, more common, form of the Rule of Will: tyranny. While anarchy is the Rule of Will in the absence of government, tyranny is the Rule of Will through government. In theory, the government is the body that prevents us from violating one another's rights, but in practice the government itself often takes our rights away. Once empowered, government rulers use this power to compel others according to their own will. We cede power to governments to prevent coercion, but then the government itself becomes an agent of coercion.

We could spend thousands of pages listing the examples of tyranny from history and still not even come close to telling its full story. In fact, most of the history of humankind has been the gruesome story of unrestrained, unjust government oppression.

Nazi Germany is just one famous example. Hitler used the force of government to rule over and control millions of Jews, homosexuals, Romanians, and dissidents. He would seize their homes and wealth (taking their right to property), beat them and send them to prison camps (taking their right to liberty), and ultimately execute them with scientific efficiency in gas chambers (taking their right to life). The Nazi tyranny alone is the source of countless stories of unimaginable horror.

You've also heard of the millions killed by Communist tyrants like Stalin, Mao, and Pol Pot, but perhaps not as much about ancient tyrants like Qin Shi Huang Di, who conscripted thousands of laborers to build him a terracotta army to accompany him to the next life. After its completion, he killed the laborers because he feared that if they lived they might create a similar monument for a future emperor. Millions died to satisfy the egomania of the first emperor of China.

This only scratches the surface. There is a history of tyrannical atrocities around the world, like Japanese militarists, Ottoman imperialists, Spanish inquisitors, and American slaveholders. The story of human tyranny is almost endless.

As you can see, the two forms of the Rule of Will are both tragic and pervasive. Either government rulers impose their will on the people, or non-government actors do when the government is powerless to stop them. In both cases, people use force to deprive others of their natural rights.

In contrast to anarchy and tyranny, the Rule of Law means that stable, impartial laws rule over society, rather than anyone's will. Government coercion can only be used to enforce non-arbitrary laws designed to protect the public. Under the Rule of Law, power over others is never exercised according to anyone's individual desires, but only as the law demands.

Course Overview

The three overarching concepts of Agency, Liberty, and Rule of Law are foundational to this course. They will be woven throughout every aspect of our studies this semester. Recognize them as we proceed through the lessons. These principles will elevate and elucidate everything we study. Building upon this foundation, our American Heritage course will proceed in the following manner.

Lessons 2 and 3: The Formation of the United States of America

In the first few lessons of this course, we will study the historical underpinnings and development of the formation of the United States of America. We will see clearly the hand of the Lord in the development of a host nation for the restoration of the Gospel and the Constitutional principles intended to bless the world.

In our current lesson, **Lesson 2**, in addition to studying the principles foundational to this course, we will explore the English heritage that America was built upon. It is significant that the United States of America emerged from an English *political* heritage of natural rights of life, liberty, and property. It is also significant that the United States emerged from an English *religious* heritage of Protestantism with its potential for freedom of conscience. Understanding America's English Colonial Heritage is crucial to an appreciation of the heritage of America.

During **Lesson 3**, we will trace the path that led the Colonists from proud English loyalty to Revolution and Independence. We will gain an appreciation for the fact that though indebted to her colonial heritage, independence became necessary for America and paved the way for events to follow. We will learn about the contributions of the Founders, wise men who the Lord raised up for the specific purpose of the formation of the United States and her Constitution.

Lessons 4, 5 and 6: The Constitution

In **Lesson 4**, we will focus on the early days of America's existence and the struggles they faced under their first government, the Articles of Confederation. We will follow the country and the Founders through the inspired process of the development of the Constitution of the United States. We will come to appreciate the importance of a Constitution formed upon democratic and republican principles.

Lesson 5 will be a thorough discussion of the inspired principles of the Constitution of the United States, with our main text being President Dallin H. Oaks' 2021 Conference address on that topic. We will become familiar and appreciative of the principles of Popular Sovereignty, Federalism, Separation of Powers, and the Bill of Rights. This will include a refresher on the importance of the Rule of Law. We will understand the importance of these principles, not only for the United States, but for the entire world.

In **Lesson 6**, we will turn our attention to the early operation of the United States Government under the new Constitution. We will also discuss the Civil War that followed later in the country's history, as America grappled with the blight of slavery and with other crucial, unresolved constitutional concerns.

In this lesson we will also study the foundational importance of Religion in America and its Constitutional connections. We will discuss the implications religion and religious freedom have currently for members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and other citizens throughout the world.

Lessons 7, 8, and 9: The Economy

A study of history highlights the interrelatedness of religion, politics, and economics. All three subjects have serious, practical implications for the daily life of individuals worldwide. In the next few lessons, however, we will focus specifically on the Economy of the United States.

In **Lesson 7**, we will learn about the basics of economic systems, including the market system. We will also discuss American economic development and industrialization. Finally, we will contrast the market system to command

economies like socialism and communism.

In **Lessons 8**, we will highlight the specifics of the market system and the challenges that have come from implementing it in an imperfect world. We will discuss unequal distribution of wealth. We will also personalize economic principles and apply them to provident living and self-reliance practices.

In **Lesson 9**, we will discuss monetary and fiscal policy, inflation and deflation, and the most economically devastating period of US history, the Great Depression. We will study the government's response to this period and the repercussions of those policies.

Lessons 10, 11, 12, and 13: American Experience in Practice

In the last few lessons of the course, we will be exploring four different aspects of the American experience. We will see, despite America's inspired heritage, implementing inspired principles in an imperfect world can be difficult.

In **Lesson 10** we will learn about America's history of inclusion and exclusion of certain parts of the population. We will discuss the Civil Rights Movement, immigration issues, and the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. We will highlight the importance of implementing the lofty truths of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal into daily practice.

In **Lesson 11** we will discuss the Democratization of America, meaning the process by which, over time, more and more citizens gained the right to vote. We will learn about the process and struggle for attaining Women's Suffrage. We will also discuss America's two-party political system, its history, and its challenges.

In **Lesson 12**, we will explore America's foreign policy and its relation to the rest of the world. We will discuss the Founders' views, the Monroe doctrine and its corollary, America's imperialistic period, and its role in the two world wars. We will apply these principles to current events.

In **Lesson 13**, we will end our studies with a look at America's spirit of change and reform. Most of America's citizens have had a strong desire to make the world a better place. We will discuss some periods of heightened reform in America. We will also consider how each of us can contribute to reformation in our own countries.

Course Objectives

As we gain knowledge of America's political, religious, and economic heritage, we will better be able to understand, appreciate, and articulate inspired principles and practices that are divinely designed to bless all the world. Our hope is that this knowledge will better equip us to act as citizens of our countries, leaders in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and as children of God.

But first, let's consider the English political, economic, and religious ideas from which the United States of America largely emerged.

English Foundations

The United States of America derives much of its heritage from the British Isles. Additionally, the British Isles had a significant influence on The Church of Jesus Christ. President Ezra Taft Benson wrote in 1977 of the impact of the Saints who immigrated to Nauvoo from the British Isles. He explained that the "greatest legacy contributed by the British Isles to the kingdom of God ... is the number of valiant souls—veritable defenders of the faith—who came from the United Kingdom to strengthen the Church at a time of its greatest vulnerability." It is also interesting to note that, in 1977, about "eighty percent of the members of the Church ... [were] descendants or converts from the British Isles."

The foundational concepts of Agency, Liberty, and the Rule of Law did not begin with the establishment of the United States of America in 1776. Seeds of these truths were planted long before in the minds and hearts and practical

experience of the English. Several historical examples show how these foundational principles were manifest in the English experience.

The Magna Carta

In 1215 A.D. King John I had launched a number of wars to aggrandize his kingdom. Those wars were not cheap. To finance them, John decided to raise taxes on the landowners. In most countries, the King had absolute power and the people would simply have to submit to oppressive taxation, but the nobles in England had power to rival that of the king. These lords gathered their armies and forced John to sign the *Magna Carta*, which declared that no English king could raise taxes without the *consent* of those paying them. In other words, it prohibited “taxation without representation.” Many English-speakers around the world trace their freedoms back to this seminal document.

John Locke

Few political philosophers influenced the American Founders more than John Locke. Locke was born in the 17th century. He thought and wrote extensively about the nature of government. In his *Second Treatise of Government* he described a theoretical state of nature in which all of mankind was only under the rule of God. He explained that in this state of nature, all men were perfectly free and equal, being restrained only by the confines set forth in the laws of nature established by God. Such laws included not infringing on other people’s freedom or possessions and dealing with others in the same way you would want to be treated. Locke acknowledged that not all people in a state of nature will act in accordance with this law. Furthermore, human nature tends to make us biased in favor of ourselves and our friends. Therefore, a way was needed to protect life, liberty and property, as well as provide impartial judges to peacefully settle disputes. For these reasons people were willing to leave their state of nature by forming communities with governments. They agreed to relinquish some of their freedom as individuals to protect their property and settle disputes. This was not because they wanted to limit their liberty, but because they saw societal living as a way to expand their liberty through greater peace and order. According to Locke, this is the only purpose of government—to protect life, liberty, and property and to provide a way for peacefully settling disputes within a community. Locke’s ideas are both revolutionary and powerful and they have spread widely in the modern world. Locke’s ideas constituted the philosophy the Founding Fathers expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

English Common Law

The colonists also inherited from England the system of Common Law, a series of judicial decisions standardized by Henry II and handed down over the centuries. The Common Law granted rights and privileges, such as the right of due process, trial by jury, etc., to all English subjects. The American settlers brought this legal tradition with them, and the Common Law protected the innocent, punished the guilty, and kept the colonists free.

Elected Representation

The colonists inherited from England the representative traditions established by England’s Glorious Revolution (1688). In the 17th century, monarchs all over continental Europe were claiming greater authority based on a philosophy of “absolutism.” Some English kings, chafing at the restrictions on their power, tried to do the same. James II, for example, tried to claim greater authority to tax and control, but the English Parliament responded in a decisive and dramatic fashion. They looked across the channel and saw that the king’s daughter was married to the Dutch prince William of Orange, so they invited him over to replace James II as the king of England. But they set conditions: William had to agree that the elected Parliament would be perpetually superior to the monarch in authority, that he would have to tolerate (within limits) other religions, and that he would grant the English a Bill of Rights—outlining rights of Englishmen that even the king could not violate. William agreed to these terms, sailed over with his armies, and replaced James II on the British throne. The power of the British monarch has ever since been subordinate to the elected Parliament.

It was also thanks to the English that the colonists understood the meaning and principles of liberty. Americans inherited their lofty ideas of freedom and rule of law from Englishmen who thought deeply about such ideals.

Traditions of Liberty in the American Colonial Period

Americans took the rich political legacy inherited from England and created a legacy of their own. The American Colonial period, which lasted from the establishment of the first British colony in the western hemisphere to the separating of the United States from England, was infused with characteristics that established and maintained a culture and expectation of liberty.

Distance from Government

Englishmen began colonizing what they termed the “New World” in North America in 1607 in what became Jamestown, Virginia. Several years later, the Separatists, or “Pilgrims” (a group seeking religious freedom) settled at Massachusetts Bay in 1620. More settlements soon followed, all of them thousands of miles away and across the ocean from England.

Initially, the Americans were even more democratic, free, and equal than the English because of the nature of colonial settlement. The colonists that disembarked at Massachusetts Bay and Jamestown called themselves “subjects of the King” and “Englishmen,” but the King’s government was on the other side of the ocean. They set up their own little “parliaments” (legislatures) and town councils and chose representatives based on regular elections. These governments were largely independent of England. This separation and practical independence continued for over 150 years.

Land Ownership

There was also widespread land ownership in America. Back in the old world, land-owning was confined to those families that held large estates for centuries. The land was concentrated in a few hands and if you were lucky enough to own, you were a “lord” (the origin of the term “landlord”). Most people owned no land and worked for those who did. In America, by contrast, the land availability situation was completely different.

As in England, only landowners could vote in the colonies, but land was so widely available that there was far more representation and equality among the populace. This broad land ownership meant that nearly everyone was a “lord”; everyone was equal (with the exception of marginalized groups who received rights much later, such as women and racial minorities). There were no hereditary class distinctions with some titled as Lords, Barons, Dukes, and other such things. Society was far more equal and democratic than anything in Europe.

This land ownership and the wealth that came with it also helped entrench economic freedom in the colonies. Nearly everyone had a vested interest in preserving an inclusive system where taxes and economic controls were limited. Since they were nearly all middle-class, Americans became highly protective of commercial freedom and property rights. The longstanding tradition of economic liberty in the United States began long before the Revolution.

Pluralism

The colonists also had greater liberty than England because of religious and ethnic pluralism. Once American settlement began, people of many different religious persuasions started showing up—Quakers, Catholics, Baptists, Anglicans, etc. Normally, a nation would establish its dominant religion as the official state religion and then persecute religious minorities as “heretics.” This was not the case in America because *everyone belonged to a religious minority*. There was no single predominant religion that could gang up on the dissidents. Each sect just had to learn to get along with the others. They were tolerant by necessity.

The Great Awakening

A religious fervor known as the First Great Awakening impacted the colonies in the mid-18th century and contributed to American liberty. Although the Great Awakening was a religious movement, it had profound political consequences.

The Great Awakening originated with the sense of religious “declension.” The Puritan fathers came to North America hoping to establish a “city on a hill”—an example of godliness to the whole world. But a century later, people were

focused on commerce and accumulating wealth. Citizens worried about their community and what had happened to their “godly society.” They felt that their community had strayed from its original errand and that repentance was needed to halt their slide into worldliness.

Some important religious figures came forward to call them to repentance. First, there was the man considered the brains of the Great Awakening: Jonathan Edwards. At age 12, Edwards entered Yale; at age 16 he graduated as valedictorian; shortly thereafter he became a professor of theology, pastor of a local congregation, and one of the greatest philosophers in American history. Edwards attempted to reconcile the Calvinist emphasis on predestination with the Enlightenment emphasis on free will. Edwards said that the grace of God was dependent upon a freewill acceptance of salvation: your church could not save you, your parents could not save you, the king could not save you. Only Christ could save you through your choice to accept Him. Americans came to cherish choice in political matters as an extension of these religious beliefs.

Edwards also initiated the Great Awakening with his preaching. In 1741 he delivered the famous sermon, “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God,” a fire and brimstone homily in which he pounded the pulpit and used terrifying language and imagery. By trying to scare the American colonists into repentance, Edwards had lit the first sparks of what would become a religious revival.

These sparks would grow into a raging spiritual fire when one of the greatest preachers in American history—George Whitefield—showed up. Whitefield came over from England, unknown, and began preaching in the American South. At first, people paid him little heed. It was routine for itinerant preachers to show up and give sermons. But soon Whitefield became a phenomenon. His manner of speaking was captivating and entertaining: he elevated his voice, gesticulated, flailed, and pieced together words and pauses for perfect dramatic effect. As members of the audience listened, their ears perked up, their eyes widened, their mouths dropped open, and they were finally enraptured by this most captivating speaker. They would then encourage everyone they knew to go hear him and change their lives as well. Whitefield’s sermons became legendary, and soon he was preaching to congregations in excess of twenty thousand—this at a time when there was no voice amplification technology, and the population of America was over one million. Even the skeptical Benjamin Franklin recalled emptying all of his money onto Whitefield’s collection plate.

The Great Awakening turned the hearts and minds of the American people towards an even greater sense of liberty, equality, and democracy. Whitefield would preach about sin and eternal damnation for *everyone*. He didn’t exempt dukes, lords, earls, or even kings. Everyone was a sinner, so everyone was equal in the eyes of God, and therefore in equal need of salvation. American egalitarianism had strong religious roots.

The Great Awakening also caused the colonists to distrust human authority. Whitefield and Edwards preached the importance of a personal commitment to God. Conversion was the key to salvation, not any particular denomination, institution, or clergyman. This subordinated human authority to divine authority and made earthly rule conditional rather than absolute (you can see how this would go well with what Paine said in *Common Sense*).

It also heightened the American sense of individualism. The Great Awakening preachers’ emphasis on individual salvation created fertile ground on which Locke’s philosophy could take root.

The Great Awakening also made the colonists more comfortable with the religious pluralism that already existed. Whitefield would say that all had to come to Christ for salvation but didn’t mandate that they should join a particular church. The specifics of the theology were unimportant next to rebirth through Christ, so it was okay if you were one religion and your neighbor another.



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Week 3

Origins and Formation of American Self-Government

English

Independence

Government

In the 1760s, the American colonies enjoyed their position within the great British Empire. The colonies were free, democratic, and independent; so why did they have to fight a war for independence? To understand the answer to that question, we have to understand how and why the relationship between the colonies and the English government shifted.

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As the first few years of the 1760s dawned, the American colonists enjoyed their position within the great British Empire. They had opportunities for self-government and economic prosperity.^[1] In the previous chapter, we learned about how our status as humans with agency confers upon us natural rights, liberty, and political equality. In this chapter, we will look at how these ideals played out in the creation of the United States of America. We will learn how thirteen fledgling colonies became a single nation that secures freedom for its citizens under the Rule of Law.

Changing Relationship

As we've established, the colonies were free, democratic, and independent; so why did they have to fight a war for independence? To understand the answer to that question, we have to understand how and why the relationship between the colonies and the English government shifted.

The change of the colonies' relationship with England began with the "French and Indian War." In the 1750s, the American colonies were filling up with people. Immigration and a high birth rate meant that new settlers were flowing west of the Appalachian Mountains, taming the frontier, staking out land, cutting down forests, and establishing new agricultural towns. Since full participation in political life depended upon land ownership, the colonists would have to continue moving west if future generations were to enjoy their liberties.

While the colonists were moving west for new land, French trappers were moving south from their base in Canada seeking new waters for trapping. As their paths converged, they clashed over who had rights to this land in the North American interior. The first skirmish happened at the confluence of two rivers where the French had established “Fort Duquesne” (we call it Pittsburgh today). A young colonel in the Virginia militia went to Fort Duquesne and ordered the French to leave. When they refused, the Virginians exchanged shots with the French and started the “Seven Years War” (referred to in the Americas as the French and Indian War). The young Virginia Colonel responsible for the squirmish was none other than George Washington, future general of the American Revolution and the nation’s first president.

After extensive fighting all over the world (there were even prominent battles on the Indian subcontinent), the English triumphed and replaced France as the dominant power in Europe and North America. This meant that English language and institutions would prevail as the colonies expanded westward.

The French and Indian War left the English two big problems that led directly to the War for Independence. First, the British crown, tired of fighting on the frontier, issued The Proclamation of 1763. This proclamation forbade the colonists from moving west of the Appalachian Mountains. To the Americans, this Proclamation would put an end to their liberty and democracy as the availability of open land in the West was the only hope for the growing number of Americans to be full citizens with voting rights and equality.

The second, bigger problem was the cost of the war. The English government had borrowed heavily to defeat the French and now needed to pay those debts. To raise the revenue, they decided, for the first time, to start taxing the American colonists.

The colonists did not accept these taxes because they did not accept the English Parliament’s governance without colonist input. . Remember, each colony had its own representative government to whom they paid taxes. Their local governments could tax them because they were represented in those governments, but they were not represented in the English Parliament.

As George Washington said, “Parliament has no right to put its hands into our pockets without our consent.”

Furthermore, at this time in history, the only people taxed without their consent were servants, those without property (such as women), and children. This British tax placed the colonists on this same level and was a severe blow to their pride and sense of equality as fellow Englishmen.

British Taxation

The first attempts at taxation were small. The British began to enforce revenue-generating Navigation Acts that controlled trade and prohibited the colonists from trading with whomever they wanted. Then they passed a tax on molasses (the “Sugar Tax”), but this latter act didn’t generate a widespread outcry.

Then in 1765, the Parliament passed a huge, burdensome tax that fell heavily on colonists of nearly all regions, professions, and classes—the Stamp Tax. This tax, notoriously hated, required that all official documents be printed on expensive, government-stamped paper.

The backlash to the Stamp Tax was widespread and dramatic. Up to this point in their history, the colonists had been free, independent, and democratic, but this tax removed those. The cry of “no taxation without representation” went up in all the colonies. Politicians like Patrick Henry gained prominence speaking out against it. Underground organizations, such as the Sons of Liberty, arose to protest the tax and terrorize tax collectors.

The Stamp Tax also represented the beginning of American unity. Before 1765, there were thirteen independent colonies, as different from one another as Australia is from New Zealand today. This common grievance, however, gave them common cause. In order to fight the Stamp Tax, the colonies created a *congress* to unify, coordinate, and strengthen their protest. For the first time in U.S. history, all of the colonies were working together. This congress, in a modified and reconstituted form, is still with us in Washington, D.C., and the states still send representatives to congress as they began doing in 1765.

Parliament realized that their plans had backfired. The angry colonists opposed this tax with so much energy and violence that it cost the government more to enforce it than they collected in revenues. It only made British finances worse.

With their plan having failed, the British tried to save face. Parliament repealed the Stamp Tax in 1767, but simultaneously passed the Declaratory Act which asserted their right to control the colonies “in all cases whatsoever.” The British wanted to make it clear to the colonists that even though they were not taxing them anymore, they *could* do so anytime they wanted.

To prove it, they tried again later that year. The Stamp Tax hadn’t worked, they reasoned, because it was “internal,” but the colonists would agree to “external” (excise) taxes. They passed a series of Townshend Duties, sales taxes on goods like paint, glass, lead, and tea that they hoped would succeed where the Stamp Tax had failed.

The British judged wrong. The colonists protested the Townshend Acts just as loudly and forcefully as they had the Stamp Tax. The Sons of Liberty revived to continue their underground protests, terrorize tax collectors, and enforce boycotts. Things became so chaotic that the British had to send soldiers to enforce their decrees. This further inflamed the colonies.

At this point, the British politicians realized that it was no longer about raising revenue but showing the colonists who was in charge. To prove their point, they repealed all of the taxes except one—the tax on tea. The British knew it would only raise a token amount of money, but it would at least uphold the principle of Parliament’s right of taxation and prove to the colonists that they *would* be obedient to English authority.

The colonists saw the Tea Tax for what it was and fought against it accordingly. They were fighting for the principle of “no taxation without representation,” regardless of whether the tax was one penny or one million pounds. To show their unwillingness to submit, Sons of Liberty boarded the East India Company ships in 1763 and threw the taxed tea into Boston Harbor. They were careful not to harm anything except the tea itself. The event was referred to as the Boston Tea Party.

This destruction of royal property enraged King George III. In his view, the colonists were behaving like spoiled children defying a parent. They had to be taught a lesson. He believed that he was the rightful sovereign of the people and that they should gratefully and humbly accept his authority. He and the Parliament would punish them.

They did so through the Coercive Acts (the “Intolerable Acts” to the colonies), a series of laws passed to bring the participants of the Boston Tea Party to justice and force them to pay for the tea they destroyed. There were four major parts of the Coercive Acts. First, they closed the port of Boston. This was a major blow to the New England economy. Merchants would go broke, the ship crews and stevedores would lose their jobs, and even those in unrelated professions (like silversmith Paul Revere) would lose business from the depressed economy.

Second, the Acts required colonists to house British soldiers on their own private property. In other words, they were forced to accommodate their enemies and were having their natural right to property violated.

Third, the Acts said that any person accused of a crime would be tried in England, not by a sympathetic jury in the colonies that would probably acquit them. This violated the fundamental Common Law right to a trial by jury of one’s own peers.

Fourth, the Acts disbanded the Massachusetts legislature, taking away their democracy and representative government. Their right to self-government had become subject to his majesty’s whims. Not only would Parliament tax without representation, but the colonists could even lose their own representative assemblies.

There was a major shift between the colonies and the English government through 1763 and 1774. In just over ten years, the British government had stripped the colonists of key elements of their freedom, independence, and democracy. The English government had turned away from the legacy of liberty it had pioneered.

To War

Colonial actions against the Coercive Acts were bold and decisive. First, they called a “Continental Congress”—a united body consisting of representatives from all the colonies—to protest British actions and serve as an independent

government. Even though the Coercive Acts were directed primarily at Massachusetts, the colonies now had a sense of solidarity. An attack on one was an attack on all. If Parliament could do this to Massachusetts, the other colonies could be next. The Congress then called for a boycott of British goods and for a day of fasting and prayer. (Washington himself spent the entire day at his local church in Virginia.) Most tellingly, the Congress called for the colonists to begin forming militias, stockpiling weapons, and preparing for war.

The British ministers saw what was going on. They sent General Thomas Gage to stop this incipient rebellion by seizing the colonists' weapons at Concord and arresting the "radical" leaders (Samuel Adams and John Hancock). Gage decided to avoid conflict with the colonists by carrying out these orders at night and heading for Concord covertly.

The Sons of Liberty had developed an elaborate system of signals to communicate British actions. Apprised of "Redcoat" movements, Paul Revere set off in the middle of the night to warn the militia of each town that was on the road to Concord.

Early on the morning of April 18, 1775, the British regulars drew up to Lexington Green. The ever-ready "Minutemen" of the local militia were there to meet them. The British ordered them to disband. They didn't. After a few moments, a shot came from an unknown source and war was on. The first shot is often referred to as "the shot heard round the world," as the implication of war with the British with its impressive Navy and war record was unprecedented. The British military elite quickly dispatched the untrained colonists. This scuffle at Lexington is considered the first battle in the War for American Independence.

As the British soldiers continued their march to Concord, the Americans began to use the tricks they had seen at work against them in the French and Indian War. Instead of lining up and fighting in a European style, they hid behind walls, trees, and houses and took unexpected and random shots at the soldiers marching down the road. These guerilla tactics were so effective that the British never completed their objective and had to make a hasty retreat back to the safety of Boston.

Round one had gone to the Americans, but the die was cast. The British, now aroused fully to anger, threw the weight of the mightiest economic and military power on the planet towards subduing these unruly colonies. Reconciliation between the two sides became less tenable and the momentum for independence began to rise.

Founding Fathers

The colonial response to specific British policies and laws became a catalyst for an unprecedented discussion and debate in America about the nature of liberty and freedom, as well as how the rights and liberties of the people might be protected. In an amazingly short decade following the French and Indian War, an unbridgeable separation developed between England and the colonies. This gulf developed because of rebellious colonists, who were passionate and willing to take direct action against the taxes and institutions created by Parliament.

There were also hundreds of educated men who shaped the appeal for liberty, creating a revolution of thinking even before the Revolution was fought. Their essays, editorials, and speeches filled hundreds of pages with carefully and skillfully articulated arguments for liberty and self-government. They desired to preserve their liberty, to justify their rebellion against England, and to create new forms of government based on the lessons of ancient and modern forms. They drew upon all available sources and traditions, including books on English law, history, and political philosophy; the Bible; the writings of Christian philosophers and historians; the writings of classical antiquity; and the political philosophers of the Enlightenment. They also drew on 150 years of experience with self-government in the colonies, 3,000 miles away from England, Parliament, and the King.

Thomas Paine

Thomas Paine, more than anyone else, helped turn the hearts and minds of the American colonists to freedom from England. Paine is fascinating, not only because he was one of the great persuasive writers in U.S. history, but also because he was so far along in life when he finally found his calling. Paine had tried school teaching, civil service, and small business and failed at all of them. Finally, as he approached the age at which people normally died (life expectancy was in the forties), he put pen to paper and discovered that he had a gift with words. One of the greatest writers of all time didn't even know he was a writer until late in life.

Paine turned his remarkable skills to a remarkable cause when, in 1776, he wrote his masterwork *Common Sense*. It immediately sold 500,000 copies, saturated the colonies, and convinced the American people that protesting British tyranny was not enough—they should completely sever ties with the mother country. It was “common sense,” said Paine, that America should reject the king’s authority, declare independence from England, and become a great nation of its own.

Paine, for all of his foresight and patriotism, got something wrong. He subscribed to a false paradigm which saw the entire English system as hopelessly tyrannical and the American fight for liberty as a struggle against corrupt English traditions. Unfortunately, this view continues to distort much historical perception of the founding.

The reality is that the colonists were the freest people in the entire world long *before* independence. The English system was a great source, rather than enemy, of American liberty. The colonists did not fight the War for Independence to achieve something new; rather, it was a war to preserve freedoms that they had long enjoyed as “Englishmen.” They inherited a remarkable legacy of liberty from England and then added to it.

The Declaration of Independence

Thomas Jefferson and Congress produced the Declaration of Independence in the summer of 1776. At that point, the war was already in full swing. Congress was acting as an independent government, but they had to issue a statement to formalize and explain their break from England.

They understood that the Declaration of Independence was to become one of the most important political documents in history. They carefully selected a drafting committee among whose members were three key, inspired choices.

First, Benjamin Franklin, who had more prestige than any other American. Congress wanted the colonists, Great Britain, and the whole world to take notice of this Declaration, and Franklin’s participation in producing and signing it would have that effect. Franklin was not only the scientist who discovered the workings of electricity, but also a publishing tycoon, a self-made millionaire, a philosopher, and an inventor. Because of his prestige, Franklin was an obvious choice to help write the Declaration.

Second, Congress chose John Adams. He had been the foremost advocate for independence in their debates. Adams was not a great writer, but he could move and persuade in his speeches. It is often said that Adams was the voice of independence, and Jefferson its pen. Adams also had an eye for talent. It was Adams who had the foresight to nominate George Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army. And now Adams selected Jefferson to write the first draft of the Declaration.

Third, Congress chose Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson was an inspired choice because of his ability to write with the precision and cadence that we all know. It’s not just what the Declaration says, but *how* it is said. The words themselves, as well as the principles, would stand the test of time.

The Author of Independence

Unlike Abraham Lincoln, Joseph Smith, Thomas Edison, and other great Americans, Jefferson was born into wealth. His father belonged to the privileged Virginia gentry class and passed on to Jefferson an abundance of land, slaves, and property. Although many in such circumstances would become spoiled and squander their opportunities, Jefferson did not. As a young man, he went off to William & Mary College and fell under the mentorship of a professor named George Wythe who taught young Thomas to ask questions and diligently seek answers—to thirst for knowledge.

That became the guiding principle of Jefferson’s life. As an attorney, Jefferson knew the law, and he also studied science, philosophy, invention, music, poetry, literature, classics, languages, mathematics, and even architecture (his home Monticello remains one of the great examples of Greek Revival architecture in America). In fact, when President John F. Kennedy welcomed forty-nine Nobel Prize winners to the White House in 1962 he said, “I think this is the most extraordinary collection of talent and of human knowledge that has ever been gathered together at the White House—with the possible exception of when Thomas Jefferson dined alone.”

Jefferson remains widely revered by many Americans, but he also had glaring weaknesses. He can't escape the charges of hypocrisy: he wrote the proposition "all men are created equal" but owned many slaves; he condemned excess but lived in luxury; he encouraged fiscal prudence but died heavily in debt.

Jefferson's Religion

Jefferson explained beliefs concerning Christianity by writing:

My views [of the Christian religion] are the result of a life of inquiry and reflection, and very different from that anti-Christian system imputed to me by those who know nothing of my opinions. To the corruptions of Christianity I am, indeed, opposed; but not to the genuine precepts of Jesus himself.

Jefferson's solution to the corruption of Christianity was a return to the pure, original doctrines that Christ himself had taught. Near the end of his life, Jefferson wrote:

I hold the precepts of Jesus, as delivered by Himself, to be the most pure, benevolent, and sublime which have ever been preached to man. I adhere to the principles of the first age, and consider all subsequent innovations as corruptions of His religion, having no foundation in what came from Him ... If the freedom of religion guaranteed to us ... can ever rise ... truth will prevail of fanaticism, and the genuine doctrines of Jesus, so long perverted by His pseudo-priests, will again be restored to their original purity. This reformation will advance with the other improvements of the human mind, but too late for me to witness it.

Jefferson died in 1826; Joseph Smith went to the Hill Cumorah in 1827. The truth was indeed restored after his death, just as he predicted. But the story doesn't even end with Jefferson's death. In 1877, Wilford Woodruff was serving as president of the newly dedicated St. George Temple when a group of men appeared to him in vision, asking that their temple work be done. "These were the signers of the Declaration of Independence," said President Woodruff, "and they waited on me for two days and two nights." In fact, he said, "they argued with me"—they berated President Woodruff for being lax in bringing gospel ordinances to them. "We laid the foundation of the government you now enjoy," they said, "and we never apostatized from it; but we remained true to it and were faithful to God."

Founding Brothers

The relationship between Adams and Jefferson is worth pursuing for a moment because it is one of tragedy and redemption. Here in 1776 they were friends, "Founding Brothers," fighting for a common cause of freedom. They spent hundreds of hours together working, traveling, and conversing both as colleagues and friends.

But in the early days of the republic the curse of partisanship arose. Jefferson led the Republican Party and Adams drifted towards the Federalists. The Republicans would make terrible accusations against Adams, and the Federalists would make terrible accusations against Jefferson. This wedge drove them apart until they would not even speak to one another. The friends had become enemies.

Fortunately, at the end of their lives, resolution was achieved. Touched by a letter received from a mutual friend urging reconciliation, Adams wrote to Jefferson who then reciprocated. Adams and Jefferson renewed their friendship with a correspondence that remains a valuable historical source and window into the minds of the Founders. Most remarkable of all, these men sank into the grave at nearly the same time. On July 4th, 1826, Adams lay dying in his Braintree, Massachusetts home. Before breathing his last, he said, "Jefferson yet lives." He was wrong. Jefferson had died just a few hours before—50 years to the day of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. U.S. President John Quincy Adams saw this not as coincidence, but "visible and palpable marks of divine favor for which I would humble myself before the ruler of the universe."

Importance of the Declaration

The Declaration of Independence marked the birth of the United States, but its importance goes well beyond that. Its principles have also inspired the whole world. Since 1776, people worldwide have claimed the right of self-government; consent of the governed; and the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The spark of the Declaration set the

world ablaze with freedom and that fire continues to spread a liberal democracy, which is increasingly the default form of government worldwide. The principles of the Declaration have become the aspiration of all mankind.

Finally, the Declaration not only created America, but also defined it. America is not an ethnicity, race, geography, or language. It is a creed—the set of ideals laid forth by Jefferson in the Declaration. America was made in 1776 not just because the Declaration formally separated the colonies from Great Britain, but also because it set down the principles that define this creedal nation.

Content of the Declaration

The Declaration has four sections. The first is an introduction, or statement of purpose:

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.

After setting the stage with this statement of intentions, Jefferson then digresses to give us a summary of John Locke's philosophy. These basic philosophical principles are crucial to the Declaration's purposes. He begins with the following statement:

We hold these truths to be self evident

Notice that Jefferson does not say, "We hold these perspectives" or "opinions" to be self-evident, but *truths*. There are relative truths, but there are also eternal truths, and these Lockean principles are among them. They are final, absolute, and independent of time or space. As U.S. President Calvin Coolidge explained,

About the Declaration there is a finality that is exceedingly restful. It is often asserted that the world has made a great deal of progress since 1776, that we have had new thoughts and new experiences which have given us a great advance over the people of that day, and that we may therefore very well discard their conclusions for something more modern. But that reasoning can not be applied to this great charter. If all men are created equal, that is final. If they are endowed with inalienable rights, that is final. If governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, that is final. No advance, no progress can be made beyond these propositions. If anyone wishes to deny their truth or their soundness, the only direction in which he can proceed historically is not forward, but backward toward the time when there was no equality, no rights of the individual, no rule of the people. Those who wish to proceed in that direction can not lay claim to progress.

These truths are also *self-evident*, meaning they appeal so directly and forcibly to the common moral sense that we know them even prior to reflection. Since we can't **not** know these truths, they are available to all, not just educated elites. Pre-Civil War southerners said that slavery may have been considered morally wrong in the North, but it wasn't immoral in the South. The Southerners were mistaken. Slavery is wrong in all places and all times and always will be.

Jefferson then listed the relevant self-evident truths of politics:

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.

By "equal," Jefferson didn't mean all were equal in their talents, resources, or the way they looked. He was talking about their intrinsic worth, agency, and natural rights. Regardless of who we are, we possess rights to Locke's trinity of life, liberty, and property. Jefferson even went beyond property to the more expansive, "the pursuit of Happiness"—not only do we have the right to pursue and control property, but also to use that property to pursue happiness as we see fit.

Jefferson then moves from Locke's view on rights to his social contract theory:

That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed

Jefferson is saying that government exists not by divine right or arbitrary control, but by agreement with the people it is under contract to protect. The power of government is only legitimate if it is living up to its end of the bargain—protecting rights. The government doesn't give you rights; they are yours *naturally*; it is under contractual obligation to protect them. For thousands of years, monarchs, oligarchs, and tyrants had been telling people that they owed their lives, liberties, and properties to the government. Jefferson totally turned that around. Public servants protect rights only because the people have delegated that power to them.

After this summary of Lockean philosophy, Jefferson showed why it matters for the subject at hand:

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

A contract can be created, but contracts can also be violated and thereby made null and void. The same is true of the social contract that creates governments. When a government violates its contract to protect our natural rights, then that contract is no longer in force. This justifies rebellion against an unjust government.

But Jefferson needed to add a caution, making sure people didn't just overthrow their government on a whim:

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes

Jefferson wanted to make clear that governments shouldn't be overthrown every time the people disagree with something it does. Instead, there must be a "long train of abuses" that reveals a tyrannical design. It's also important to remember that those of us who live in a democratic society have redress for government abuse at the polls. The Founders had no such option. After all, their primary point of contention with Britain was "taxation without representation." Without democratic recourse, our founders had no choice but revolution.

Since the whole principle of independence hinged on whether or not the British government had violated the social contract, Jefferson spent most of the remainder of the Declaration proving that the British had, indeed, taken away American rights to life, liberty, and property. In his third section, he listed, in great detail, that "long train of abuses" that brought the colonies to this point.

Then, in a climactic final paragraph—the fourth section—Jefferson takes us to the actual declaration itself. Everything preceding was merely preparation for this grand crescendo:

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 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 to 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.

The Signers

We must focus on that final line because it alone puts to rest a commonly held view that first gained currency a century ago. In 1913 a book came out called *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* that accused the Founders of doing what they did because it was in their economic interest. The book's thesis has since been soundly refuted, but it kicked off a whole industry of Founding Father bashing that continues into the present. Thousands of books have been written claiming that the Founders were greedy, exploitative men whose ultimate motivations were money, domination, and power.

While some of this critical tradition has served the useful purpose of helping us to see the Founders' imperfections, much of it makes quite ridiculous claims. We could go one by one through these arguments and refute them with historical evidence, but we don't need to. All we have to do is look at those last four lines in the Declaration of Independence. Who, in pursuit of private wealth and gain, would sign their own potential death sentence and pledge away all of their earthly possessions? Each of the signers would have been executed had the revolution failed. After everyone had signed the Declaration, somebody said, "Gentlemen we must now hang together," and Franklin chimed in, "yes, or we most assuredly will hang separately."

Some may say this pledge was just an empty promise; however, over a dozen of the signers did lose everything. Many had their homes ransacked, plundered, and/or burned by the British. Some of them were captured or exiled and suffered extreme hardships that led to premature deaths; some had family members taken, others fought as soldiers in the war—physically putting their lives on the line. They did, in fact, give their fortunes to their "support of the Declaration." Had they been seeking power and fortune, they would have recanted at the first sign of sacrifice. None of them did; the exact opposite of the misguided views of some historians.

The War for Independence

The divine truths in the Declaration of Independence fueled the American war against the British, which ended with the surrender of British General Cornwallis on October 19, 1781. The official Treaty of Paris was signed two years later.

American General George Washington firmly believed that only Divine Power had allowed his army to succeed against such great odds and that he had only been an instrument in the hands of the Almighty. Washington said the hand of Providence was so conspicuous that anyone who doubted it was "worse than an infidel that lacks faith" and "more than wicked" for not acknowledging that obligation to the Creator.

Although the Americans had successfully and miraculously won their war for independence, it is far from the conclusion of the story. The Founders would need to ensure its continued success through their implementation of the principles in the Declaration and the United States Constitution. This, however, proved to be a long and arduous process.



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Week 4

Constitutional Development

Theory

Independence

Government

The American people constructed their respective state governments from their theory that smaller was better and a non-existent central government was best. Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a civic leader in Philadelphia, made an argument for a stronger national government. The colonists were not prepared to accept a strong national government at the time of their declaration of independence.

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I confess that there are several parts of the Constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them. For, having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged, by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions, even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is therefore that, the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to pay more respect to the judgment of others ... In these sentiments, sir, I agree to this Constitution, with all its faults, if they are such; because I think a general government necessary for us.

Benjamin Franklin

“Wrong Road”

The American people constructed their respective state governments from their theory that smaller was better and a non-existent central government was best. Quickly, reality proved that some of their theories were based on flawed assumptions that could only be corrected by creating exactly what they fought against—a federal government. Benjamin

Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a civic leader in Philadelphia, made an argument for a stronger national government by explaining:

We had just emerged from a corrupted monarchy. Although we understood perfectly the principles of liberty, yet most of us were ignorant of the forms and combinations of power in republics.

This time period could be seen as a mistake. However, Elder Jeffrey R. Holland’s story about a “wrong road” might be a better way to look at this experience. Elder Holland and his son were visiting the Grand Canyon on an outing together many years ago. By the time they started back home, it was dusk. Getting lost in the dark became a dangerous possibility. Eventually, they came to a fork in the road, and, after praying about it, both Elder Holland and his son felt impressed to take the road on the left. They drove a couple of hundred yards and quickly found a dead end. Elder Holland went back and took the road on the right. His son, feeling confused, asked Elder Holland why they had a strong impression to go down the wrong road. Elder Holland replied:

The Lord has taught us an important lesson today. Because we were prompted to take the road to the left, we quickly discovered which one was the right one ... [so we could turn around, and feel] perfectly confident we were headed in the right direction.

The colonists were not prepared to accept a strong national government at the time of their declaration of independence. Perhaps the American people, like Elder Holland, needed to go down the “wrong road” by implementing the Articles of Confederation in order to accept that a written constitution would have a more stabilizing influence between the states and more effectively secure the rights outlined in the Declaration of Independence.

I. Timeline of Events

We will not have time to discuss each of these events in depth, nor can all the pivotal events that led to the formation of the U.S. Constitution fit in one page. However, it does help to see how history does not move as fast as our ability to turn pages while reading a book.

Date	Event
September 1, 1774	Paul Revere’s Ride: Announcing to the People in Massachusetts that the British were coming to take their gunpowder.
September 5–October 26, 1774	First Continental Congress: The British coming caused the colonists to meet to figure out what to do.
April 19, 1775	Battle of Lexington & Concord: “The Shots Heard Around the World” and seen as the beginning of the American Revolution.
June, 1775	Second Continental Congress: Appoints George Washington to create Continental Army
January 10, 1776	Publication of <i>Common Sense</i>: Thomas Paine published <i>Common Sense</i> to try to persuade the people to break ties with England.
July 4, 1776	<i>Declaration of Independence</i> Ratified: The <i>Declaration of Independence</i> was ratified and the 13 colonies became 13 states.
February 1777	Smallpox Epidemic: Washington makes the tough decision to inoculate his soldiers with smallpox to prevent destruction of his army.
November 1777	Articles of Confederation & Bank of North America: Congress creates the Articles of Confederations and the Bank of North America to help colonists be united and to help raise

Date	Event
	funds for the army.
February 1778	French Alliance with American Colonies: Congress and the Bank of North America had a tough time funding and supplying the army; the alliance with France helped them accomplish this.
February 1781	All States Ratify Articles of Confederations: Ratification of the Articles of Confederations formalizes the Confederation Congress.
September 3, 1783	Treaty of Paris: King George III officially signs the Treaty of Paris, ending war and declaring American colonies free and independent.
February 1784	The Land Ordinance of 1784: The Land Ordinance of 1784 expanded land boundaries north and west of Ohio River, but passing and regulating this Act started to show the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation.
March 1785	Mt. Vernon Conference: James Madison asked Washington to oversee discussion between delegates of Virginia and Maryland concerning trade disagreements. This is a prototype for future Constitutional Convention.
May 1786	Land Ordinance of 1785: Allows for Congress to collect revenue by selling land. Congress was not allowed to tax, print, or borrow money.
August 1786	Shays' Rebellion: Daniel Shays led a group of farmers, who were former Revolutionary soldiers, to attack courthouses in Massachusetts because of the foreclosures and tax laws.
September 1786	Annapolis Convention: 5 states gathered to discuss issues concerning trade barriers and uprisings; Madison argued for stronger national government.
May 25, 1787	Constitutional Convention: The Constitutional Convention began in Philadelphia.
July 13, 1787	The Northwest Ordinances: Congress passes the Northwest ORdinance which keeps new territories free of slavery. This matters more as expansion begins and more free states start to become part of the union.
July 16, 1787	Great Compromise Accepted: The Great Compromise preserved the debate because some delegates were about to leave concerning representation in Congress.
September 17, 1787	39 Delegates Sign the U.S. Constitution: The U.S. Constitution was ready to be sent to the people to ratify in each of the states.
October 27, 1787	The Federalist Papers: Essays appear in newspapers to try and persuade the public to ratify the U.S. Constitution.
June 21, 1788	The U.S. Constitution becomes Law
April 30, 1789	George Washington becomes First U.S. President

II. Revolution + Republics + Articles = Anarchy?

A. Revolution (1775–1783)

The American Revolutionary War started before the American Colonists formally declared independence or the Articles of Confederation were written and ratified by the states. George Washington had the difficult task of persuading men to serve in the Continental Army because of the challenges in their path. Listed below are some issues they were facing besides enemy combatants:

Money

The Continental Congress printed Continental money, but people would not accept it. As officers tried to feed their soldiers, they complained, “the farmers would not sell and the millers would not grind for Continental money.”

This depreciation of the Continental money caused colonial leaders concern over whether they could continue to fund the war. “Even a Failure cannot be more fatal than to remain in our present situation. In short some enter-prize must be undertaken in our present Circumstances or we must give up the cause.”

Consequently, General Washington tried to shorten the war in order to prevent these economic troubles.

Disease

A quote by John Adams perfectly explains the devastating effect smallpox had on the Continental Army. “Our misfortunes in Canada are enough to melt the heart of a stone. The smallpox is ten times more terrible than Britons, Canadians and Indians, together.”

Additionally, the British soldiers were more immune as a whole because of the presence the disease already had in their country. However, because it was not as prevalent on the American continent it killed one in every three people who contracted the disease. George Washington made the difficult decision to inoculate his soldiers to prevent a bigger, more deadly outbreak. In many cases, they would inoculate soldiers by picking the scabs of those soldiers who had recently died from smallpox in order to expose themselves to the live organism. It was a success, and less than 1% of soldiers died from the process.

Supplies

One of the struggles of the American Revolution was the lack of supplies. Author and university professor, David Hackett Fischer writes:

The household economy of early America was incapable of supplying Continental troops with clothing and shoes. ...one ‘peaceable man’ watched American troops march by and observed ‘if the War is continued thro the Winter, the British troops will be scared at the sight of our Men, for as they had never fought with Naked Men.

The story of supply in the Continental army is a drab subject, much neglected in most histories of these events, but it had a drama of its own. The American Revolution was yet another instance of Rommel’s Law that battles are won or lost by the quartermasters before the first shot is fired.

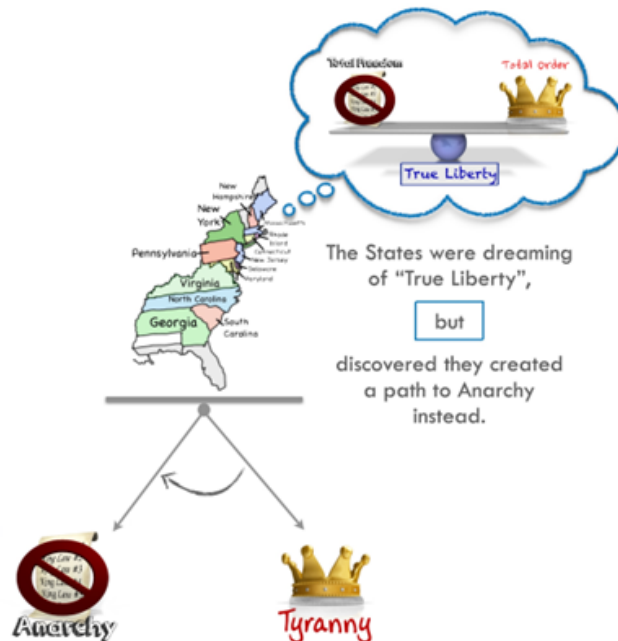
Each one of these three examples could have caused the American colonists to lose their war for independence.

B. The New State Republics (1776–1787)

Following the Declaration of Independence, each of the thirteen original colonies wrote a state constitution. Each of the states were to become a small republic, based on democratic and republican principles, to protect the people’s rights. Most of the power was given to a legislative branch, which was designed to be virtuous and law based. As Larry Schweikart and Michael Allen wrote, “all of the constitution makers acknowledged the almost sacred nature of writing constitutions and sharply differentiated that process from that of merely passing legislation.” Unfortunately, many state

constitutions failed to provide the peace and tranquility the people had hoped for, because the individual legislatures were not prepared for government.

George Washington, talking about this corruption, said, “The inefficiency of state governments indicates we have errors to correct.” James Wilson, another founder and signer of the Declaration, feared that “the legislature [was] swallowing up all the other powers. James Madison called the atmosphere in many of the state legislatures undependable: “revised laws have been altered, re-altered, made better, made worse; and kept in such a fluctuating position, that persons in civil commission scarce know what is law ... This is the grievance complained of in all our republics.”



The colonists wanted the state republics to restore balance to their lives. Instead, the state legislatures had replaced King George’s tyranny with their own anarchy. Majority factions in the state legislatures dominated, with no executive branch to either check the power of the legislatures or enforce state laws.

C. Articles and Anarchy (1781–1787)

The Articles of Confederation created the first post-independence national government. It had many problems; the table included below gives a brief explanation of the weaknesses created by the Articles and the outcomes of those weaknesses. We will not be able to discuss all of these weaknesses, but we will address three main problems that were apparent from the beginning.

Articles of Confederation

Weakness	Outcome
Congress had no power to levy or collect taxes.	The government was always short of money.
Congress had no power to regulate foreign trade.	Quarrels broke out among states and trading with other countries was difficult.
Congress had no power to enforce its laws (in other words, no police force).	The government depended on the states for law enforcement.
Approval of 9 out of 13 states was needed to enact laws.	69% approval to enact laws made it difficult to pass laws.

Weakness	Outcome
13 states needed to approve amendments to the Articles.	100% approval for amendments was impossible to obtain.
The government had no executive branch (in other words, police power).	There was no effective way to coordinate the work of government.
There was no national court system.	The central government had no way to settle disputes among the states.

Colonies	Estimated Population from 1780 Census
Northern Colonies	
Maine	53,500
New Hampshire	84,500
Vermont	40,000
Massachusetts	307,000
Rhode Island	52,000
Connecticut	203,000
Middle Colonies	
New York	200,000
New Jersey	137,000
Pennsylvania	335,000
Delaware	37,000
Southern Colonies	
Maryland	250,000
Virginia	520,000
North Carolina	300,000
South Carolina	160,000
Georgia	55,000

One Branch of Government

First, the Articles of Confederation only had the legislative branch. Furthermore, the legislature poorly represented the people—despite population differences, each of the 13 states only had one vote. To give you an idea of the population differences, the chart on the right comes from a 1909 report by the U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor. In 1780, Virginia had a population of 520,000 versus Delaware with only 37,000 people. It is understandable why the larger populated states did not think this was a fair arrangement.

No Power to Raise Money

Second, the government had no way to raise money. In general, governments obtain funds in three ways: taxing, borrowing, or printing. The Articles of Confederation did not give the government power to do any of these. At the time, Americans were extremely fearful of taxation, so only the states had the power to tax. The central government had no credit because foreign countries were wary of lending money to a country that had no way to pay back those debts. In addition, there was no uniform national currency, leaving states to print and coin their own money. If Congress wanted money they had to beg for it from the states, and the states rarely obliged. All government action requires money, so the Congress was powerless to act meaningfully.

No Authority to Negotiate

Third, the country didn't have a foreign policy because it had no authority. Authority comes from power. Congress did not have power over the states. Instead, each state had its own foreign relations and trade agreements. The army they had cobbled together during the Revolution had dissolved once the war ended. This rendered treaties toothless. States were putting tariffs and trade restrictions on other states and arguing over navigation rights of rivers and ports. There was also no judicial branch to settle interstate disputes. With a lack of unity and structure, the 13 states operated more like 13 different countries.

After 1776, The US government was too weak to protect people's rights through the rule of law. In fact, the Articles of Confederation nearly led to disaster a few times.

One near disaster was Shays's rebellion. Daniel Shays had sacrificed greatly for the cause of independence, and he understood the injustices of excessive taxation. During the war, Shays had to be away from his farm. Over the course of the war, Shays—along with many other farmers—found himself in debt.

Still, the Massachusetts tax collectors showed up and demanded payment. Shays was irate. To him, this was completely backward: he shouldn't be giving money to the government, he should be getting money from the government. After all, he was in dire straits because of the war.

Shays had just finished fighting one war against unjust taxation and had no problem fighting another one. He organized his neighbors into an armed mob. They ran the tax collectors off, marched on the courts that had ordered these collections, and overthrew the local government. They were heading to seize a weapons arsenal to overthrow the state when the Massachusetts militia showed up and put down the uprising. This event is known as Shays's Rebellion. People lost their lives, liberties, and properties because the government lacked the power to protect them or to collect taxes to pay Revolutionary War veterans.

This made Americans nervous. In particular, James Madison realized that the government under the Articles was not strong enough to secure liberty. Americans had so despised the tyranny of King George that they had gone too far into anarchy.

III. Convention or Bust!

There are three men that were essential to making the Constitutional Convention (a meeting to address the weak central government) happen. One historian describes it this way: "Among those who began early to work for reform, three names stand out: Washington, Madison and Hamilton." Each of these men had concerns about the young nation falling into anarchy because of division. Madison and Washington exchanged letters during the time of Shays' Rebellion speaking to this worry.

James Madison wrote,

No morn ever dawned more favorable than ours did—and no day was ever more clouded than the present!

George Washington responded,

[The country appears] fast verging to anarchy and confusion. What stronger evidence can be given of the want of energy in our governments than these disorders? Will not the wise and good strive hard to avert this evil?

Alexander Hamilton also believed that a stronger central government was necessary to bring stability and peace to the fractured union. To him, central governments were the institutions that had the authority to make trade policy. The increasing trade disputes “persuaded Hamilton that unless a new federal government with a monopoly on customs revenues was established, disunion would surely ensue. As individual states developed interests in their own taxes, they would be less and less likely to sacrifice for the common good.” These men recognized the problems and threats against the Declaration of Independence, so they decided to organize an effort to amend the Articles of Confederation.

George Washington: Stabilizing Factor



Madison persuaded Washington to come to the convention as the meeting’s president, just like Washington had done at the Mt. Vernon convention in 1785. Washington understood the implications of his presence and rose to the occasion. He wore his military uniform when he accepted the meeting’s presidency on May 25, 1787, and he presided with the firm, quiet dignity of a judge, speaking rarely and keeping delegates in line. Washington’s presence and behavior during the convention helped inspire the delegates to imagine how an executive branch could exist in their new government. “Pierce Butler of South Carolina opined that they would not have made it so strong ‘had not many members cast their eyes toward General Washington as president and shaped

their ideas of the powers to a president by their opinions of his Virtue.”

James Madison: Political Philosopher



Madison formulated his ideas of a strong government through persistent reading, studying, and personal observation. In the spring and summer of 1786, he built up a knowledge for writing a constitution by having Thomas Jefferson send him books “by the hundreds from Europe—histories of confederations from ancient Greece to modern Switzerland in French and Latin as well as English, works of political theory from the Enlightenment and earlier.” Madison was more convinced from these studies and through his experience that “confederacies fail when they lack a strong central authority.”

Once Hamilton proposed another convention for 1787, Madison began to lay the groundwork for his constitutional theory in his written analysis, “Vices of the Political System of the United States.” As he worked out his theories on paper, Madison presented a prepared agenda. This agenda, called the Virginia Plan, was really an outline of a new republican form of government. It

became the starting point for the delegates to debate. This is why Madison is known as the “Father of the Constitution.”

Alexander Hamilton: Visionary

From the beginning, Hamilton had a problem with the Articles of Confederation because of its inability to generate and collect money. “In 1780, far in advance of anyone else, he had recommended a convention to remedy the articles.” Hamilton described the country as a collection of “petty states ... jarring, jealous and perverse.” He understood that people preferred their state government over a national government. However, Hamilton believed citizens could be loyal to both state and country, if the central government was strong enough. A strong central government would also allow better interstate trade. His home state of New York was not the most populated state, but it did have control over the best seaports and waterways for commerce and trade. Convincing his own state to give up some power in order to obtain more peace and prosperity would be difficult.



Hamilton played two key pivotal roles at this time.

1. In 1786, at the Annapolis convention, he engineered “the calling of a national convention to rewrite the Articles of Confederation.” In essence, Hamilton got the ball rolling.
2. Starting in 1787, his “best-known contribution to the making of the Constitution [was] his co-authorship of *The Federalist*.” It was a series of articles written by John Jay, James Madison and Hamilton that “began as a propaganda tract, aimed only at winning the election for delegates to New York’s ratifying convention,” but quickly “evolved into the classic commentary upon the American federal system.”

In May of 1787, representatives from the other colonies began arriving in Philadelphia. Some of them are well-known today (for example, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and Alexander Hamilton), while others are not. But almost all of them were remarkable, wise men who made important contributions to the final version of the Constitution. Their average age was 42. Most had graduated from college and belonged to the elite professions in America (lawyers, planters, merchants, and others). Eight had signed the Declaration of Independence and all had extensive political experience in their state governments and/or the Congress. In short, they were all well-equipped for the task at hand.

A Written Constitution

Those who gathered at the Constitutional Convention were in a unique position to create something revolutionary. Unlike the British form of government, which had been developed over hundreds of years, this new Constitution would be a formal mechanism that explicitly and immediately described the forms, structures, powers, and relationships of government entities. These written words would define and constrain power, making it sufficient to protect the “general welfare” and provide for the “common defense,” but prohibit its actions outside those enumerated (or listed in the document) powers. The U.S. Constitution would focus on:

- The Rule of Law
- The power of the people
- The consent of the governed in electing its representative
- The fact that freedom is protected by placing limits on those in power

One of the main lessons learned from the Articles of Confederation was that the United States needed a document that could “grow and develop to meet the changing needs of an advancing world.” The Founders made this possible with the Constitution by instituting a comparatively easier amendment process. While it is still not a quick process, the difficulty is purposefully built into the Constitution so the document cannot be amended without the necessary debate and authority of the people.

IV. The Great Debates and Compromises

After arriving, the delegates immediately got down to business. First, they elected George Washington president of the convention. His leadership and celebrity during the Revolutionary War made this choice a foregone conclusion and the participants would keep him in mind as they designed the office of the President of the United States. Washington would say little during the Convention, but he gave a crucial calming, unifying presence to the proceedings.

Madison sat at the front of the hall to take notes. He knew future generations would be interested in the “intentions of the Founders” and only a meticulous record could provide that.

Governor Edmund Randolph started the proceedings with an extremely controversial first motion: to do away with the Articles of Confederation entirely and replace them with Madison’s plan for a new government. Many delegates protested that their states had given them instructions not to abolish the Articles and threatened to leave. As the

convention went on, many would make good on that threat, but, to their credit, most of the delegates remained to at least see what Randolph had in mind. Randolph's proposal kicked off the first of three major debates that defined the proceedings of the convention for the rest of the summer.

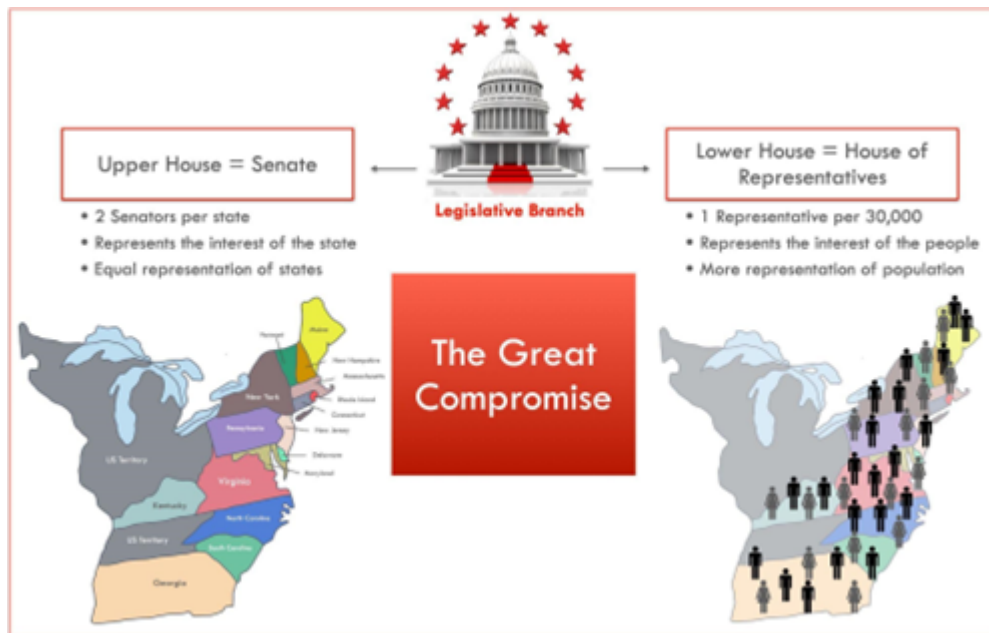
Debate 1: Large States versus Small States

The first debate was between the large states and the small states. This was the most protracted and contentious of all the issues and took the majority of the summer to resolve. Remember that since 1776 each of these states was like an independent country and intensely protective of their autonomy. In 1786, a person wasn't an American, but a Virginian, New Yorker, Georgian, and so on. The Articles of Confederation loosely bound these states, but this didn't make these thirteen little nations into one big nation. The Congress had been a distant body with little power. Many believed this was a good thing, as they had just fought a taxing war against a distant tyrannical force. The small states were especially afraid of having their independence swallowed up by the larger states in a national government.

All of the delegates agreed a stronger central government was needed, but the real issue was how to determine representation in that new government. Madison's "Virginia Plan" proposed three branches of government: a judicial branch, an executive branch, and a bicameral legislature. He also proposed that representation be based on population. This was an anathema to the smaller states. Under the Articles, each state received one vote—no matter how large or small. This arrangement gave them comparatively more power: a small state would have 1/13th of the power even if they only had 1/100th of the population. To the large states, on the other hand, Madison's proposal felt more democratic. Why should a state with far more people have the same say in the national government as one with far fewer people?

Although the delegates would eventually accept the basic structure of Madison's plan, many couldn't swallow the idea of a government in which representation was purely popular. Those from smaller states like New Jersey and Delaware knew that representation based on population alone would overwhelm and dilute their say in government, so William Paterson of New Jersey made a counter-proposal which we today call the "New Jersey Plan." Paterson's plan would strengthen the national government by giving it more power to tax and act, but would keep the one branch, one-state-one-vote system that had been in place under the Articles of Confederation.

This heated debate about representation lasted all summer and almost ended the Convention prematurely. It was finally resolved with what we call "The Great Compromise," aptly named because without the compromise there would have been no United States Constitution. The Great Compromise answered the question of state or population based representation with a system in which we could use both methods of representation in the legislature. Remember that Madison had proposed two houses of Congress, or a "bicameral legislature." Why not have one of the houses represent according to population and the other represent each state equally? States would send representatives to the House of Representatives based on their population, but would each send the same number of representatives to the Senate (two) regardless of population. This proposal eventually satisfied the delegates from both the large and small states.



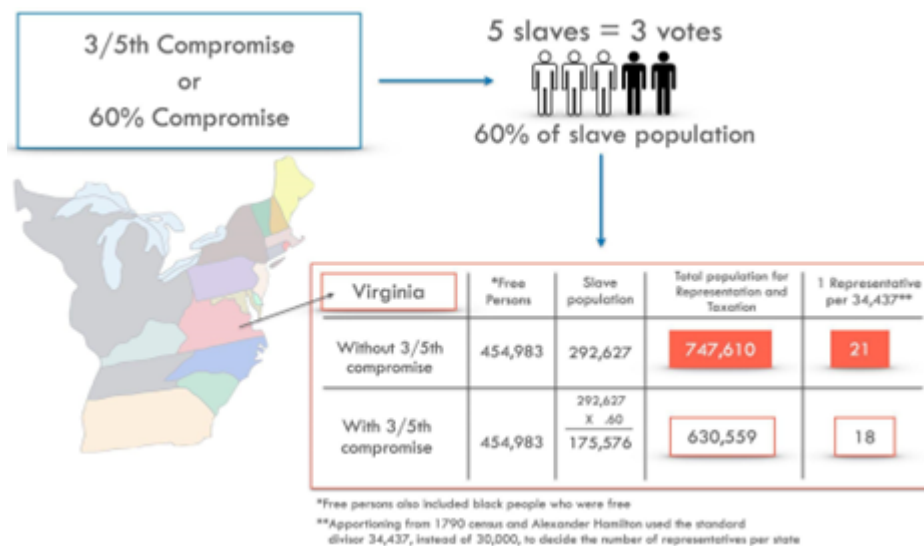
The Great Compromise also applied to the selection of the president in what became the Electoral College. While we sometimes say that we vote for the president, in reality we vote as a state for electors who in turn vote for the president. How many electors each state receives is determined through a combination of state and popular representation. A state has electoral votes equal to the number of its Senators (state) and Representatives in the House (popular). So if a state's population entitled them to three seats in the House of Representatives, then that state would have five electoral votes for president (3 Representatives + 2 Senators). We see the Great Compromise at work in the selection of all three branches of government (albeit indirectly in the case of the judiciary). With this compromise, the Convention had overcome its greatest hurdle.

Debate 2: Northern States versus Southern States

The second major debate at the Constitutional Convention was between the northern and southern states. The North-South split was easily the most important division in the history of the country and eventually led to civil war. Although this schism centered on slavery, it went beyond into larger cultural and economic questions. The North was largely commercial and industrial while the South was agricultural and plantation-based. The South had (and still has to a degree) a more communal social system based on kinship ties and honor, while the North had an individualistic culture based on contract.

Delegates from the South understood that they could increase their power at the expense of the North by including slaves in the population count. This led to the South wanting to inflate its population numbers by including the slaves in the census. The northerners responded that the southerners couldn't have it both ways: either the slaves were people entitled to rights and representation (in which case they shouldn't be slaves at all), or they shouldn't be counted in the population. This put the Convention at another impasse.

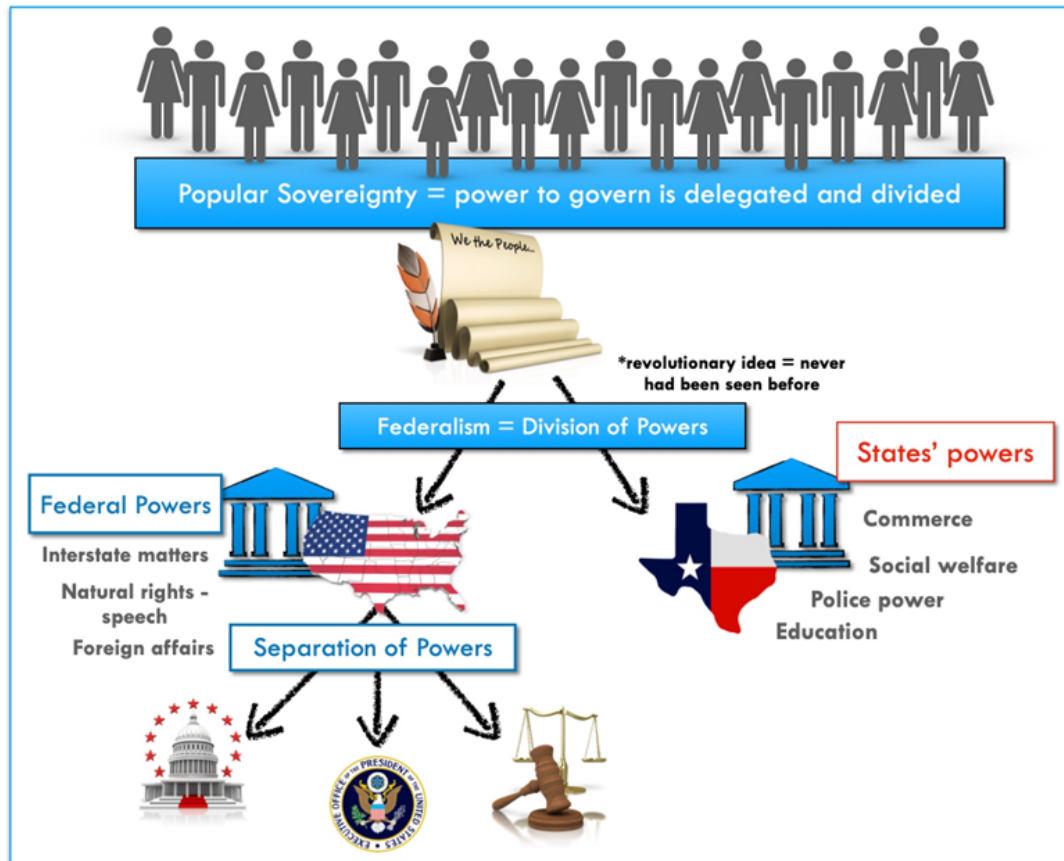
Most of the Founding Fathers were against slavery (even though many of them held slaves) and wanted to see it abolished. In fact, George Mason wouldn't even sign the Constitution because it allowed the abominable institution to continue. Eventually, they felt that they could make a concession on slavery that would create a union then and leave it to later generations to fix. We can give some credit to the Founders for their attempts to address this issue, even if we also condemn many of them as hypocritical slaveholders. The United States finally did address this issue, though its impacts still greatly affect current issues of racism, bigotry, and other cultural concerns Americans still need to address.



The agreement they finally came to is called "The Three-Fifths Compromise," which was not a new idea. This compromise was proposed in 1783 to try and change the way taxes were calculated under the Articles of Confederation. The amendment did not pass because the Articles of Confederation required a unanimous vote and some of the southern states did not want their slave population counted towards their tax calculation. The southern states were now willing to make this compromise, but how does one count a 3/5ths vote? This sounds complicated, but it really meant that 5 slaves equaled 3 votes. One could also look at this as a 60% compromise.

The Founders agreed to a compromise that considered enslaved African-Americans as "less than a full person." Today, we can obviously see that this still did not adhere to the principles of life, liberty, and freedom that the Founders claimed to uphold. However, the Three-Fifths Compromise may have allowed for the eventual abolition of slavery. If the Founders had allowed the South to count each enslaved person towards representation, it would have given so much power to the South that Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, may not have been elected. Had the Founders not allowed any compromise at all on the slavery issue, they may not have been able to form the United States as we know it today. While it was and continues to be a contentious issue, the union at the time required Three-Fifths Compromise.

Debate 3: Federal Powers versus States' Powers



The third and final major debate at the Convention was over the relationship between the states and the new Federal Government. Formal compromises resolved the first two debates, but this one was much trickier since it involved the question of "sovereignty." Citizens of the United States don't use the word "sovereignty" much anymore, but it essentially answers the question: When the government needs a decisive voice, who has the final say? Prior to 1787, state governments had clearly been sovereign and acted as their own countries. Would they now surrender this sovereignty to the federal government under the new Constitution?

Madison and others tried to placate the states by saying that both national and state governments would be sovereign under the new Constitution. But how could this be when sovereignty, by definition, is indivisible? The whole point of sovereignty is to locate the one final authority in government matters.

They eventually found their way out of this dilemma with words rather than substance. They said that, unlike in a monarchy where the king sat atop the pyramid of authority, America would be a republic with the people on top; the people would be sovereign. So, no, they wouldn't and couldn't divide the sovereignty of the people—it was indivisible—but they could divide the representation of the sovereign people. States and the federal government could co-exist as two separate expressions of the sovereignty of the American people.

This was not a satisfactory answer. The Founders came up with a slogan "e pluribus unum" to describe the new nation: "out of many, one". The federal government has steadily accrued more power since its founding, but states still claim prerogatives and the debate over what belongs in the state or federal sphere continues to this day.

V. The Miracle at Philadelphia

After overcoming these three enormous hurdles, the Founders finally declared themselves satisfied with their handiwork and, on September 17, 1787, came forward one by one to sign the Constitution. It had taken all summer, but they all realized they had accomplished something remarkable, even supernatural. Many referred to the Constitution as a “miracle.” Washington, for example, maintained for the rest of his life that God had been with them in the Convention as much as he had been with them on the battlefield. Why would he say that and why do we still speak of a “divinely inspired Constitution” today?

Content

First, the content of the Constitution was miraculous. It established a remarkable system of government (not “perfect,” but “more perfect” in the Founders’ words). This inspired document contains an effective and appropriate means for dividing power. The secret to freedom is the division of power, and our Constitution masterfully sets up a structure that balances power and preserves liberty. It has weathered many storms and prevented the abuses of power that come when power remains unchecked.

Success

Second, the Constitution did nothing less than create the first and most enduring liberal democracy in history. America is not the only free country in the world today, but it has been the freest country over the course of the last three centuries. No other nation comes close to offering so much freedom to so many people for so long. France, Japan, and Germany, for example, are all exemplary free countries today, but were tyrannies as recently as 1945 or even 1989 in the case of East Germany. The Latin-American states never united as did the North American states and the differences are stark as we observe the cycle of tyranny and anarchy still playing out among many states south of the U.S. border today. Divided Europe, while currently stable and free, has been plagued by recurrent wars between themselves as well as civil wars. Who is to say this would not also have been the fate of America had not the Constitution bound the independent states together? Perhaps only divine inspiration can fully explain this success.

Note also the elegance of the U.S. Constitution. It is as thin as a pamphlet and an educated person can read it thoroughly in less than an hour. Simplicity, clarity, and precision are political virtues and the Constitution has them. Contrast it with the European Union Constitution which is thousands of pages long and requires weeks of labor and a team of lawyers to decipher it. The U.S. Constitution is direct enough to give us guidance, but open enough for flexibility in application.

Participants

Third, the participants themselves were miraculous. Thomas Jefferson once dubbed the Convention an “assembly of demi-gods”—the most gifted assemblage of political minds in history. Almost any one of the delegates would have been the greatest statesman of their time had they lived in any other age, and yet in Philadelphia in 1787 (with a much smaller population to draw from than today), there were 55. The likelihood of this much talent being in one place at one time in such a small country defies the laws of probability. Even some secular historians are stumped by this “fantastic coincidence.” Once again, providential intervention may be the only adequate explanation.

Compromises

Fourth and finally, there were miracles in the compromises the delegates agreed to. The Spirit of the Lord is the spirit of goodwill, humility, and being willing to listen to and understand other viewpoints. Only such a spirit can account for the degree to which the delegates put aside narrow interests and prejudices to create the American nation. In fact, there was one moment in the convention when the fighting was particularly heated and Benjamin Franklin, who had been sitting quietly in the back, finally spoke up. Franklin said, “The longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that God Governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid?” Even though they didn’t hire a chaplain to offer formal prayers in the Convention

(they lacked funds to pay one) the advice was sound and heeded individually. Compromise came only after Franklin's wise admonition.

The following is a chart of the summary of differences between the Articles of Confederation and the US Constitution.

Articles versus Constitution

Topic	Articles	Constitution
Levying Taxes	Taxation based on state's land value	Taxation based on a state's population
Collecting taxes	Congress could request states to pay taxes	Congress has right to levy taxes on individuals
Federal courts	No system of federal courts	Court system created to deal with issues between citizens and states
Regulation of trade	No provision to regulate interstate trade	Congress has right to regulate trade between states
Executive	No executive with power; president of U.S. merely presided over Congress	Executive branch headed by President who chooses cabinet and has checks on power of judiciary and legislature
Amending document	13/13 needed to amend Articles	$\frac{2}{3}$ of both houses of Congress, plus $\frac{3}{4}$ of state legislatures or national convention
Representation of states	Each state received 1 vote regardless of size	Upper house (Senate) = 2 votes each state; Lower house (House of Representatives)= based on population

Finally, as President of the convention, Washington sent Congress the final documents to start the ratification process that included a cover note that said,

Just as 'individuals entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest, [so the states agreed to cede some] rights of their independent sovereignty to ... provide for the interest and safety of all [in a] spirit of ... mutual deference and concession.

VI. The Battle for Ratification

After the signing of the Constitution in Philadelphia, each state held a special "ratifying convention." The Constitution would only become the law of the land if the conventions of at least nine states approved. Many in the states, treasuring their autonomy, resisted ratification. Local politicians were concerned about giving up some of their power to a central government. Their self-interest was in opposition to ratification.

The Federalist Papers

A series of 85 newspaper articles that appeared from October 1787 through August of 1788 in the New York newspapers. The articles were written by—
 Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay

To try and persuade the people of New York to ratify the US Constitution. As a result, this is one of the best resources for understanding the formation and intent the framers had when they wrote each section of the US Constitution.

Alexander Hamilton	James Madison	John Jay
No. 1	No. 10	No. 2, 3, 4, 5
No. 6, 7, 8, 9	No. 14	
No. 11, 12, 13	No. 18, 19, 20	
No. 15, 16, 17		
No. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36	No. 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58	
No. 59, 60, 61	No. 62, 63	No. 64
No. 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85		

A debate broke out in the states between two opposing groups. Those who favored the ratification of the Constitution were called “Federalists” and those who opposed ratification were called “Anti-Federalists.” To convince the American people to ratify the Constitution (especially those in swing states like New York), three gifted Federalist authors, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, took up their pens and wrote a series of editorials promoting and defending the Constitution (see the graph on the right). Hamilton later collected and published these editorials as The Federalist Papers. Although their purpose was a rhetorical one, an unintended consequence of The Federalist Papers was to give the world a great work of political philosophy and the best first-hand explanation of the workings and design of the U.S. Constitution.

Federalist Number 10

One of the most famous of The Federalist Papers is Federalist Number 10. This essay, written by James Madison, tackles the concern about power congregating into the hands of one or a few groups, what he calls “factions,” rather than allowing many groups to check and balance each other.

Today we sometimes think of factions as special interest groups. Citizens from many different walks of life have an interest in how the government operates: farmers, bankers, educators, people of many different religious persuasions, and more. People with similar goals and ideologies may often organize into groups to promote their goals, and this is a vital part of how free governments work. However, if any one group were able to gain so much power that they were able to override the interests and rights of others, the free government could become a tyranny. Oppression by powerful groups had led to tyranny and the downfall of governments throughout history, and the Founders did not want this type of dangerous faction (or tyranny of the majority) to take control of the United States.

The people had experienced these dangerous factions under their own state republic governments. State governments wanted to correct the error of having an oppressive executive branch by cutting it out altogether and making a very strong legislative branch. This overcorrection had the effect of concentrating power into one place. This allowed for factions to grow more powerful. Therefore, the people feared factions and wanted to ban them by law. Madison persuades the people to turn against that idea by explaining:

Liberty is to faction what air is to fire, an ailment without which it instantly expires. But it could not be less folly to abolish liberty, which is essential to political life, because it nourishes faction, than it would be to wish the annihilation of air, which is essential to animal life, because it imparts to fire its destructive agency.

Thankfully, James Madison had a solution to this problem. He explained that although we can’t do away with factions, we can minimize the potential of tyrannical effects by multiplying the number of factions through a large republic. In a small republic, one faction could easily become a majority, get control over the government, and exercise tyrannical control over others, but in a large republic the many factions would neutralize one another. The larger the republic, the

harder it would be for one special interest group to gain majority power since each faction would be but one faction among many. In Madison's words:

The influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular States but will be unable to spread a general conflagration through the other States.

Political theorists had long assumed that a republic needed to be small. Because of this, representatives were local, known, visible, and more directly accountable to the people. These are all clear benefits of a small republic. Madison showed that while a small republic had the advantage of keeping power closer to the people, it also had the disadvantage of making it possible for a single faction to dominate the government. In large republics, the factions can check and balance each other. According to Madison, a large republic would be more stable and less susceptible to both tyranny and anarchy.

To prove that Madison was correct on this point, we need look no further than the Civil Rights movement. In the 19th century American South, white Americans (the majority) voted to oppress black Americans through the Jim Crow laws. This discrimination, legally upheld and enforced by the government, came about through the majority rule. In the "small republic" southern states, the white-supremacist faction outnumbered the African-Americans and could thereby democratically tyrannize them. But in the large republic of the United States, the white-supremacist faction was diluted and outnumbered by those who wanted more racial equality.

We also see Madison's wisdom on display in Church history. When the Latter-day Saints settled in Missouri, an anti-Mormon faction took control of the state government and elected Lilburn Boggs as governor. Boggs then proceeded to issue an "extermination order" against the Saints. This was a classic example of democratic tyranny. The anti-Mormon faction in Missouri was large and powerful enough to dominate politics. It was just such a "tyranny of the majority" that the Constitution was designed to prevent in the nation as a whole.

Again, we can see the wisdom of Federalist Number 10 by comparing the United States of North America to the divided countries of South America. After their revolutions against Spanish rule, Latin America remained fragmented in many small nations. Fragmentation can lead to issues with instability, military coups, corruption, and hyperinflation.

Finally, the Founders' decision to institute the Electoral College as the means of electing the president of the United States is a manifestation of their concern about the tyranny of the majority. The Electoral College is a method of distributing the power and decision-making to the states so there is not a bare majority needed to elect the president, which would inevitably lead to the very "tyranny of the majority" that the Founders dreaded.

The benefits of small and large republics find their manifestation in the divine principle of federalism which allows the United States to enjoy the benefits of both small republics (the states) and a large republic (the nation) in the same system. Throughout the nation's history, this has been instrumental in combating the threat of factions.

Federalist Number 10 and the rest of the 85 essays in The Federalist Papers are excellent illustrations of the wisdom and far-sightedness of the Founders of the United States.

Ratification

Thanks to The Federalist Papers' authors, the Constitution was ratified by the necessary number of states in 1788. In putting this document into place, the Founders gave life to the principles in the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence gives us our goals as a nation—the lofty principles of liberty, equality, and natural rights—while the Constitution gives us the mechanism of government with which to secure those goals. The Constitution provided the means by which the principles of the Declaration of Independence could be realized. The two primary documents of the Founding harmonize perfectly.

We will dive deeper into the specifics and significance of the United States Constitution in our next lesson.



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Week 5

The Constitution as an Inspired Document

Jesus Christ

Constitution

President Dallin H. Oaks explains why the US Constitution is important to members of The Church living anywhere in the world. "God revealed that He 'established' [the US Constitution] 'for the rights and protection of all flesh' That is why this constitution is of special concern for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints throughout the world"

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- [Responsibilities as Citizens and Church Members](#)

I feel it a duty to express my profound & solemn conviction, derived from my intimate opportunity of observing and appreciating the views of the Convention, collectively and individually, that there never was an assembly of men, charged with a great and arduous trust, who were more pure in their motives, or more exclusively or anxiously devoted to the object committed to them, than were the members of the Federal Convention of 1787, to the object of devising and proposing a constitutional system which would best supply the defects of that which it was to replace, and best secure the permanent liberty and happiness of their country.

James Madison, Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787

A Heavenly Banner

While imprisoned in Liberty Jail, the Prophet Joseph Smith penned a lengthy letter addressed to The Church. In this letter, some of which became Sections 121, 122, and 123 of the Doctrine and Covenants, the Prophet described in detail the crimes and atrocities committed against The Church by state and local governments. He opened his heart to the

struggling saints and shared the doctrines received while inside the walls of his prison-temple. At this time of severe persecution, unfair accusations, unjust verdicts, and refusals from the government, the Prophet wrote:

Hence we say, that the Constitution of the United States is a glorious standard; it is founded in the wisdom of God. It is a heavenly banner; it is to all those who are privileged with the sweets of its liberty, like the cooling shades and refreshing waters of a great rock in a thirsty and weary land. It is like a great tree under whose branches men from every clime can be shielded from the burning rays of the sun.



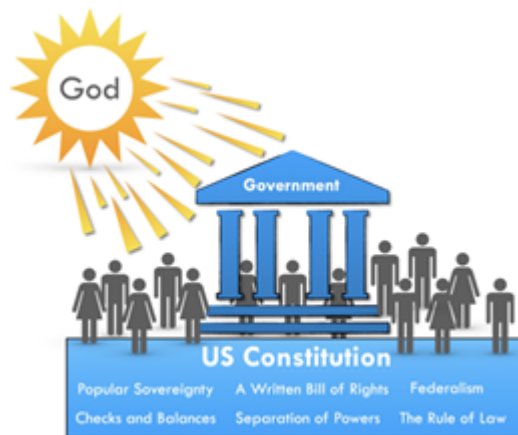
The saints wanted and expected the things promised by the U.S. Constitution. And because of the ideals expressed in the Constitution, groups previously denied these rights can find support and justification in the principles of the Constitution. The American Constitution has weathered many storms and prevented the abuses of power that come when power remains unchecked.

I. The US Constitution established for the benefit of everyone

In his talk “Defending Our Divinely Inspired Constitution,” President Dallin H. Oaks explained that a “constitution is the foundation of government. It provides structure and limits for the exercise of government powers.”

The title of his talk provokes thoughts about how the Constitution applies to all members of The Church, even those who do not live in, or who are not from, the United States.

President Oaks explained why the US Constitution is important to members of The Church living anywhere in the world:



1. “God revealed that He ‘established’ [the US Constitution] ‘for the rights and protection of all flesh’. That is why this constitution is of special concern for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints throughout the world.”

2. The US Constitution is known as one of our greatest exports because “it soon became a model worldwide. Today, every nation except three have adopted written constitutions.”

God's Hand in Establishing the US Constitution

President Oaks explains that the US Constitution grants men and women enough freedom in order to exercise their moral agency, which is “the power to decide and to act,” so that we “may be accountable” for our own decisions on our

day of judgment. The principles in the US Constitution that allow people to exercise their God-given right of moral agency are listed below:

- I. Popular Sovereignty
- II. Federalism (or Division of Powers)
- III. Separation of Powers
- IV. A Written Bill of Rights (the first 10 Amendments)
- V. Rule of Law

It is important to note that “our belief that the United States Constitution was divinely inspired does not mean that divine revelation dictated every word and phrase, such as the provisions allocating the number of representatives from each state or the minimum age of each.”

II. The Inspired Principles

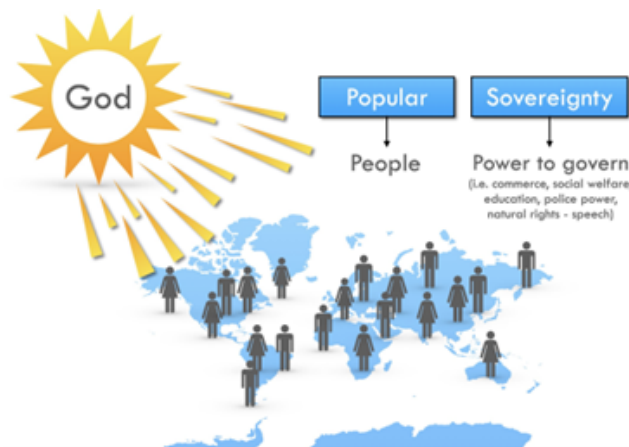
A. Popular Sovereignty

Here is how President Oaks explained the inspired principle of popular sovereignty:

The source of government power is the people. In a time when sovereign power was universally assumed to come from the divine right of kings or from military power, attributing sovereign power to the people was revolutionary. Philosophers had advocated this, but the United States Constitution was the first to apply it. Sovereign power in the people does not mean that mobs or other groups of people can intervene to intimidate or force government action. The Constitution established a constitutional democratic republic, where the people exercise their power through their elected representatives.

Popular sovereignty means that the people are the source of political power. We see this recognition in the Constitution’s opening line, “We the People.” In other words, the people delegate, or authorize, the government to use the people’s political power to protect their rights, which will allow for the common benefit and safety of the people.

The idea that political power comes from the people and not kings also implies “popular responsibility.

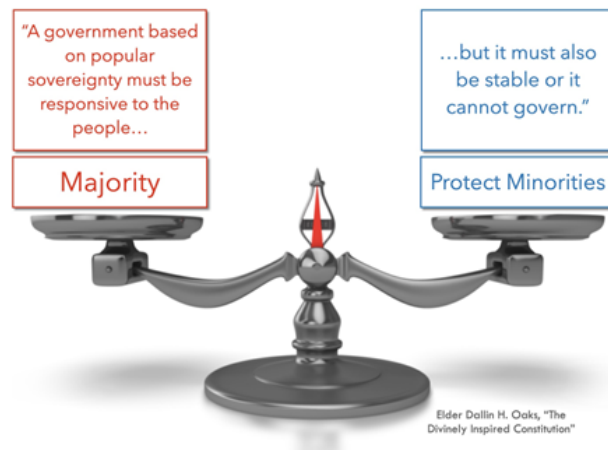


Instead of blaming their troubles on a king or other sovereign, all citizens must share the burdens and responsibilities of governing.”

People Should be Accountable

God created us to be our own agents—to act and not be acted upon. “The most desirable condition for the effective exercise of God-given moral agency is a condition of maximum freedom and responsibility. In [popular sovereignty] men are accountable for their own sins and cannot blame their political conditions on their bondage to a king or a tyrant.”

After the chaotic events of Shays' Rebellion, the Founders wondered and doubted if the people could handle a government that required popular sovereignty. The Founders were inspired with a way to organize the government.

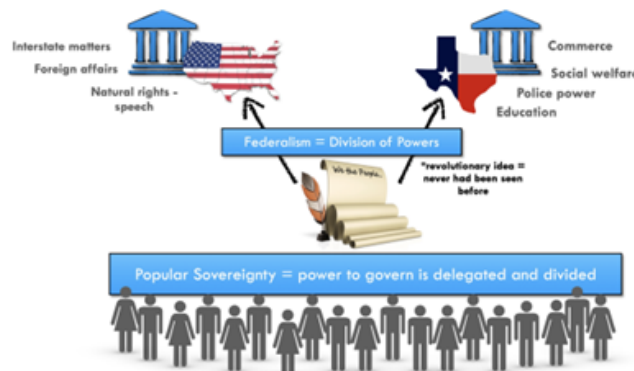


Popular sovereignty is not a checklist that was completed when the Constitution was ratified. The people continue to be the appropriate source of political power. Other inspired principles discussed throughout this chapter help protect that political power.

B. Federalism (Division of Powers)

President Oaks explained the division of power in this way:

The division of delegated power between the nation and its subsidiary states. In our federal system, this unprecedented principle has sometimes been altered by inspired amendments, such as those abolishing slavery and extending voting rights to women, mentioned earlier. Significantly, the United States Constitution limits the national government to the exercise of powers granted expressly or by implication, and it reserves all other government powers “to the States respectively, or to the people.”



Federalism, or division of power, “means that through the Constitution, the people delegate (or authorize) some of their political power to the national government and some political power to the state government.” This creates some natural tension between the national and state governments over which entity should have power to govern in certain areas: a brand new, revolutionary concept.

The Founders, however, reasoned that they had been living in a pseudo-federalist state while under King George III and their local governing bodies, due to the Articles of Confederation. This experience showed them it could work, but there would be constant tension between the two governmental powers.

President Oaks explained that any powers not expressly given in the US Constitution are reserved for the state. Over the years, amendments to the Constitution have been added to expressly give the federal government certain powers that

the states have either abused or incorrectly applied. The two listed examples of this in President Oaks's talk are slavery and women's right to vote. The reverse is also true. The federal government has taken more power that rightfully belongs to the states, like laws governing marriage, but this is the natural tension between two governmental powers. The following graphic gives a list of some of the independent and shared powers.

Federalism equals a division of powers:

National	Shared	State
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Declare war • Maintain armed forces • Regulate interstate and foreign trade • Admit new states • Establish post offices • Set standard weights and measures • Coin money • Establish foreign policy • "Necessary and Proper" - make laws necessary and proper for carrying out delegated powers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintain law and order • Levy taxes • Borrow money • Charter banks • Establish courts • Provide for public welfare 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish and maintain schools • Establish local governments • Regulate business within the state • "Police Powers" - provide for public health and safety • Make marriage laws • Assume other powers not delegated to the national government or prohibited to the states

C. Separation of Powers

The Founders divided and separated governmental power so that it was decentralized. The US Constitution divides our sovereignty between two separate government entities (federal and state). The Constitution then takes the federal government's power and separates it into 3 branches that check each other.

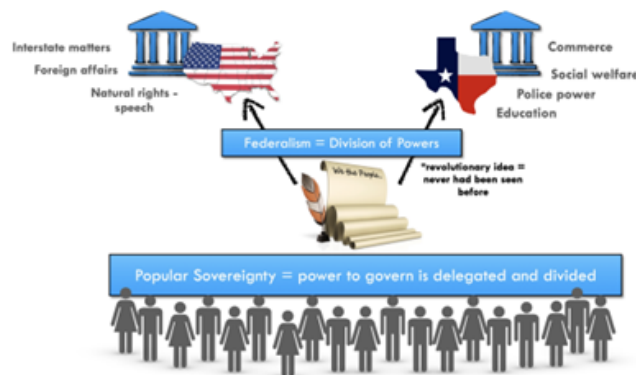
Here is a brief timeline of influential factors for the Constitution:

1688—The English Parliament achieved an initial separation of legislative and executive authority when they wrested certain powers from the king in the revolution of 1688.

*1748—The political philosophy of the French writer Montesquieu in *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748) was particularly influential for those in attendance at the convention. Montesquieu argued that "when the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty ... Again, there can be no liberty, if the judiciary power be not separated from the legislative and executive." Although England believed in a separation of powers in principle, "the British constitution provided for separation of personnel, rather than for division of function, and even that principle had come to be largely disregarded in practice."*

1776—After declaring independence, each of the colonies created their own state republics which incorporated a separation of powers. This "was reflected in all the Revolutionary state constitutions and explicitly endorsed in six of them." Below is one example with the Massachusetts Constitution of 1778:

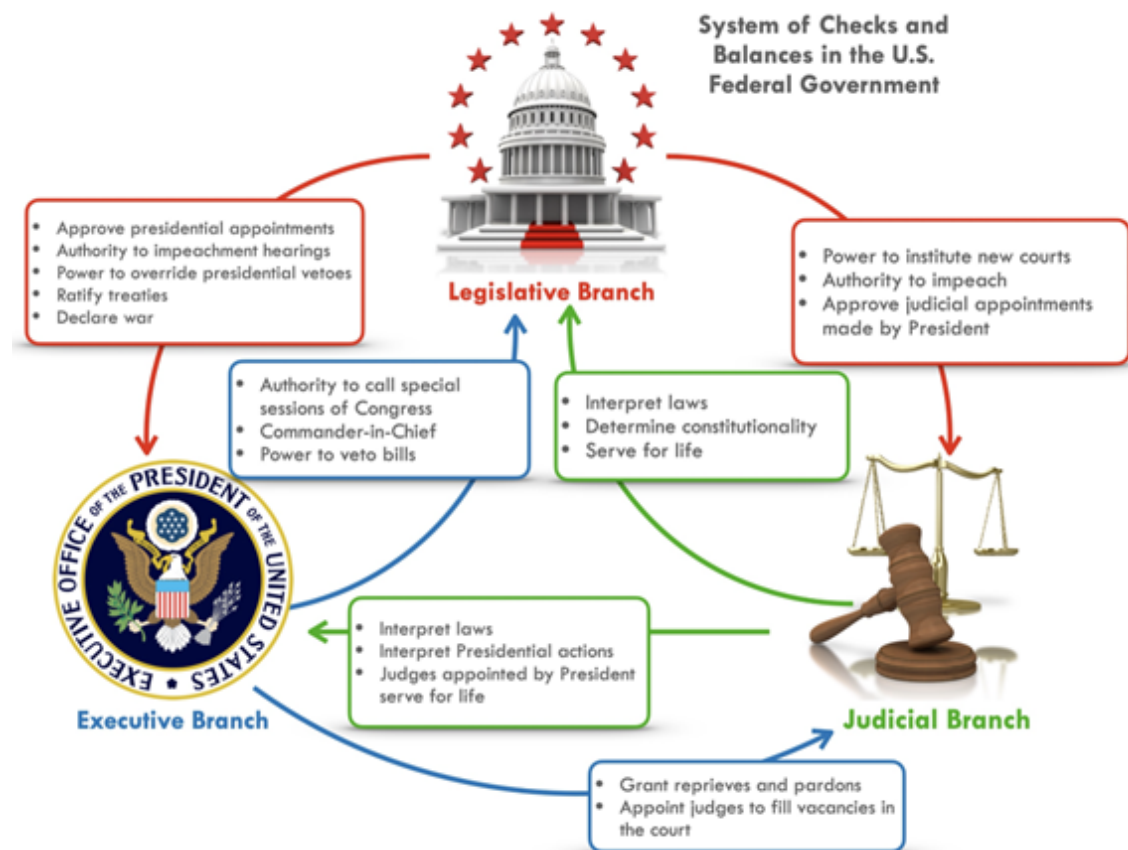
The legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judicial powers, or either of them: the executive shall never exercise the legislative and judicial powers, or either of them: the judicial shall never exercise the legislative and executive powers, or either of them: to the end it may be a government of laws and not of men.



It is clear that “the idea of separation of powers came long before the U.S. Constitutional Convention.” However, the inspiration came during the convention as “the delegates found just the right combination to assure the integrity of each branch, appropriately checked and balanced with the others.” This “right combination” is important to keep these 3 branches separate from each other. One supreme court justice explained “Without a secure structure of separated powers, our Bill of Rights would be worthless, as are the bill of rights of many nations of the world that have adopted, or even improved upon, the mere words of ours.”

However, despite the inspired creation of a government with separation of powers, there needed to be additional restraints against democratic tyranny. James Madison, understanding human nature, wrote that “ambition must be made to counteract ambition ... [thus] supplying by opposite and rival interests the defect of better motives.”

Each branch would have a unique function or responsibility that ensures power does not centralize. This function also allows for balanced ambition and power. For example, the executive branch is the only one with the authority to veto a legislative bill, while the judicial branch has the unique authority to declare a law constitutional if it comes before the court. The following graphic shows the other checks and balances created by the Constitution.



D. A Written Bill of Rights (The First 10 Amendments)

Elder Oaks introduces the Bill of Rights in this way:

A fourth inspired principle is in the cluster of vital guarantees of individual rights and specific limits on government authority in the Bill of Rights, adopted by amendment just three years after the Constitution went into force. A Bill of Rights was not new. Here the inspiration was in the practical implementation of principles pioneered in England, beginning with the Magna Carta. The writers of the Constitution were familiar with these because some of the colonial charters had such guarantees.



A written bill of rights was not included in the original text of the US Constitution. When the delegates went home to persuade the people of their respective colonies to vote in favor of the US Constitution, some colonies did not want a written bill of rights. James Wilson, former supreme court justice, explained “that itemizing the rights would be dangerous; no one could list all human rights, and the failure to include some could be used as an excuse to violate them.” If a right or law is not found on the list then it might be assumed that a person does not have that right or power.

Despite compelling arguments against a written list of “do not’s,” James Madison promised religious minorities in his Virginia constituency (as a member of Congress) that he would bring an amendment for a written bill of rights if they supported the ratification of the Constitution. On June 8, 1789, Madison proposed the subject of amendments to the Constitution for the House to consider. The Bill of Rights was ratified by the close of 1791, three years after the US Constitution was ratified.

President Oaks explains the importance of this written bill of rights:

Without a Bill of Rights, America could not have served as the host nation for the Restoration of the gospel, which began just three decades later. There was divine inspiration in the original provision that there should be no religious test for public office, but the addition of the religious freedom and antiestablishment guarantees in the First Amendment was vital. We also see divine inspiration in the First Amendment’s freedoms of speech and press and in the personal protections in other amendments, such as for criminal prosecutions.

One example of the importance of freedom of speech comes from our Savior, who was punished under an anti-free speech crime of sedition (speech that threatens the form of government). The Jews first tried our Savior under the crime of blasphemy, which is also an anti-free speech crime, but “no Jewish tribunal had authority to inflict the death penalty; imperial Rome had reserved this prerogative as her own.” The Romans did not have a blasphemy crime, but they did have corporate punishment for sedition. Ultimately, the Savior gave up His own life, but His legal crime was that of

thinking differently. This is just one example why a written bill of rights is so vital to every human being and the restoration of the gospel of Jesus Christ.



E. Rule of Law and Not Rule of Men

President Oaks said:

I see divine inspiration in the vital purpose of the entire Constitution. We are to be governed by law and not by individuals, and our loyalty is to the Constitution and its principles and processes, not to any office holder. In this way, all persons are to be equal before the law. These principles block the autocratic ambitions that have corrupted democracy in some countries. They also mean that none of the three branches of government should be dominant over the others or prevent the others from performing their proper constitutional functions.

As discussed in Week 2, the Rule of Law “means that stable, impartial laws rule over society.” President Oaks explains ideas about rule of law that build on each other and are divinely inspired:

1. The rule of law prevents the rule of tyranny or capriciousness.
2. The separation of powers help uphold the rule of law.
3. Checks and balances help keep powers separate.

The Preamble of the Constitution explains that the goal is to create a society that is peaceful, prosperous, and just. The rule of law allows for these outcomes to exist.

The 3 main characteristics for the rule of law are the following:

1. Everyone is equal under the law and the law applies to everyone.
2. People and/or their claims will be judged by an independent judiciary.
3. People must have access to the laws.

The Constitution was written to protect the sovereign power of all people living under it. That was the hope of the founders. However, as we learned in Week 4, there were compromises in order to secure the votes of all the states in favor of the Constitution. Despite this, people like Martin Luther King, Jr. understood the meaning and significance of equality under the law created in the Constitution. In his “I Have a Dream” speech, he said the following:

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—yes, black men as well as white men—would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The Constitution does not promise equality, but it promises everyone a system to try and prevent unequal treatment by the government. President Oaks explains that “our loyalty is to the Constitution and its principles and processes.” We follow the laws and use the proper channels to right wrongs we believe we have suffered. Joseph Smith exemplified this pattern in Liberty Jail. He wrote a letter to Edward Partridge asking him to go before the Missouri state legislature to reassure the people of Missouri that the Saints were friends and not enemies. Edward Partridge said responded:

In laying our case before your honorable body, we say that we are willing, and ever have been, to conform to the Constitution and laws of the United States and of this State. We ask in common with others the protection of the laws. We ask for the privilege guaranteed to all free citizens of the United States and of this State to be extended to us, that we may be permitted to settle and live where we please, and worship God according to the dictates of our conscience without molestation. And while we ask for ourselves this privilege, we are willing all others should enjoy the same.

We know Joseph Smith and the Saints continued to suffer injustices without protection or redress by the law of the Constitution; however, Joseph Smith and the early Saints did show us that the way to try and create peace is by following the laws of the Constitution. This is an example of displaying public virtue. We now turn to why public virtue matters so much.

III. The Role of Public Virtue in Relation to the Inspired Principles

The Constitution cannot function properly if the people do not use their moral agency for good. In 1798, John Adams, one of the Founders and future president of the United States, said, “Our Constitution was made only for a moral and religious People. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other.”

George Washington agreed, asserting, “It is substantially true that virtue and morality are a necessary [foundation] of popular government.”

Regardless, the Constitution is threatened without individual virtue and morality. If those who hold the power (the people) are not filled with truth and light, the system will not function as it should. Additionally, it is a foundational principle that the primary check on government is the wise and virtuous actions of its citizens. Public virtue is key in this scenario.

For our purposes, we can think of virtue as behavior that shows high moral standards. Public virtue is high moral standards in public behavior. A citizenry that embodies public virtue is willing to do the following:

- Commit to the rule of law
- Use exercised, reasoned self-restraint, compassion, and decency
- Serve in public office
- Set aside private interests for the good of society
- Compromise politically
- Practice individual as well as public virtue

James Madison explained in Federalist 51 (see diagram 1 at the end of the reading for more information) that if people always acted with perfect public virtue, no government would be needed. But since people aren’t always angels, it is important to have systems in place to check the power of the different parts of government. This is the idea behind the system of checks and balances described above. It might be easier to understand Madison’s powerful argument with a modern day translation next to his passages.

Federalist No. 51	Translation
It may be a reflection on human nature, that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government but what is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary.	Angels are perfect beings who would keep a perfect balance of sovereign power. However, men are not angels, but men can act with public virtue. Public virtue would be enough to have a fair and just government, but men are not angels. Therefore, they will make mistakes and need extra help to maintain the proper balance.
In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself.	Imperfect people will be the ones running the government so it will be hard to convince people to (1) give (or delegate) their sovereign power to the imperfect people and (2) find ways to put controls on the government in order to protect their sovereign power.
A dependence on people is, no doubt, the primary control on the government; but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions.	Public virtue is the best check on government because people will want to keep their sovereign power separated, which brings peace and stability. However, people are prone to revolution and wanting to concentrate power. Therefore, the people need auxiliary precautions, or extra help, in order to keep their powers separated.

The Founders recognized from the beginning that it was unrealistic to expect people to always be virtuous. This caused them to develop a system of auxiliary precautions to counteract the inevitabilities of human nature. "Auxiliary precautions" essentially means structure in the government that makes it more difficult for power to become concentrated in any one group's hands. An article written in *BYU Studies Quarterly* sheds more light on this definition when it says, "The structure of government, the separation of powers and checks and balances, the scheme of representation—all were auxiliary to the primary protection against the excesses of governmental power."

One way to visualize this is the Book of Mormon being referred to as the "keystone" of our religion. Public virtue, likewise, is the keystone to good government (see Diagram 2 at the bottom). No matter how well-structured the government is on paper, there is not enough police power to restrain the people if the people decline in virtue. (We will see this next week when we discuss the Civil War.) As James Madison emphasized the following:

Is there no virtue among us? If there be not, we are in a wretched situation. No theoretical checks—no form of government—can render it secure. To suppose that any form of government will secure liberty or happiness without any virtue in the people, is a chimerical idea.

The Book of Mormon repeatedly expresses a related idea.

Inasmuch as ye shall keep my commandments ye shall prosper in the land; and inasmuch as ye will not keep my commandments ye shall be cut off from my presence. Alma 9:13

Virtue in society, according to the Founders, is connected to religion in society. President George Washington said, "Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion."

We will address the importance of religion and religious freedom in a democratic republic in a later lesson.

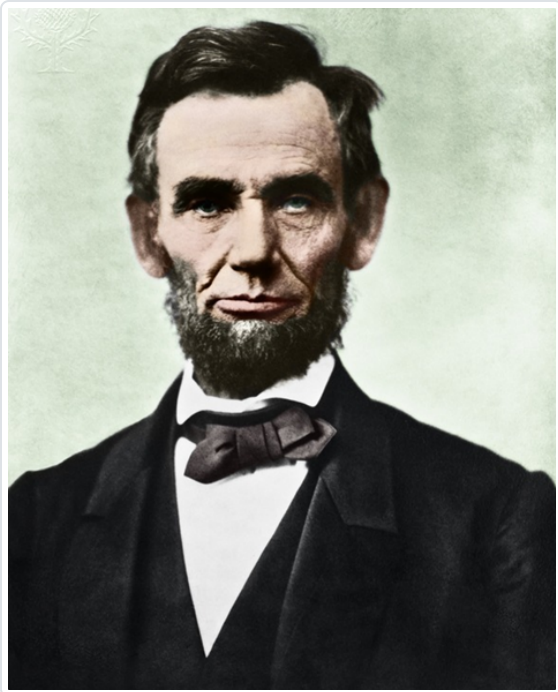
Ideally, citizens filled with public virtue will function fairly and justly within the government created by our divinely inspired Constitution. However, given that humans are not perfect and we all have our moral agency, problems inevitably

arise.

IV. Threats to the Inspired Principles

When he was elected president of the United States, Abraham Lincoln faced the staggering challenge of a nation on the brink of rupture. President Lincoln reasoned that according to universal law and the Constitution of the United States, it was not legal for a state to secede from the United States. In his First Inaugural Address, he said,

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all States.



President Lincoln, armed with an unflinching determination to be guided by the Constitution, successfully navigated the country through the crisis of the Civil War.

It is important to recognize that although the Constitution laid out a plan for a successful structure of government, inevitably questions, problems, and even occasional constitutional crises such as the Civil War have arisen in our nation's history. As President Oaks explained, "Despite the divinely inspired principles of the United States Constitution, when exercised by imperfect mortals their intended effects have not always been achieved."

This helps us understand why a country with a divinely inspired Constitution, problems, and significant injustices have marred, and continue to mar, the pages of our history.

Current Threats

In his 2021 Conference address, President Oaks listed several threats to the divinely inspired principles of the Constitution. These are current, applicable issues that we encounter in our day, and they deserve our attention and concern.

1. Threat to Federalism

President Oaks said:

Important subjects of lawmaking, such as some laws governing family relationships, have been taken from the states by the federal government.

Originally, the United States Constitution was written to limit the power of the federal (national) government, allowing states to retain a high degree of power and autonomy. One reason for this is the idea that the states are closer to the people so they have a better idea of how to help the people. It is also easier to hold state and local politicians accountable for laws that directly affect the people in everyday life. Like countries, different states have different interests. For example, Idaho is known for potatoes while Texas is known for their oil. The people in Idaho naturally have different economic interests than the people of Texas. These powers over the public's health and physical safety that the states "retain," or keep, are collectively known as the "police powers." Subsequently, state governments have retained the power to make laws and public policy concerning:

- Social policies
- Welfare programs
- Education
- Police organizations
- Land zoning laws
- Business regulations

Over time, power has incrementally been transferred from the states to the federal government. Two recent Supreme court cases are excellent examples. In 1973 the Supreme Court ruled in *Roe v. Wade* that the right to an abortion was a federal issue, not a state issue (NOTE: this has since been overturned). Similarly, in the 2015 *Obergefell v. Hodges* case, the Supreme Court ruled that the federal government, not the state governments, could decide whether homosexual marriage was legal. These are examples of issues being taken away from the states and given to the federal government.

Although there are many other examples of this in our nation's history, President Oaks specifically mentions laws governing family relationships. Issues involving the family are of particular concern to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints due to their belief in the importance of the family.

2. Threat to Free Speech

President Oaks explained:

The First Amendment guarantee of free speech has sometimes been diluted by suppression of unpopular speech.

The Founders knew that for a republic to function well, there must be a free and unfettered exchange of ideas with plenty of opportunities for debate. "The Founders also understood that free speech is more than just part of the natural right to liberty; it is an important check to keep government power limited and accountable ... The power to criticize the government is key to preventing tyranny and the First Amendment ensures that citizens retain this right."

We also know that true ideas are not always popular. This means that for truth to prevail, there must be opportunities for even minority groups to speak and be heard.

3. Threat to the Separation of Powers

President Oaks stated:

The principle of separation of powers has always been under pressure with the ebb and flow of one branch of government exercising or inhibiting the powers delegated to another.

An example of this is Presidential executive orders, which can have the effect of writing new laws. In general, executive orders can be a necessary function of the Presidency in order to "execute" the laws that Congress passes. Let's look at one example in the following graph about the "Secure Fence Act."

Legislative Branch	Executive Branch
Writes Laws	Executes Laws
2006: Congress passes the Secure Fence Act and tells the Executive Branch to build a 700-mile “fence” along the Mexican border. House of Representatives: Passed 283/138 Senate: Passed 80/19 Not seen as a controversial bill.	2011: Department of Homeland Security (DHS) under President Obama completed 649 miles, but construction had stalled. 2017: President Trump signs Executive Order 13767 instructing the Executive Branch how it will finish building the “fence.”

However, presidents’ generous use of executive orders has led to the creation of new laws or going beyond what the law allows. This type of action can prevent the necessary checks on our powers that will create an imbalance, which leaves minority groups vulnerable. *Korematsu v. United States* (1944) is an example:

Legislative Branch	Executive Branch	Judiciary Branch
Writes Laws	Executes Laws	Interprets Laws
1940: Congress makes amendments to section 4, Act of April 20, 1918. The law redefines certain terms, i.e., “national-defense material,” “nation-defense premises,” and “national-defense utilities.”	1942: President Franklin D. Roosevelt signs Executive Order 9066. Directs military commanders to designate whatever areas they deem necessary to detain people that they believe is necessary for national defense reasons. Military detained about 112,000 men, women, and children of Japanese ancestry.	1944: Fred Korematsu challenges the constitutionality of EO 9066 in <i>Korematsu v. United States</i> . In a 6/3 decision, the Supreme Court said the need to protect from espionage was greater than the constitutional rights of Americans with Japanese ancestry and ruled EO 9066 constitutional

We will be discussing executive order 9066 more in Week 10, but the decision in *Korematsu v. United States* (1944) underscores another important point that President Oaks made: “[W]e do not see inspiration in every Supreme Court decision interpreting the Constitution.” Chief Justice John Roberts explained:

The forcible relocation of U.S. citizens to concentration camps, solely and explicitly on the basis of race, is objectively unlawful and outside the scope of Presidential authority.

The judicial branch was able to serve as a “check” on the executive branch in *Trump v. Hawaii*, but this check to restore balance occurred 74 years after *Korematsu*. This demonstrates why separation really does protect our sovereign powers.

4. Individual Liberty

President Oaks stated:

There are other threats that undermine the inspired principles of the United States Constitution. The stature of the Constitution is diminished by efforts to substitute current societal trends as the reason for its founding, instead of liberty and self-government.

As we study the basis of liberty and self-government created through the Constitution, we are better able to put current societal trends into perspective. Myron Magnet notes the following about the The Founders motivations and inspirations in terms of individual liberty:

The Founders sought only liberty, not equality or fraternity. They aimed to make a political revolution, not a social or economic one ... their Lockean social-contract political philosophy taught them that the preservation of individual liberty

was the goal of politics.

5. Ignoring Divine Principles

President Oaks warned:

The authority of the Constitution is trivialized when candidates or officials ignore its principles. The dignity and force of the Constitution is reduced by those who refer to it like a loyalty test or a political slogan, instead of its lofty status as a source of authorization for and limits on government authority.

The Constitution is not to be used as a wedge issue, an issue to divide and never to be solved (some examples of wedge issues are gun rights, abortion, healthcare, medicare, free speech, religion, and so on). Although wedge issues are politically popular, the Constitution is an inspired framework intended to protect our God-given natural rights.

V. Responsibilities as Citizens and Church Members

President Oaks ended his 2021 Conference address with a list of specific responsibilities and duties of Latter-day Saints around the world. These are exciting opportunities—action items—that will allow us to make a difference in our communities and help prepare the world for things to come. Here are the full closing remarks of President Oaks' talk:

Our belief in divine inspiration gives Latter-day Saints a unique responsibility to uphold and defend the United States Constitution and principles of constitutionalism wherever we live. We should trust in the Lord and be positive about this nation's future.

What else are faithful Latter-day Saints to do? We must pray for the Lord to guide and bless all nations and their leaders. This is part of our article of faith. Being subject to presidents or rulers of course poses no obstacle to our opposing individual laws or policies. It does require that we exercise our influence civilly and peacefully within the framework of our constitutions and applicable laws. On contested issues, we should seek to moderate and unify.

There are other duties that are part of upholding the inspired Constitution. We should learn and advocate the inspired principles of the Constitution. We should seek out and support wise and good persons who will support those principles in their public actions. We should be knowledgeable citizens who are active in making our influence felt in civic affairs.

In the United States and in other democracies, political influence is exercised by running for office (which we encourage), by voting, by financial support, by membership and service in political parties, and by ongoing communications to officials, parties, and candidates. To function well, a democracy needs all of these, but a conscientious citizen does not need to provide all of them.

There are many political issues, and no party, platform, or individual candidate can satisfy all personal preferences. Each citizen must therefore decide which issues are most important to him or her at any particular time. Then members should seek inspiration on how to exercise their influence according to their individual priorities. This process will not be easy. It may require changing party support or candidate choices, even from election to election.

Such independent actions will sometimes require voters to support candidates or political parties or platforms whose other positions they cannot approve. That is one reason we encourage our members to refrain from judging one another in political matters. We should never assert that a faithful Latter-day Saint cannot belong to a particular party or vote for a particular candidate. We teach correct principles and leave our members to choose how to prioritize and apply those principles on the issues presented from time to time. We also insist, and we ask our local leaders to insist, that political choices and affiliations not be the subject of teachings or advocacy in any of our Church meetings.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints will, of course, exercise its right to endorse or oppose specific legislative proposals that we believe will impact the free exercise of religion or the essential interests of Church organizations.



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Week 6

Religion, Lincoln's Election, & the Civil War in America

Religion

The majority of colonists in British North America, with some notable exceptions, were Protestants. At its core, Protestantism was a religious tradition of dissent from the status quo. Puritans were members of the Church of England that wished to remove, or purify, the church from the Catholic doctrine that remained. The Pilgrims were a group of separatists that wanted to no longer be a part of the church.

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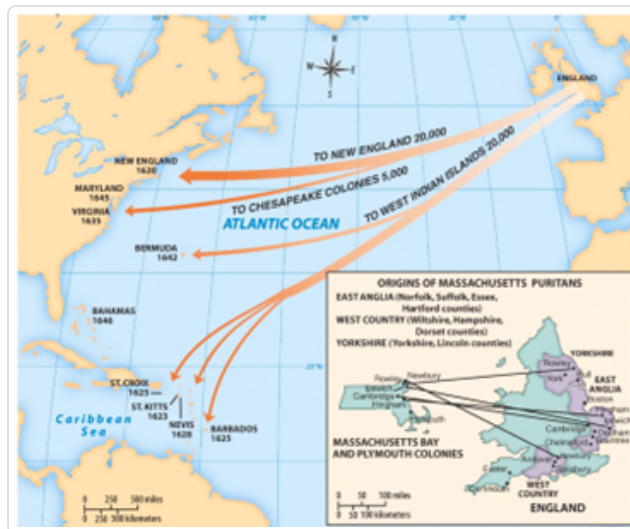
- [Religion in the First Amendment](#)
- [The Early Operation of Government Under the Constitution](#)
- [Civil War](#)
- [Slavery and its Interpretation in the Constitution](#)
- [Election of Lincoln](#)

Religion was a major motivating factor in choosing to travel to the New World and significantly influenced the development of political ideas. It would be difficult to examine and understand the development of American politics and culture without understanding the role religious belief played in the lives of the early colonists. The church was central to the community and intertwined with both political and economic power.

The time period of colonization coincided with the great religious debates going on in Europe between Catholicism and Protestantism. Protestants were groups that had protested against the doctrine and practice of the Catholic church and broken away to create their own sects of Christianity. The Church of England, which was the official and established church in England, separated from the Catholic church in the 1500s, with the King considered the head of the church. This was the result of political maneuvering, not necessarily in support of the doctrinal principles taught by Martin Luther and others as part of the Protestant Reformation.

The majority of colonists in British North America, with some notable exceptions, were Protestants, and many were seeking religious opportunity and freedom. At its core, Protestantism was a religious tradition of dissent from the status quo. Puritans were members of the Church of England that wished to remove, or purify, the church from the Catholic doctrine that remained. Puritans traveled by the thousands to New England. The Pilgrims, on the other hand, were a

group of separatists that wanted to no longer be a part of the Church of England. They were persecuted in their homeland, and were forced to move first to the Netherlands and then to the colonies. Only a few hundred migrated to Plymouth in what became Massachusetts, but their social and religious influence was powerful beyond their numbers.



The Puritans tied their colonizing venture to their religious mission—as a “city set upon a hill,” which means to be an example of a pure religious community in covenant with one another.

To set forth his vision of what society should look like in the New World, John Winthrop, a Puritan leader who served as governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, issued this sermon before the Puritans arrived.

John Winthrop, “A Model of Christian Charity”: Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1630

That which the most in their churches maintain as truth in profession only, we must bring into familiar and constant practice; as in this duty of love, we must love brotherly without dissimulation, we must love one another with a pure heart fervently. We must bear one another's burdens. We must not look only on our own things, but also on the things of our brethren. Neither must we think that the Lord will bear with such failings at our hands as he doth from those among whom we have lived ...

Thus stands the cause between God and us. We are entered into covenant with Him for this work. We have taken out a commission. The Lord hath given us leave to draw our own articles. We have professed to enterprise these and those accounts, upon these and those ends. We have hereupon besought Him of favor and blessing. Now if the Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath He ratified this covenant and sealed our commission, and will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it; but if we shall neglect the observation of these articles which are the ends we have propounded, and, dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnal intentions, seeking great things for ourselves and our posterity, the Lord will surely break out in wrath against us; be revenged of such a people and make us know the price of the breaches of such a covenant.

Now the only way to avoid this shipwreck, and to provide for our posterity, is to follow the counsel of Micah, to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God. For this end, we must be knit together, in this work, as one man. We must entertain each other in brotherly affection. We must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of other's necessities. We must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekness, gentleness, patience and liberality. We must delight in each other; make other's conditions our own; rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work, as members of the same body. So shall we keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us, as His own people, and will command a blessing upon us in all our ways. So that we shall see much more of His wisdom, power, goodness and truth, than formerly we have been acquainted with. We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when He shall

make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, "the Lord make it likely that of New England." For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us. So that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world ...

Other colonies were founded for religious reasons as well, with a somewhat more modern understanding of religious freedom. Rhode Island was founded by Roger Williams, who fled Massachusetts and what he saw as restrictive Puritan ideology. Pennsylvania was founded by William Penn, a Quaker, as a haven for Quakers and other religious outsiders. Lord Baltimore, a Catholic Englishman, was given a land grant in recognition of service to the King in the colonies. His land was called Maryland, in honor of the Catholic Queen Mary. As a result of the different settlement patterns and populations throughout the thirteen British colonies, there was a tremendous diversity of sects, churches, and beliefs.

As settlements grew westward, through continued immigration and natural increase, new churches needed to be built and ministers chosen for those communities. By 1720, this led to a certain amount of declining spirituality and increasing religious diversity, especially within the Puritan ideology that ruled New England. Many began to fear that the spiritual level of people's lives was declining, that involvement with churches was waning, and that the general power of religious teaching was losing influence. The First Great Awakening was a movement designed to combat those trends and encourage greater spirituality. Ministers and religious philosophers traveled throughout British North America preaching, teaching, and encouraging religious belief and practice. The movement also created important opportunities for discussion between members of different religious sects.

The First Great Awakening rekindled religious values, commitments, and sentiments among many of the colonies, including a sense of unity and a strong Protestant heritage. Much of the preaching and teaching focused on an individual's relationship to God and personal responsibility for salvation and revelation. Less established groups, like the Baptists, found an opportunity to spread their message.

Many of the colonies continued to have an official, established church. In Massachusetts and other New England colonies, the Congregational (Puritan) church was the established church. In Virginia, it was the Church of England (Anglican). Where colonies had established churches, those churches had the ability to compel worship through civil law and financial support through taxation. This made churchgoing a significant social and economic part of life. Membership in the church was necessary for voting and holding public office, even for revolutionary leaders like Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and John Adams.

Even in those colonies with established churches, dissenters were a more accepted part of the community and experienced significant freedom of worship and expression. The religious picture in the colonies was a very complicated one. As the Continental Congress met for the first time in 1774, they attempted to begin their business with prayer. Some delegates objected, as John Adams reported, "because we were so divided in religious sentiments, some Episcopalians, some Quakers, some Anabaptists, some Presbyterians and some Congregationalists, that we could not join in the same act of worship." For many Americans, the contradiction between government establishments of religion and true liberty was being realized. Freedom of religious conscience became more important as a key natural right, and the practice of a civil government tied to an established church came into question.

The debate over religious liberty grew right alongside the push for political liberty in the Revolutionary Era. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison led the struggle in Virginia to grant complete religious freedom to all people in the state, targeting compulsory taxes in support of churches and compulsory attendance at services.

Thomas Jefferson, Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, 1779

Whereas Almighty God hath created the mind free;

That all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments, or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy author of

our religion, who being lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his Almighty power to do,

That the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world and through all time:

That to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical;

That even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness; and is with drawing from the Ministry those temporary rewards, which proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind;

That our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than on our opinions in physics or geometry; That therefore the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow citizens, he has a natural right ... That it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order;

And finally, that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right.

Jefferson's statute on religious freedom passed in 1786, making Virginia the first to legally separate church and state. Virginia's example was followed by other southern states, when they severed ties with the Church of England after the Revolutionary War. Other denominations reorganized themselves and assumed independent status from the English and European churches after independence was won. The American Episcopal Church and the American Presbyterian Church were established in this period.

The Congregational Church in New England lost some of its privileges over time as well, although it was not disestablished in Connecticut until 1818 and in Massachusetts until 1830.

Freedom of worship expanded to include Catholics and Jews, although anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism remained a powerful strand of American thinking. There is a connection between the power of political freedom inspiring religious freedom, and vice versa.

Religion in the First Amendment to the Bill of Rights, 1789

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Religion goes virtually unmentioned in the Constitution. The last clause of Article VI prohibits any religious test as a qualification for office, and some read significance into the clause in Article I, Section 7 that does not count Sunday as a business day for the president's return of a bill to Congress. Otherwise, the Constitution is silent on this issue. Essentially, it is a "godless" Constitution. However, the states insisted on amendments to secure rights—including religious freedom—and the very first lines of the First Amendment address this freedom.

The First Amendment of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution is one of the most influential statements about the rights of Americans. The meaning of its opening lines, the religion clauses that discuss "establishment" and "prohibiting," has long been debated. These two clauses emerged out of a complicated set of negotiations during the congressional drafting process in 1789. There were proposals discussed in a committee of eleven in the House, a committee in the Senate, and then a conference committee of both houses. Then, as now, not everyone agreed on its larger meaning. Religious principles can influence one's interpretation, and the intent of the framers can be challenging to discern. However, many of the founders, although supportive of religious freedom, understood the important role that religious belief should play in the new republic.

John Adams, Letter to the Massachusetts Militia, 1798

We have no government armed with power capable of contending with human passions unbridled by morality and religion. Avarice, ambition, revenge or gallantry would break the strongest cords of our Constitution as a whale goes through a net. Our Constitution is designed only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate for any other.

Interpretations of the First Amendment

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.

Some argue that the amendment was originally designed to provide two specific protections: to protect individuals freedom of conscience from the influence of government, and to protect individuals and churches from the control of an "established" church. Current judicial interpretations of the religious phrases in the First Amendment focus on the idea that the government needs to be protected from the undue influence of religion, a "wall of separation" between religion and government. The United States Supreme Court has handed down many decisions that apply the amendment in this way.

One influential case was *Engle v. Vitale* (1962), where a group of New York public school families brought forward a complaint regarding the voluntary prayer written by school officials and recited in school classrooms. The prayer was as follows, "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country. Amen." Even though the prayer had been designed to be non-denominational and voluntary, the Supreme Court ruled that government-sponsored prayers could not be recited in public schools and that

such prayers violated the establishment clause of the First Amendment. This decision was highly influential on court cases that followed. Since this case in the 1960s, the Supreme Court has ruled against cases involving one-minute meditation, clergy-led prayer at graduation ceremonies, and student-led prayers offered at high school events, among others.

As members of a minority religious group, we should be sensitive to others who desire to feel comfortable and welcomed in a public space and wary of established prayers or rituals in a public setting. The following article written by Dallin H. Oaks, a practicing lawyer before he was a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, offers insight into the application of the First Amendment. It also gives guidance on how members might understand and discuss the religion clauses of the First Amendment. Oaks outlines the difference between religious freedom and a freedom from religion that has characterized recent public discourse and court decisions on the subject.

Dallin H. Oaks, “Religion in the Public Life,” Ensign, July 1990

As a law clerk in the United States Supreme Court, I saw its nine justices grapple with the task of interpreting the First Amendment. Later, as a lawyer and law professor for more than twenty years, I did some of that grappling myself. As legal counsel, I helped draft the Bill of Rights for the Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1970. As a Justice of the Utah Supreme Court for three and a half years, I had the sworn duty to uphold and interpret the constitutions of our state and nation. What I have to say about the subject of religious liberty draws upon those experiences ...

In my view, our current condition is rooted in the 1962 United States Supreme Court decision that the New York State Board of Regents could not require public school children to recite a prayer authored by the Regents. The essence of that decision was expressed in this sentence from the Court’s opinion:

It is neither sacrilegious nor anti-religious to say that each separate government in this country should stay out of the business of writing or sanctioning official prayers and leave the purely religious function to the people themselves, and to those the people choose to look to for religious guidance.”

Elsewhere in its opinion the Court explained: “Government in this country, be it state or federal, is without power to prescribe by law any particular form of prayer which is to be used as an official prayer in carrying on any program of governmentally sponsored religious activity.

When the school prayer cases were decided, I interpreted them to forbid state-authored and state-required prayers. As such, the cases, I thought, were correctly decided. What I did not foresee, but what was sensed by persons whose vision was far greater than my own, was that these decisions—defensible and probably even essential as rulings on the facts before the Court—would set in motion a chain of legal and public and educational actions that would bring us to our current circumstance, in which we must reaffirm and even contend for religious liberty.

In short, many understand the law today as being hostile rather than neutral toward religion—as forbidding all public prayers rather than simply prohibiting state-authored and state-required prayers in public schools. Instead of just preventing instances of state-sponsored religion in the public schools, the school prayer cases have unleashed forces that have sometimes been used to prevent the free exercise of religion.

At the time the first school prayer cases were decided, President David O. McKay saw the direction of those decisions with prophetic vision. In December 1962, he said: “By making that [New York Regents’ prayer] unconstitutional, the Supreme Court of the United States severs the connecting cord between the public schools of the United States and the source of divine intelligence, the Creator himself.”

Then, he offered this farsighted caution: “By law, the public schools of the United States must be non-denominational. They can have no part in securing acceptance of any one of the numerous systems of

belief regarding God and the relation of mankind thereto. Now let us remember and emphasize that restriction applies to the atheist as well as to the believer in God."

Six months later, just after the Supreme Court's decision forbidding Bible-reading in the schools, President McKay said:

"Recent rulings of the Supreme Court would have all reference to a Creator eliminated from our public schools and public offices.

"It is a sad day when the Supreme Court of the United States would discourage all reference in our schools to the influence of the phrase 'divine providence' as used by our founders of the Declaration of Independence ..."

It is clear from President McKay's references that he was concerned about the direction and long-range effect of these decisions. History shows that his concern was well founded.

In the beginning, eminent legal scholars like Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard Law School ridiculed the idea that the Supreme Court's school prayer decisions would lead to a great gulf between religion and public life. In a notable lecture published in the University of Utah Law Review, Dean Griswold said: "To say that [these great provisions of the First Amendment] require that all trace of religion be kept out of any sort of public activity is sheer invention.

However, as time went by, the combatants on both sides of this debate took more and more extreme positions. They joined issue on controversies that compelled the courts to rule on ever-more-technical details on the offering of prayers or the use of religious symbols in public places.

What the legal scholars did not foresee is the extent to which the school-prayer and Bible-reading decisions would shift the burden of proof with respect to religious practices in public life. In the past, religion had been an accepted part of public life in the American tradition; it now became something that had to prove its right to remain in the public square. The principles first announced in the early 1960s had by the 1970s hardened into mechanical constitutional formulas that could be interpreted in ways that were hostile to religion. Too many of the lawyers trained during this period have come to accept these wooden formulas as axioms, with the result that constitutional notions of religious liberty have been impoverished.

For example, the observance of a moment of silence as an alternative to school prayer was first suggested in a United States Supreme Court opinion. Twenty years later, after legislatures in nearly half of the states had passed laws authorizing a moment of silence in the public schools, the Supreme Court held one such law unconstitutional.

Gradually, what had been a supportive relationship between church and state (and at times excessively so) has become what many perceive as a hostile one. Now many see religion as suspect, while many others see government as repressive toward religion ...

As a result of misunderstanding the importance of religious liberty in our Constitutional order, many citizens and even some educators have come to consider it bad taste or even illegal for public school teachers even to mention religious influences or commitments. No wonder we suffer an appalling ignorance of our political and cultural origins.

In a study done for the Department of Education, New York University psychologist Paul Vitz documented the extent to which textbook authors have avoided references to God or to religion. Vitz concluded that many students could never learn from reading their history textbooks "that religion has played a significant role in American history." For example:

- *One American history textbook defines pilgrims as “people who make long trips.” Another text lists three hundred important events in American history, and only three of the three hundred have anything to do with religion. No religious event is listed after 1775—an apparent judgment that each of the other items, including the appearance of an electric streetcar on the streets of Richmond, Virginia, in 1886, was more important than any religious event in America since 1775 ...*
- *Textbook discussions of pre-Civil War abolitionism and the recent civil rights movement commonly skim over or totally omit the religious origins of these great forces and the religious motivations of many who furthered them.*

Removing the name of God and ignoring the influence of religious motivations distort facts and cloud understanding ... I prefer to believe that individuals have always had the good sense to understand that a person cannot be educated without understanding religious traditions and conflicts. One cannot understand the great music of the Western world, such as music composed for the mass or Handel's Messiah, and one cannot understand the great art of the Western world, such as the religious themes of the masters of the Middle Ages, without understanding the religious beliefs and traditions of the people by whom and for whom those works of art were created. It is surely true that a reader cannot understand the language and imagery of the great literature of the Western world without understanding the Bible.

Recently, Elder Dallin H. Oaks and other apostles have issued statements and traveled the world supporting multi-denominational efforts to protect religious freedom. At a gathering in Argentina in 2015, Elder Oaks said,

The preservation of religious freedom depends upon public understanding of and support for this vital freedom. It depends upon the value the public attaches to the teachings of right and wrong in churches, synagogues, and mosques. Believers and nonbelievers must be helped to understand that it is faith in God—however defined—that translates religious teachings into the moral behavior that benefits the nation.” As members, we understand that the United States needed to be a place without an established state religion in order for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to be founded, but that doesn't mean that religious beliefs and their influence should subsequently be banned from public life.

First Presidency Statement on Religious Freedom, 1979

Those who oppose all references to God in our public life have set themselves the task of rooting out historical facts and ceremonial tributes and symbols so ingrained in our national consciousness that their elimination could only be interpreted as an official act of hostility toward religion. Our constitutional law forbids that ...

As the ruling principle of conduct in the lives of many millions of our citizens, religion should have an honorable place in the public life of our nation, and the name of Almighty God should have sacred use in its public expressions.

In December 2015, the Church issued a news release that reiterated the Church's longstanding support of religious freedom for everyone.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints takes a neutral stance in regard to party politics and election campaigns. However, it is not neutral in relation to religious freedom. The following statements by Joseph Smith from 1841 and 1843 are consistent with the Church's position:

Church News Release, December, 2015

If it has been demonstrated that I have been willing to die for a “Mormon,” I am bold to declare before Heaven that I am just as ready to die in defending the rights of a Presbyterian, a Baptist, or a good man of any denomination; for the same principle which would trample upon the rights of the Latter-day Saints would trample upon the rights of the Roman Catholics, or of any other denomination who may be

unpopular and too weak to defend themselves. It is a love of liberty which inspires my soul—civil and religious liberty to the whole of the human race. (Joseph Smith, 1843)

Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Nauvoo, that the Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Latter-day Saints, Quakers, Episcopalians, Universalists, Unitarians, Mohammedans [Muslims], and all other religious sects and denominations whatever, shall have free toleration, and equal privileges in this city ... (Ordinance in Relation to Religious Societies, City of Nauvoo, [Illinois] headquarters of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, March 1, 1841)

The Early Operation of Government Under the Constitution

After the writing of the Constitution and the approval of 39 of the 55 delegates who attended the convention, the next step was ratification by the states. Although there had been compromise and resolution, there were still many people who were fearful of a strong central government and thus opposed the Constitution. Many of those most hostile to the new government were the most dedicated patriots of the revolutionary period.

Article VII of the Constitution set forth the ratification process. Special conventions, rather than a strict popular vote, were called in each state to debate the merits of the document and vote for or against its adoption. This insulated the process, somewhat, from the general trepidation of the people towards this unknown form of government. At the same time, the framers of the Constitution recognized the importance of getting the support of the people if the experiment was to succeed; therefore the attendees to the ratifying conventions were chosen directly by the people for that purpose. Ratification required nine states voting in the affirmative rather than an unanimous vote. Under the Articles of Confederation, unanimity had been impossible to achieve. What was left unclear in the description of the process was what would happen to those states that failed to ratify. Were all 13 states automatically included in the union once the majority votes were cast, or did each state's convention need to vote yes to be part of the new system? This was an important question, as any state left outside the union would weaken the whole, and indicate that the new country was still just a league of states easily subject to dissolution and foreign threat.

As the ratification process began, different groups organized to help encourage or discourage ratification. Those in favor, Federalists, felt that the new government was key to preserving the liberty of all. They argued that the federal government needed the power in taxation, commerce, and foreign affairs in order to govern. This unity would provide needed stature for the United States on the international stage. Those opposed to ratification, Anti-Federalists, feared that the president was too much like a king. Congress, to them, would make a new aristocracy of politicians. They felt that a strong central government would lead to a loss of sovereignty and state-control. The Anti-Federalists also feared double taxation by both states and the federal government under this new system.

For some states, ratification was almost guaranteed. In others, there was a question about which way the conventions would decide. Delaware was the first to ratify and did so unanimously. After a bitter fight, Pennsylvania was next. There was little or no opposition in New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut. Massachusetts, the sixth state to ratify, was a close contest. They ratified only after Federalists agreed to push for a set of amendments to form a bill of rights as part of the Constitution. By June 21, 1788, with the addition of Maryland, South Carolina, and New Hampshire, nine states had voted to support ratification. However, the large and populous states of Virginia and New York had not yet decided, and the Union would not succeed without their support. Opposition in Virginia was formidable, but they, too, agreed to ratification after James Madison and George Washington supported the addition of a bill of rights. In New York, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay led the Federalist forces and, along with James Madison, wrote the persuasive Federalist Papers to explain and allay concerns. On July 26, 1788, New York narrowly approved. The Congress of the Confederation then declared the Constitution ratified and arranged for the first elections. The new government began operation on March 4, 1789. North Carolina and Rhode Island ratified the Constitution after the fact. The nation was on a new course, but the arguments over the nature of this new republic were far from over.

State	Date	Vote For	Vote Against
Delaware	December 8, 1787	30	9
Pennsylvania	December 12, 1787	46	23
New Jersey	December 18, 1787	38	0
Georgia	January 2, 1788	26	0
Connecticut	January 9, 1788	128	40
Massachusetts	February 16, 1788	187	168
Maryland	April 26, 1788	63	11
South Carolina	May 23, 1788	149	73
New Hampshire	June 21, 1788	57	47
Virginia	June 25, 1788	89	79
New York	July 26, 1788	30	27
North Carolina	November 21, 1789	194	77
Rhode Island	May 29, 1790	34	32

To make good on the promises made during the ratification battle, members of the new Congress proposed a list of amendments that became the Bill of Rights. James Madison, now serving in the House of Representatives, played a major role in the drafting of these amendments. As the government has grown in power and influence, the addition of these codified rights has proven providential, and the amendment process itself has allowed the Constitution to evolve and change.

In the 1790s, the question of how to operate a government “under the Constitution” was a complicated one. Americans struggled to implement the Constitution in the context of foreign policy crises, internal threats to federal authority, and partisan bitterness. The Constitution was a blueprint for good government, containing key principles and sufficient details to set the stage and direction. However, it did not define all the power relationships or establish many of the particulars. How was the balance of power between the national and state governments to be allocated, recognized, and maintained? How should the Constitution be interpreted—strictly or loosely?

In the first national elections, George Washington was unanimously chosen by the electoral college to serve as the first president of the new United States. His selection recognized his service to the country and was evidence of the trust the people had in his virtue and integrity. During his two terms in office, Washington set several precedents in the operation of the new government. He gave the government the benefit of his reputation and stature and set the pattern of how the executive branch would interact with the legislative and judicial branches. He strengthened the people’s faith in the new government as he personally led a militia to put down the Whiskey Rebellion, a protest against the first federal taxes placed on the domestic product of whiskey and a challenge to the new government. He worked to establish the place of the United States in the family of nations by negotiating treaties and settling the nation’s foreign policy on a course of neutrality and isolationism.

Congress followed through on promises made during the ratification struggle to propose and pass a Bill of Rights and expanded the executive branch by creating cabinet level positions. It expanded and defined the judicial branch through

the creation of circuit, district, and appeals courts, and strengthened America's commitment to the domestic free-market economy by creating a national bank and imposing tariffs on imports.

The judiciary appeared the weakest branch of the new government. With few national laws in place there were few court cases challenging those laws, and thus the Supreme Court seemed less visible and influential in comparison to the two other branches. Supreme Court justices also served as circuit court judges, traveling around the country and hearing lower court cases, and therefore were not as visible in the nation's capital.

The relegated position of the judicial branch did not change until the appointment of Chief Justice John Marshall, a Federalist, who believed in strengthening the power of the national government. He was appointed to the court by the second president, John Adams, and supported many of Adams' more controversial policies. When the Jefferson administration came into power in 1800, they refused to certify an appointment of the outgoing Adams' administration. The Supreme Court heard the case of *Marbury v. Madison*, establishing the right of judicial review, an important precedent. Marshall was the longest-serving chief justice of the court, and his influence on the role of the judicial branch is far-reaching.

With continuing tensions and disagreements surrounding the implementation of the Constitution, political parties developed quickly, carrying over much of the controversy surrounding ratification. The Federalist Party was led by Alexander Hamilton and John Adams, and the Democratic-Republican Party was led by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. The two parties differed about the level of power in the national government and how power was to be distributed.

The Federalists believed in a strong, centralized national government and a loose interpretation of the Constitution and the "necessary and proper" clause of Article I. They saw the future of the country dependent on business and industry and believed that tariffs and subsidies were appropriate government support.

The Democratic-Republicans believed in a weaker central power in favor of stronger state governments and looked to the 10th Amendment that reserved power to the states and to the people. Jefferson and others saw the future as belonging to independent farmers, and government by the common people.

President Washington, belonging to neither party, attempted to stay above the fray of fractious politics and warned against the power of factions in his farewell address. His cabinet was full of different points of view on many issues. His vice-president, John Adams, fought contentiously with his secretary of state, Thomas Jefferson. Internationally, the United States found itself in the middle of a European conflict, as France and England were once again at war. France felt that the United States had an obligation to repay its support during the Revolution, but Washington believed that neutrality was the only course for such a new nation and resisted being drawn into the conflict. Both the English and the French targeted American shipping. Adams was more supportive of England, while Jefferson sided more closely with France, but neither wanted to be drawn into the war.

When Adams became president, he created the Department of the Navy to defend America. He commissioned three new warships and called for the creation of a standing army. This buildup of war material and manpower represented a significant challenge to the republican principle that no standing army should exist. It was also a constitutional challenge as Adams created an army without asking Congress for a declaration of war, a fact that concerned his political opponents Jefferson and Madison.

Another greater constitutional challenge was the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. These acts were designed to limit the debate in America about the European conflict and promote neutrality. But in practical terms, it was used by the Adams administration to silence political opponents and remove the right of free speech. French and Irish Americans, groups with long-standing reasons to oppose the British, faced deportation under the acts, and Democratic-Republicans who criticized Adams' military buildup faced arrest and imprisonment. Jefferson and Madison saw the Alien and Sedition Acts as evidence of a constitutional violation and a breakdown of auxiliary precautions. The Acts seemed to be a clear challenge to the First Amendment right of free speech, and yet the courts failed to declare

them unconstitutional and order their repeal. Despite the lack of congressional approval to be on war footing, Federalists in Congress approved and financed military preparation.

In response to these perceived violations of constitutional principles, Jefferson and Madison secretly wrote the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions on behalf of those state's legislatures in protest. They argued that in moments of constitutional crisis, when the regular auxiliary precautions failed to protect constitutional principles, the states had a right, under the principle of division of powers, to declare acts of the national government unconstitutional (a concept that is now known as nullification):

Resolved, that the several states composing the United States of America, are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general government; but that by compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States and of amendments thereto, they constituted a general government for special purposes, delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving each state to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self government; and that whensoever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force ...

Resolved, that it is true as a general principle, and is also expressly declared by one of the amendments to the Constitution that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people;" and that no power over the freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press being delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, all lawful powers respecting the same did of right remain, and were reserved to the states, or to the people ...

The End of Adams' Presidency

In 1800, Adams lost the presidential election to Jefferson in a peaceful transfer of power following the rule of law, despite the bitter political disagreements. The Alien and Sedition Acts expired, the war between France and England ended, and the army never materialized.

The next constitutional controversy emerged when President Jefferson decided to purchase the Louisiana Territory from the French. The Constitution provided no provisions for incorporating foreign territory into the United States by purchase. But Jefferson feared a reconstituted French empire and losing access to the navigation rights of the Mississippi River. He decided to violate his strict interpretation of the Constitution and acquire the territory in what came to be known as the Louisiana Purchase. His dilemma demonstrates the difficulty of interpreting constitutional guidelines uniformly in a strict or loose fashion. Often those who are in power choose to interpret the Constitution more loosely and face condemnation of their actions by the opposition who are out of power. In this case, Congress and the Supreme Court did not challenge Jefferson's decision, and it was ratified by the other two branches.

The Mormon Expulsion from Missouri: A Constitutional Crisis

The persecution of the early Saints looms large in the story of the Restoration. The inability of the Saints to garner support or protection from the federal government demonstrates the difficulty in applying the principles of the Constitution in the early national period.

By 1833–34, members of the Church numbered in the thousands and were settled largely in Kirtland, Ohio and Independence, Missouri. Joseph Smith had identified Independence as the New Zion. As Saints began to gather, Missourians felt threatened by the Mormons and engaged in harassment and persecution to drive them from the state. On July 20, 1833, hundreds of Missourians gathered together and issued a public document demanding that Mormon immigration must stop and that Mormons must sell their land and businesses and leave Jackson County. A few days later, a mob forced Mormon leaders to sign the document, leaving little time for seeking counsel from state officials to protest and prevent the expulsion. Leaders appealed to Missouri's governor for help, and the state attorney general advised the Saints to seek both redress and protection by petitioning the circuit judge. The Church hired a legal firm to represent them and encouraged members to protect their homes and families by acquiring weapons. On October 20,

church leaders announced their intention to defend themselves against attack. The Missourians interpreted that as a violation of the agreement the Mormons had made to evacuate. A mob attacked the Whitmer settlement and destroyed ten homes, leading to more violence.

The lieutenant governor tried to mediate between the two groups and persuaded the Saints to surrender their arms and leave within ten days, with an understanding that the other group would do the same. However, this was not the case, and the Saints were expelled into another Missouri county. Joseph Smith encouraged the Saints to stay faithful, retain title to their lands, and seek redress through Constitutional means, which were pursued. The next step was to petition the federal government directly.

Unfortunately, due to the political situation, federal help was never obtained. Appeals continued for years, even after the Saints' final expulsion from Missouri in 1838.

After the Saints settled in Nauvoo in 1839, Joseph Smith and Elias Higbee traveled to Washington, D.C. to seek support from the national government. They obtained an interview with President Martin Van Buren and met with various senators and representatives. An Illinois senator promised to introduce their petition to Congress. At a follow-up meeting with the president, according to the Prophet's report, Van Buren listened reluctantly to their message and simply replied: "Gentlemen, your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you ... If I take up for you, I shall lose the vote of Missouri." Joseph Smith continued appealing to other important political figures of the day, including many states' rights advocates.

Joseph Smith revered the Constitution, writing while in Liberty Jail that it was "a glorious standard; it is founded in the wisdom of God ... It is like a great tree under whose branches men from every clime can be shielded from the burning rays of the sun." The Prophet believed in the constitutional principles protecting freedom of religion and the right to property, and felt that the federal government should intervene within a state to protect a persecuted minority. The failure of his mission to get redress for the Saints from the federal government led him to write this criticism:

I am the greatest advocate of the Constitution of the United States there is on the earth ... The only fault I find with the Constitution is, it is not broad enough to cover the whole ground. Although it provides that all men shall enjoy religious freedom, yet it does not provide the manner by which that freedom can be preserved, nor for the punishment of Government officers who refuse to protect the people in their religious rights, or punish those mobs, states, or communities who interfere with the rights of the people on account of their religion. Its sentiments are good, but it provides no means of enforcing them.

The persecution faced by the early saints demonstrated the lack of constitutional authority for national intervention into the actions of the individual states. Only after the passage of the 14th amendment was such action codified into law.

The Civil War

Of course, the largest and bloodiest constitutional crisis in the United States was the Civil War. It broke apart the federal union and caused unparalleled death and destruction between Americans by Americans. It is a key struggle that helped define the United States, and demonstrated the challenge of balancing national and state power. Through this struggle, many constitutional controversies were decided. The legacy of the war and its aftermath are still felt today.

The key cause of the Civil War was slavery. The seeds of this struggle had been part of the earliest colonial days, as the plantation economies of the South developed and their continual need for labor led to the adoption of a practice unknown in England. African chattel slavery, based on a lifetime of service, an inherited status, and tied to race, had developed gradually during the colonial period. All of the original thirteen colonies practiced slavery in some regard, but the poor New England soil and the commercial enterprises of the middle colonies never required the numbers of slaves that could be found on southern plantations. In the writing of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson had originally included a passage blaming King George for the practice of slavery in the colonies, but it was removed at the insistence of the South. John Adams remarked to Benjamin Franklin during the writing of the Declaration, "Mark me, Franklin. If we

give in on this issue, there will be trouble one hundred years hence. Posterity will never forgive us." Many hoped that the 3/5 representation clause and the end of foreign importation in 1808 would lead to the gradual end of the practice. At the time of the writing of the Constitution, there were approximately 700,000 slaves held in the United States.

The continued struggle over the issue of slavery can be tied to the westward expansion. As new territory was acquired, there was continual controversy over the balance of power between slave and free states. The cotton gin, invented in 1794, lowered the cost of producing cotton, mechanizing the process of removing the seeds from the cotton fiber. Southern farmers shifted to lucrative plantation cotton production, and the need for slaves increased exponentially. Slavery expanded its reach into the new states of Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and "King Cotton" became the South's major export.

In 1820, debate raged over the admission of Missouri into the union as a slave state, which would throw off the delicate balance in Congress. Thomas Jefferson spoke of the Missouri debate as a "fire bell in the night," a warning of future destruction. Eventually, a compromise was reached, Missouri entered as a slave state and Maine as a free state, balancing the political power once more. The Missouri Compromise also drew a line west across the unorganized territory acquired in the Louisiana Purchase, and decreed that any future states would be determined slave or free depending on whether they were above or below this Mason-Dixon line.

In the North, forces began to organize against the practice of slavery. The majority were anti-slavery, against the expansion of slavery because of how it limited opportunity for white immigrants to western territories. Anti-slavery movements focused on gradual emancipation or colonization to Africa of freed slaves. A small minority, abolitionists, were more radicalized and began to focus on the morality of slavery, calling for an immediate end to the practice and arguing for political equality.

In 1831, William Lloyd Garrison, one of the most famous abolitionists, began publishing *The Liberator*, a newspaper specifically focused on the evils of slavery and declaring the need for its immediate destruction. He published the newspaper for 35 years, and southern calls for his arrest or capture on charges of treason were widespread.

William Lloyd Garrison, *The Liberator*, First Issue 1831: Our Appeal

For the successful prosecution of our labors, we appeal to the following classes of our fellow countrymen, and we presume they are sufficiently numerous to fulfill our expectations:

To the religious—who profess to walk in the footsteps of their Divine Master, and to be actuated by a love which "worketh no ill" to others. To whom, if not to them, shall we turn for encouragement?

To the philanthropic—who show their sincerity by their works, whose good deeds are more numerous than their professions, who not only pity but relieve.

To the patriotic—who love their country better than themselves, and would avert its impending ruin.

To the ignorant, the cold-hearted, the base, the tyrannical—who need to be instructed, and quickened, and reclaimed, and humanized.

In defending the great cause of human rights, I wish to derive the assistance of all religions and of all parties.

Assenting to the "self-evident truth" maintained in the American Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population ...

I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to

moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen;—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD.

Build up to the Civil War

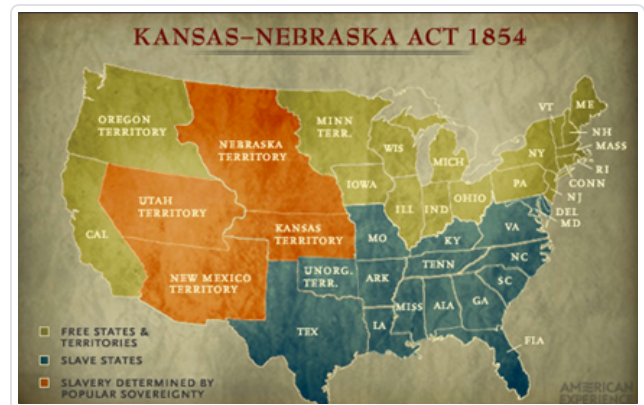
In 1848, the outcome of the Mexican War brought more territory into the United States, much of it below the Mason-Dixon line. California in particular wished to join the Union as a free state, but half of its territory was below the line. This new territory raised the question of slavery's expansion with a new generation of congressional leaders. The Compromise of 1850 allowed California into the Union as a free state but gave to the South the Fugitive Slave Law that required Northerners to aid in efforts to recapture and return runaway slaves. Political compromise had succeeded; however, it left many in both the North and the South at odds in the growing controversy.



In 1854, the transcontinental railroad resurfaced the issue of slavery. Kansas, on the route of the proposal, sought to come into the union. It was north of the Mason-Dixon line, and therefore should have been a free state. However, its eastern border was Missouri, a slave state, and many settlers came into Kansas from Missouri with their slaves. Congress came up with a plan to have Kansas decide its status through “popular sovereignty.” Citizens of the territory organized on both sides of the issue, and came to vicious political and physical disagreements, known as “Bleeding Kansas.” Congress accepted the free state decision with the Kansas-Nebraska Act, but the issue was not truly settled until after the Civil War.

Dredd Scott V. Sanford, Supreme Court Decision, 1857

In 1857, the Supreme Court attempted to settle the slavery issue with the Dred Scott v. Sanford decision. The case involved a slave named Dred Scott taken by his master to live in a free northern state for several years before returning to a slave state. Scott sued for his freedom based on his time spent in a free state, and the case made its way to the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice of a southern-dominated court made a sweeping decision that slaves or freed slaves had no rights as citizens or standing in federal court, that the Missouri Compromise which restricted slavery was unconstitutional, and that travel in a free state did not alter a slave's status. A free negro of the African race, whose ancestors were brought to this country and sold as slaves, is not a “citizen” within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States.



Slavery and its Interpretation in the Constitution

When the Constitution was adopted, slaves were not regarded in any of the States as members of the community which constituted the State, and were not numbered among its “people or citizens.” Consequently, the rights and immunities guaranteed to citizens do not apply to them. And not being “citizens” within the meaning of the Constitution, they are

not entitled to sue in that character in a court of the United States, and the Circuit Court has no jurisdiction in such a suit.

There are only two clauses in the Constitution that mention Africans. Both treat them as articles of property and to hold them as slaves.

It becomes necessary, therefore, to determine who were citizens of the several States when the Constitution was adopted. And in order to do this, we must recur to the governments and institutions of the thirteen colonies when they separated from Great Britain and formed new sovereignties, and took their places in the family of independent nations. We must inquire who, at that time, were recognized as the people or citizens of a State whose rights and liberties had been outraged by the English Government, and who declared their independence and assumed the powers of Government to defend their rights by force of arms.

In the opinion of the court, the legislation and histories of the times, and the language used in the Declaration of Independence, show that neither the class of persons who had been imported as slaves nor their descendants, whether they had become free or not, were then acknowledged as a part of the people, nor intended to be included in the general words used in that memorable instrument ...

The right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. The right to traffic in it, like an ordinary article of merchandise and property, was guaranteed to the citizens of the United States in every State that might desire it for twenty years. And the Government in express terms is pledged to protect it in all future time if the slave escapes from his owner. This is done in plain words—too plain to be misunderstood ...

It is the opinion of the court that the act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned is not warranted by the Constitution, and is therefore void, and that neither Dred Scott himself nor any of his family were made free by being carried into this territory, even if they had been carried there by the owner with the intention of becoming a permanent resident.

This decision was well-received by slaveholders in the South who saw protection for property rights as the proper interpretation of the Constitution. Anti-slavery forces in the North, however, were outraged at the decision that seemed to suggest that slavery might exist anywhere in the country and was constitutionally protected. As an editorial in a New York paper proclaimed:

The conspiracy is nearly completed. The Legislation of the Republic is in the hands of this handful of Slaveholders. The United States Senate assures it to them. The Executive power of the Government is theirs. Buchanan took the oath of fealty to them on the steps of the Capitol last Wednesday. The body which gives the supreme law of the land, has just acceded to their demands, and dared to declare that under the charter of the Nation, men of African descent are not citizens of the United States and cannot be—that the Ordinance of 1787 was void—that human Slavery is not a local thing, but pursues its victims to free soil, clings to them wherever they go, and returns with them—that the American Congress has no power to prevent the enslavement of men in the National Territories—that the inhabitants themselves of the Territories have no power to exclude human bondage from their midst—and that men of color can not be suitors for justice in the Courts of the United States! ... All who love Republican institutions and who hate Aristocracy, compact yourselves together for the struggle which threatens your liberty and will test your manhood!

Brown's Rebellion and the Aftermath

In 1859, John Brown, an abolitionist, decided to take matters into his own hands by attacking a federal arsenal in Harpers Ferry, Virginia. His plan, along with his abolitionist followers, was to gather munitions from the arsenal,

distribute arms to the slaves in the area, and start a large-scale, violent slave rebellion. Brown's attempt failed, and he was eventually executed. John Brown made many powerful statements which were widely circulated and filled with passionate rhetoric:

Here, before God, in the presence of these witnesses, from this time, I consecrate my life to the destruction of slavery.

I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done, in behalf of his despised poor, I did not wrong but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say let it be done.

I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away; but with blood.

The South was horrified to see Brown celebrated as a martyr to the cause in the North, which fed their fear of losing control over their own affairs.

The Election of Lincoln

The newly formed Republican Party gained many supporters as opposition to slavery in the North intensified. Their slogan, "Free Labor, Free Land, Free Men" was focused on the expansion of free states and opportunity, although not strictly abolitionist. Their candidate in 1860, Abraham Lincoln, was opposed to slavery but did not believe he had the constitutional power to end the practice where it currently existed.

As Lincoln campaigned, he argued, "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." In a four-way race for president, Lincoln was elected but with zero electoral support in the South. In his first inaugural address in 1861, Lincoln tried to placate the South, promising to not interfere with slavery in their states. Lincoln closed his speech with a call for reconciliation:

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it'.

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every

battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

Despite Lincoln's pleas and reassurances, many in the South felt they had no choice but to leave the Union to protect their way of life. They justified their secession based on their interpretation of the 10th amendment and the principles suggested in the doctrine of nullification.

The Civil War and its Impact

The Civil War began in April of 1861 as Southern slave states declared their separation from the United States and formed the Confederate States of America. The war was not originally fought to end slavery, only to maintain the federal union, although every cause of the war can be traced to the fight over slavery. As the battle continued, wartime necessity forced Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, invoking his constitutional war powers. Lincoln's proclamation freed slaves only in the states over which he had no jurisdiction, but this changed the focus of the war. This change can be seen in the famous Gettysburg Address, as Lincoln dedicated a battlefield and explained the meaning of the war as a continuation of revolutionary battles and a "new birth" of freedom and equality.



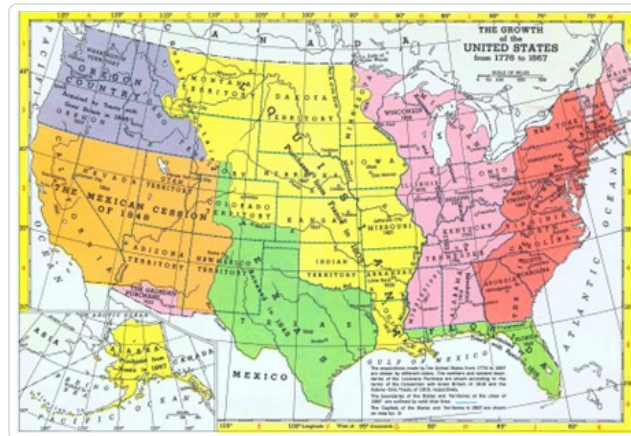
Abraham Lincoln, "The Gettysburg Address," November 19, 1863

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, on 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 that field, as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives, that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here 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 that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, 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.

In 1865, after four long and bloody years, economic devastation in the South, and the loss of over 600,000 Americans, the war came to an end. The doctrine of nullification was never promoted by the states as a check on federal power again. The Civil War also began the swing in constitutional interpretation of the power relationship between the national government and the states in the direction of the national government. It wasn't until after the Civil War that singular verbs were used when describing the nation, changing the sentence "The United States are" to the grammatically incorrect "the United States is."

The war redefined the image of the national government in the everyday lives of the people with a more powerful concept of nationalism and identified the United States with a commitment to political democracy. The Civil War also demonstrated the way in which public virtue acts to moderate and restrain the American character and remains essential to controlling the operations of government, maintaining liberty, and protecting the rule of law.

In the end, the war provided a warning and taught a valuable lesson on the importance of public virtue and correct principles. If public virtue and incorrect principles are allowed to flourish, the constitutional system is in danger of collapse, as was the case with slavery. Although the Civil War abolished slavery, the racial discrimination and prejudice that had allowed its practice evolved into another system, particularly in the South. An environment of violence and intimidation replaced slavery and codified racism into law. Jim Crow laws segregated whites and blacks and severely restricted access to social, economic, and political opportunities. It would take later activism and constitutional challenges to break down the system of racial prejudice that remained after the war.



As a result of the Civil War, the national government took a greater interest and responsibility for protecting individual rights. This included monitoring the actions of the states and ensuring that they did not infringe on the rights of the people. Initially, this meant the protection of freed slaves, although this was short-lived. It also included the kind of religious protections Joseph Smith sought. In essence, as a result of the Civil War, the national government became an institution that protected the rights of the people rather than an institution that oppressed and restricted the rights of the people. In other words, one of the changes Lincoln highlighted in the Gettysburg Address with "a new birth of freedom," was the change in the idea of freedom from a national government turning to freedom protected by a national government.



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The Basics of the Economy

Economics

The American economic system, often called a Market System, allows for a significant amount of freedom as to what is produced and what is consumed. In this chapter we will examine the market system, how it operates and how it has developed in the United States. We will also look at other types of economic systems, and the ways in which they can be compared with a market economy.

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The founders tried to craft a political system that provided balance between order and freedom. A study of the American political system alone, however, does not tell the entire story of the liberties that Americans enjoy. The American economic system, often called a Market System, allows for a significant amount of freedom as to what is produced and what is consumed. It has provided general economic prosperity, with several notable exceptions which we will study. In this chapter we will examine the market system, how it operates, how it has developed in the United States, and look at its weaknesses and strengths. We will also look at other types of economic systems, and the ways in which they can be compared with a market economy, and the role that technology and trade have played in the economy.

The study of economics is the study of the choices people make, the actions people take, and the policy decisions that affect those wants and needs. Many of these choices are made individually; others are made collectively to create a community's economic system. If the goods and services people wanted and needed were as readily available as dirt or air, there would be little need for people to make choices about what to produce and what to consume and therefore no need to study economics. Under current distribution methods, however, there simply are not enough resources, food, and services to meet all the needs and wants of people and nations and the result is scarcity. In this book, scarcity is defined in several different ways. In some cases scarcity means not enough of the basic levels of food, clothing, and

shelter necessary to sustain life. In others, scarcity is the inability to immediately satisfy all the wants and needs of the people. An important phenomenon that exists in modern societies like America is that the more access to goods and services people enjoy, the more they desire. In other words, scarcity is to some extent determined by one's current economic condition coupled with the human desire to have more and pursuing one's own self-interest.

In order to deal with the problem of scarcity, people are required to make economic choices. It is important that goods and services are produced to satisfy peoples' wants and needs. Therefore, institutions are organized to produce the goods and services people desire and to distribute those goods and services. Historically, three types of economic strategies have been employed to ensure correct levels of production and distribution and to solve the problems associated with scarcity. These three strategies are generally referred to as the traditional, command, and market.

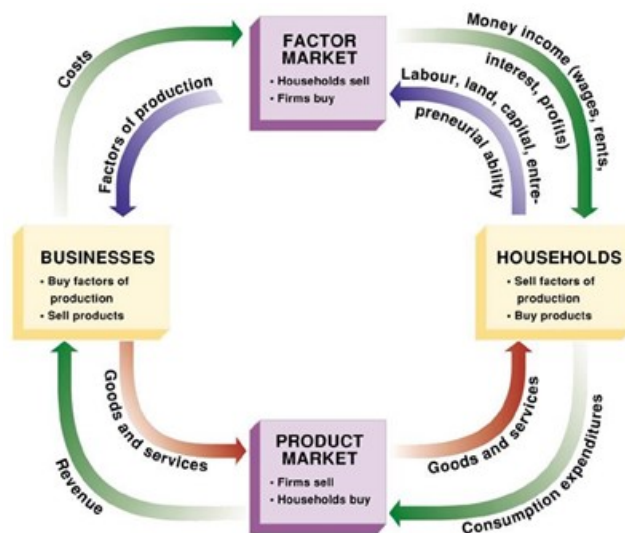
The basic characteristics of a traditional economy developed around family and social relationships, with families producing the same goods and services for generations and distributing those goods and services through those same relationships. It was these kinds of traditional institutions that were most evident in hunting and gathering societies or in feudal societies based on heredity. Native American communities, prior to the arrival of European traders, were good examples of a traditional economy at work. Traditional economic systems served a purpose and were often successful but they tended to work most effectively when conditions remained static or constant, and found it difficult to adjust in times of social and economic upheaval or change. This lack of flexibility is one explanation as to why Native American societies were so deeply affected by the arrival of the Europeans as they disrupted traditional production and trade patterns.

The basic characteristics of a command economy include some form of "economic authority" to determine what is produced and how it is distributed. A command economy often is effective in requisitioning the finances and labor necessary for projects beyond the scope of the individual; such as the building of roads, bridges, and irrigation systems. A command economy also allows for, and directs economic change; such as the industrialization of the Soviet Union under Stalin or China's Great Leap Forward under Mao. Command economies can be efficient in dealing with changing social and economic conditions and in gathering resources to meet an economic need, but they often severely restrict freedom in the marketplace.

A market economy relies on the free exchange of goods and services and the laws of supply and demand to determine what is produced and how it is to be distributed. People are free to choose what they will produce and what they will consume and the market system responds to reward or punish those decisions. This kind of system allows a great amount of individual freedom of choice, provides an incentive to make the right economic choices, and deals well with changing social and economic conditions. Unfortunately, it also allows people to engage in what may be considered greedy or corrupt practices in an effort to achieve economic success.

The Market System

In 1776, the same year as the Declaration of Independence, Enlightenment philosopher Adam Smith published *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. In his book, now more commonly referred to as *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith examined the emerging market system, and tried to explain how it operated. Smith, along with Karl Marx and John Maynard Keynes, has been celebrated as one of the most prominent figures in economic history. He is also considered one of the fathers of modern capitalism.

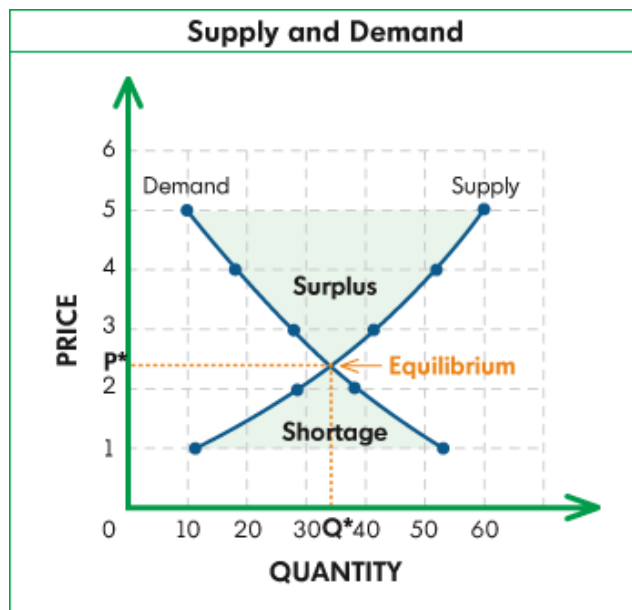


According to Smith, it is a “self-love” or “self-interest”—a desire to make a profit—that drives the market system. This idea of economic self-interest may be referred to simply as “incentive.” This incentive is a powerful motivator in encouraging people in a market system to work and create. As Smith said, it is “not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner,” but rather the butcher, baker, and brewer do what they do in an effort to satisfy their own self-interest. If they satisfy others needs at the same time, that is the miracle of a system based upon free exchange.

As many people make decisions and choices about what to produce and what to consume, and in the exchange process seek to fulfill their own self-interest, everyone in the exchange benefits and the general standard of living rises. It is important to understand that the notion that a free market is a system that runs on greed is incorrect. Self-interest or self-love is not the same thing as greed, especially unbridled greed rooted in pride. Those people greedy for wealth and power are generally in favor of legal changes that destroy property rights and markets. In modern industrial societies, the tendency toward self-interest encourages manufacturers to increase productivity in an effort to maximize profits. This increased productivity is possible, according to Smith, because of an accumulation of capital investment, which requires savings on the part of society and investing a share of the profits on the part of business. Additionally, it requires an ever finer division of labor where the production process is divided into separate parts and each part is performed by a practiced laborer.

Smith also explained how the market system provided an orderly solution to the problems of production and distribution. First, the motive of self-interest creates the necessary engine to put the system of production to work. Second, the changing desires of society guide what and how much was produced. Smith called this guiding mechanism the “invisible hand,” but it is now most often referred to as the Laws of Supply and Demand. And third, competition in the marketplace prevents producers from charging more than the market price for goods and services. If the price of a good became too high, others would join in production thus lowering prices and profits.

The law of demand states that as prices rise, the quantity consumers demand goes down. The law of supply states as prices rise, the quantity suppliers are willing to produce goes up. These two laws, interacting with each other in the market system, determine what goods are produced and how much those goods will cost. Greater demand will push prices up and encourage more production, and as supply cannot keep up with demand, it pushes prices up further. Less demand and increased supply will drive prices down and discourage production. Surpluses and shortages occur, and those adjustments push the market to an equilibrium price (the price at which the same quantity is being demanded as is being supplied).



In this interaction between supply and demand, the consumer ultimately determines what is produced. If demand increases, producers will increase production to meet those demands. This principle is known as Consumer Sovereignty because the consumer becomes the all-powerful director of the market. Another result of the interaction between supply and demand is a general efficiency in how resources are used. Abundant resources cost less and are used more, while scarce resources cost more and are used less. Higher prices and profits encourage more competition and competition normally reduces prices and profits.

The free market system, often called capitalism or free enterprise, has several strengths:

- First, it operates within an atmosphere of freedom, both in what labor is performed and what is consumed, thus offering participants a great amount of personal satisfaction.
- Second, it provides a tremendous incentive to work and to create.
- Third, it takes advantage of the miracle of exchange, or the idea that when the system is allowed to operate freely, every exchange results in a higher standard of living (again tied to incentive).
- Fourth, it works in harmony with basic human nature as the search for the fulfillment of individual wants and needs (self-interest) becomes a natural incentive to work and create.
- Fifth, it works in a natural way to allocate resources, scarce resources cost more and are used less, plentiful resources cost less and are used more.
- Finally, capitalism, or the free market, controls prices and profits through the natural laws of supply and demand.

Despite these strengths, and the exponential growth countries like the United States who practice a form of capitalism have experienced, capitalism does have weaknesses. Some of these would be the unequal distribution of wealth, economic freedom that allows for greed, dishonesty and threats to economic virtue, price instability, and production instability. Some of these weaknesses will be explored in greater depth in Lesson 8.

In a purely capitalist economy, there is little if any government regulation. This is usually described as “laissez faire” capitalism, Translated as “leave it alone.” Few, if any, nations practice pure capitalism and the United States is no exception. The American economy is sometimes referred to as a regulated capitalism or free market system. Even though government regulations can have a profound influence on economic growth, the growth and complexities of the economy can also have a profound effect on the need for government regulation. As the economy has become larger, more complex, and more national and international in its scope, the temptations to exploit economic opportunities in a negative way have also increased. Not all government regulation and involvement in the economy has come as a result of this declining economic virtue, but declining virtue has been a contributing factor.

Another tension embedded in a capitalistic system is the question of where do the positive characteristics of initiative and incentive end and the negative characteristics of greed begin.

Profit motive—the desire for financial gain as an incentive in economic activity—drives companies to try and control the market. Examples of controlling the market include the elimination (buying out) of competition and the unnatural and/or unlawful circumvention of supply and demand. When a company controls the market, their profit margin and profit stability are optimized.

However, there is also a lot of risk in starting a company, so the government issues Copyrights and patents in order to create temporary monopolies that protect and encourage new companies and individuals. While these Copyrights and patents help new companies, they can also prevent the laws of supply and demand from freely. The monopolies that are created by Copyrights and patents can also result in increased costs and hardships to workers and consumers. Additionally, the opportunity for exploitation and corruption increases.

Socialism

There have been many different economic models that have been created to solve the problems existent in capitalism. Karl Marx, a prominent critic of capitalism, laid the foundation for socialism. He felt that capitalism distributed wealth unequally, gave political and social power to too few, rewarded the workers of a company much less than the owners of a company, and frequently created wasteful surpluses and shortages of goods and services. Additionally, Marx criticized the greed of the bourgeoisie (ruling classes) that caused the suffering of the proletariat (laborers).

Marx suggested an alternative plan that has come to be known as Marxism. It is important to note that Marxism is not socialism, but rather a strategy towards it. Not all socialists are Marxists, but all Marxists are trying to move towards socialism. In a socialist economy, property is owned publicly by the people or the state. This is sometimes referred to as collective ownership. The basic economic questions under socialism are answered not by the laws of supply and demand but through a command economy where economic decisions are made by government bureaucracies. Socialist societies (like the Soviet Union under Stalin or China under Mao) are famous for the five-year plans where goals are set and resources are allocated. The goals tried to create economic equality; provide security for jobs, health care, and finances; and transform static, tradition based, agricultural economies into modern industrial economies. It should be noted that there are similarities between Marxist socialism and the “command” strategy; however, Marx’s plan was developed specifically as a response to capitalism.

Socialism has its strengths, and its philosophy does offer advantages where the market system doesn’t. Many democratic countries, particularly in Europe, have chosen elements of socialism in their economic policy. Socialism facilitates a collective response to collective problems. It provides an efficient mechanism to bring a nation’s total economic capacity to bear against economic shortages. It offers solutions to the most glaring weaknesses of capitalism. And, lastly, its goals are to bring about economic equality, security, and support for a society’s weakest members.

Socialism has its weaknesses as well, though. With few direct personal economic rewards in a socialist system, there is less incentive to work and produce. The people who live under a socialist system have limited or no choices in terms of what to produce and what to consume. Also, since the system has seldom achieved the stated ideal of equality and security and since total political and economic controls are often required to impose and maintain a socialist society, the governments that manage socialist systems can be repressive in nature. Finally, under pure socialism, individual ownership and management of property is replaced by state ownership and state or democratic management of property. The agency of man is thus restricted and the opportunity for development along with it.

The term communism can be misused as a synonym for socialism. Communism refers to a socialist economic system combined with a totalitarian (dictatorship) political system.

Under communism, the command system is highly developed and often repressive. In today's world the two most prominent economic systems are socialism and capitalism. However, virtually no society practices a purely socialist or purely capitalist system. Although both socialism and capitalism contain some residual elements of a traditional economy, they are generally based on some combination of command and market economy strategies.

The choice between economic systems is sometimes framed as a planned economy or an unplanned economy. But it is also important to ask the question "who should plan"? Should a mastermind, a state bureaucracy, or elected politicians make decisions about what should be produced, how it should be produced, and by whom it should be produced? Or should each individual be able to plan in accordance with their own dreams and goals? As each individual makes their own plans in accordance with their self-interest, the invisible hand—the market forces of supply and demand—guides the individual to act in the interests of others. If you are to become wealthy in a free market economy, you must come up with a good or service that others are willing to voluntarily buy—even at the expense of other desires.

The United Order: An Early Church Economic Experiment

And the Lord called his people Zion, because they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them.

Nevertheless, in your temporal things you shall be equal, and this not grudgingly, otherwise the abundance of the manifestations of the Spirit shall be withheld.

The United Order was an organization through which the Saints in the early days of the restored Church sought to live the law of consecration. Individuals shared property, goods, and profits in accordance to their wants and needs. In the scriptures, especially in the Doctrine and Covenants, the Lord outlines a plan that addresses the weakness of both capitalism and socialism. It incorporated elements of command and market economies.

After the Church was restored in 1830, one of the first revelations to Joseph Smith was about the law of consecration and the order of stewardships.

This revelation instructed members to consecrate their properties to a presiding bishop, who would then assign out stewardships over properties and businesses that would enable the support of families. Surpluses from production were to be for the benefit of the needy and the expenses of building up the kingdom: "And if thou obtainest more than that which would be for thy support, thou shalt give it into my storehouse." All Saints were expected to be industrious and contribute to the working of the whole, to work together in equal measure, and to "not be idle; for he that is idle shall not eat the bread nor wear the garments of the laborer."

The law of consecration and stewardship came to be known as the "United Order" and was practiced to varying degrees by early Latter-day Saint communities in Illinois, Iowa, and Nebraska. The United Order was based on four key principles: first, that the earth is the Lord's and all that man possesses belongs to Him; second, the individual voluntarily enters into covenant to consecrate his time, talents, wealth, and property to the kingdom of God (by deeding his property to the bishop); third, the Church deeds back to the steward property to maintain the family, where "every man equal according to his family, according to his circumstances and his wants and needs" (D&C 51:3); and fourth, the surplus balance of production is given to the bishop's storehouse, from which the bishop is authorized to give to the poor and needy.

In the early 1870s, Brigham Young began organizing community-wide United Orders of Enoch. Over a hundred such communities were established. Each person was asked to contribute his economic property to the community. Every able-bodied adult was given an assignment or stewardship necessary for the functioning of the community—to plant crops, prepare meals, sew clothing, teach children, build houses, handle livestock, nurse the sick, and so on. Participation was voluntary in this communal way of life, and private property, as well as the focus on the individual's contribution and value, was maintained. Motivation for participating in the community was love of God, love of neighbor, and the desire to be obedient. The ideal was equality, the elimination of poverty, and the self-sufficiency of the community in a cooperative venture.

The communities practicing this type of economic lifestyle were short-lived. The United Order was suspended, cooperative businesses closed, and the experiment ended. Over the following century, Church leaders were inspired to institute the law of tithing, the law of the fast, and the Church welfare program. These programs and doctrines share many of the same principles of the United Order, but do not require or expect full consecration as those communities did in the early Church.

It is significant that love, not financial wealth, is the ruling motivation for the United Order. This means that for most a change in attitude or heart would be required to live the United Order. But in the Lord's plan, this change is voluntary and individual. Love and service to others is a key principle in the United Order, but there is also an underlying attempt to fulfill self-love by allowing for personal choice and fulfillment in a system where faithful participation brings the eternal blessings of God. This is a significantly different kind of "self-love" than Adam Smith described. The United Order creates a sense of ownership, incentive, and responsibility, but also creates a type of earthly equality. Needs and wants are met and freedom of choice is maintained, but full economic freedom is restrained by a higher standard of self-interest—virtue.

Here is a chart that compares the motivations and structure of these three types of economic systems—capitalism, socialism, and the United Order.

	Capitalism	Socialism	United Order
Who owns or controls the property?	Corporations, Businesses, Individuals	The "state", The "people", The collective ownership of property	Corporations, Businesses, Individuals
How are the basic questions answered?	Through the free exchange of goods and services directed by the laws of supply and demand	Through government agencies and bureaucracies, state planning five-year plans	Through the free exchange of goods and services directed by the laws of supply and demand with priesthood direction for community projects
What motivations draw people to accept the system?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desire for wealth and profit • Desire for economic freedom • Desire to work and create 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desire for economic equality • Desire for economic security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A love of God • A desire to be obedient • A love of neighbor • A desire to work and create

Economic Growth in the United States Through the Market System

For most of its history, the United States has practiced a form of the market economy. In the early years of the British colonies, nothing traveled faster than a horse. Communication was limited. There had been little innovation or invention for centuries in that front, and most people remained in the same economic station for generations. The majority of Americans worked long hours for just enough to live. The average life expectancy in America was about 36 years.

The English colonies operated under mercantilism, which depended on the colonies to provide raw materials and markets. They would then be created into goods and sold back to the colonies, with the main goal of funneling wealth back into the national treasury. Colonists came to the New World with the expectation and promise of owning land. In fact, most saw their journey to the colonies as an opportunity to own property and improve their economic and social position. The abundant resources of the colonies fostered the development of market opportunities. In contrast with

much of Europe, where many resources were either used up or heavily controlled, the American continent was teeming with wildlife, fish, timber, and productive land.

As the colonies and their production grew, they began to push back against the mercantilist system, the regulations and limitations of the British monopolies that enforced them. Puritan religious beliefs helped foster the idea of self-interest and influenced economic thinking. Many saw success as an indication of salvation in the next. Their belief in predestination also made worldly success important as an evidence of God's favor.

There were brief experiments with other types of economic practices in the colonies. In the Carolinas, there were attempts to replicate the feudal system of peasants and lords that had been the practice in much of Europe. The Pilgrims initially practiced a type of socialistic communalism, with all lands and profits held in common. After the first year of settlement, nearly half of the Pilgrims had perished. Governor William Bradford wrote that common ownership had created "much confusion and discontent and retard much employment that would have been to their benefit and comfort." The system of forced redistribution among the settlers bred resentment amongst the survivors. After several years of starvation conditions, the settlement charted a different course.

In an attempt to raise as much food as possible, Bradford assigned every family a parcel of land, doing away with communal ownership. As a result, the colony became more prosperous. Individual families became more industrious and more personally invested in economic success.

The idea at the heart of a free market economy was expressed valiantly in just one part of one sentence of the Declaration of Independence. "Men ... are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." If men have the right to life from God, then they must have the right to sustain life and the rights to the fruits of their labors, or in other words, the right to pursue happiness. Some modern economists believe that the right to property and the enforcement of property rights is the key institution that supports the successful establishment of a free market economy..

Despite these natural incentives toward a market system, there is no real requirement that America practice capitalism in the Constitution. There are, however, certain constitutional components that reinforce capitalistic attitudes. Amendment V states "Nor shall any person be ... deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." Therefore, the Constitution protects private property ownership, a ruling principle in capitalism. In Article I, Sec. 8 the Constitution promotes "the Progress of Science and useful Arts" through copyrights and patents. Therefore, the Constitution guarantees the rights of artists and inventors to not only own their intellectual creations but to enjoy the economic benefits derived from those creations. It would be very difficult, without some major amendments to or reinterpretations of the Constitution, for socialism to be practiced in America.

The Constitution was critical to the development of a successful market economy. It secured property rights so entrepreneurs could keep their profit. It promoted rule of law so that sudden, radical changes in the legal system were less likely and less harmful. It also limited the federal government's ability to intervene in the economy. Through its commerce clause, the Constitution supported free trade between individual states. In short, the Constitution codified and helped establish the conditions of individual economic freedom.

After the establishment of the new government under the Constitution, the American economy grew, though the nature of the economy remained virtually the same. Most Americans were farmers, and those who were not farmers engaged in small business enterprises that produced goods for local markets—neighbors trading with neighbors. Most businesses employed one to five employees so there was direct communication between the owners and the workers. Most businesses represented very little capital investment, so they could be started and stopped with little effect on the business. Unregulated, laissez faire capitalism seemed natural and acceptable in these conditions. There were few large-scale abuses of workers and/or consumers because there were no large-scale businesses or markets. If there were local abuses these could usually be worked out by individuals at the local level. Government regulation of the economy seemed unnecessary.

During this early period, the government tried to address its own constitutional role in the economy and other generalized economic issues. One of the first issues addressed was the government's role in regulating money and banking. People were wary of a federal or national bank, and in the first 100 years after the constitution, two nationally chartered banks were created—both were disbanded. Additionally, they had to decide if they would move to notes (paper money) or continue with specie (coin). While they would briefly use notes in wartime, paper money was seen as immoral with no real value, so they continued using gold and silver coins because they had a seemingly more intrinsic value.

Another issue addressed was the national government's role in promoting and financing transportation projects. While roads, canals, harbors, and railroads were all necessary for economic growth, these projects were often beneficial to specific regions of the country. A person in Georgia would probably never directly benefit from a road in New York, so taxing them would seem unfair. However, roads are too expensive for each individual to make their own. The national government decided that they should encourage state or private development of canals, roads, and railroads, but should not engage directly in owning, building, or maintaining them. Because they were seen as important for the national defense, exceptions were made for some postal roads as well as river and harbor improvement projects.

The final major issue was the national government's role in encouraging and/or regulating business. Tariffs (additional taxes placed on foreign goods) encouraged American business, which was seen as positive; however, it also made things more expensive because there wasn't the competition from foreign markets, which was seen as negative. Bounties (money paid to farmers by the government for certain goods) were intended to encourage farmers to grow lots of one crop and sell only that. Unfortunately, this also resulted in higher food prices for consumers. Despite the outcomes, these were attempts to encourage, not regulate, commerce. Even the conflicts between labor and industry were seen as disputes over private property which allowed the government to step in without the feeling of regulation as long as it was through the due process of law.

After the Civil War the American economic system changed dramatically. Businesses evolved from small, local enterprises with little capital investment, into large, national enterprises with enormous capital investments. These large industries were headed up by powerful entrepreneurs, men like Andrew Carnegie (steel), John D. Rockefeller (oil), Jay Gould (railroads), J. P. Morgan (banking), and Gustavus Swift (meat packing). The innovation of new technologies, especially railroads, and the growth of steel, oil, coal and electricity, enabled the creation of industrial machinery.

The connections fostered by the development of the railroad created a national mass market. It also supported the creation of department stores such as Sears, Roebuck, Montgomery Ward, and Macy's. The invention and introduction of new products like indoor plumbing, telephones, chewing gum, deodorant, corn flakes, toothpaste, cosmetics, safety razors, and so on created new consumers and new industries. Along with this development came the birth of modern advertising, which quickly became essential to American life. These new products were produced in new ways, and utilized new strategies of production that were very different from the artisan production of the pre-Civil War era.

The economies of scale (things are cheaper the more they are produced) helped foster big businesses. The formation of assembly-line production was the ultimate expression of Adam Smith's "division of labor." Horizontal combinations combined businesses that produced the same or similar products. Vertical combinations combined all the business activities of a single product from the acquisition of raw materials through sales. Out of these combinations came monopolies, trusts, and holding companies developed specifically to eliminate competition in the market place and maximize profits.

With their growth in size and economic power, businesses evolved into institutions of national influence. These monopolies created great profits for stockholders, but also prevented the laws of supply and demand from creating competition. They also exploited and created hardships for workers and consumers. Government would have to play a larger role in order to guarantee economic freedom and opportunity. This movement, called Progressivism, will be examined in Lesson 8, while the complete breakdown of supply and demand in this new industrial order will be studied in Lesson 9.

Technological Changes Through Economic Freedom

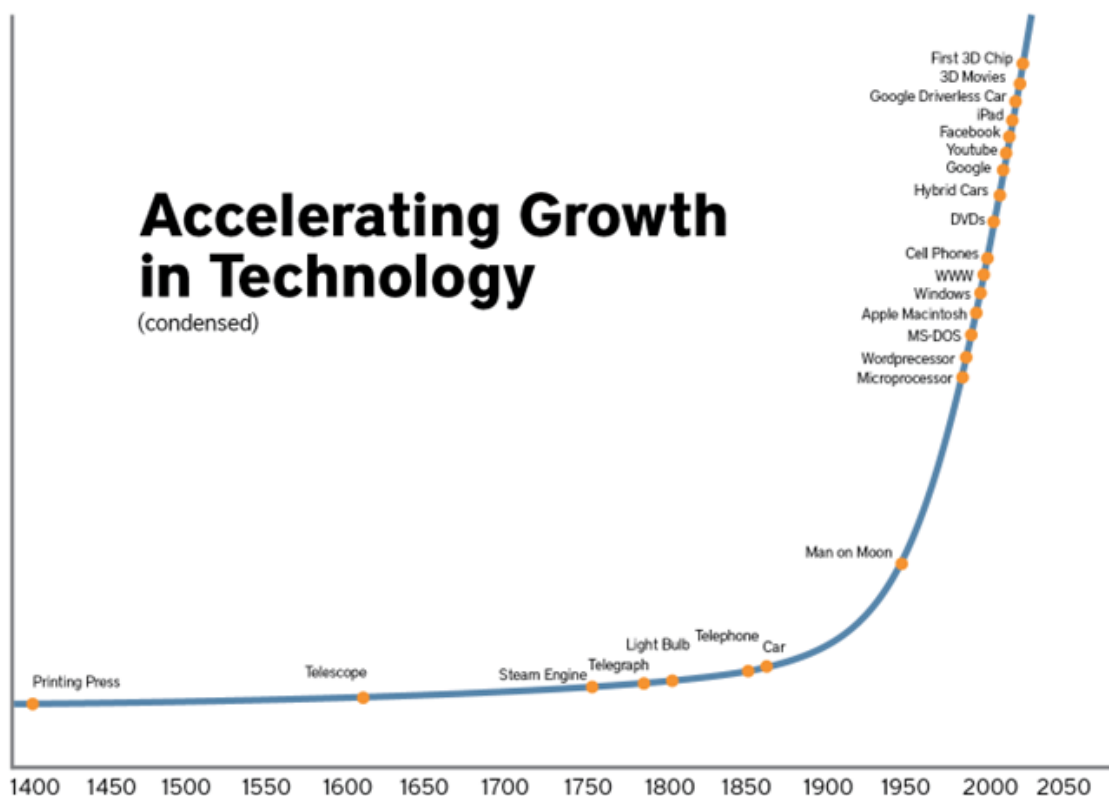
Technological change gives consumers more options and makes workers more productive. American workers today can produce more per hour of work than any American previously could. For example, consider Daniel Boone's standard of living as a pioneer in the mid to late 1700s. His father was a nail maker, and when Daniel first started making nails he could only make 50 nails after a long day of hard work. His father, however, could make 200 nails in a long day. Today, nail industry workers are able to make many hundreds of thousands of nails in fewer hours.

Workers in nineteenth century America, even children, had to work very long hours to supply the bare necessities, and had an average life expectancy much lower than today. Most workers could not produce enough to support their families by themselves.

The link at the end of the paragraph goes to the World Bank table, which puts the growth of the United States economy into comparative perspective. It shows GDP to demonstrate the standard of living for various nations. GDP (gross domestic product) is the measure of the market value of all the goods and services produced by citizens of a country in a given year. The U. S. standard of living in 1840 was comparable to Tonga's standard of living today. The output per person of the U. S. economy at the time of the nation's birth was comparable to poverty stricken nations of today. The U. S. GDP, on average, rose by 2.1 percent each year during the second half of the twenty-first century. At this rate, the amount of goods and services produced per person each year doubles about every 33 years.

The United States has had greater economic success than other countries for a variety of reasons. A prominent reason, though, is the use of technology. Across the world we see that in societies where technology has been adopted and workers have the educational levels necessary to use technology, standards of living are high. In areas in the world where technology is not used and where the workers are mostly uneducated, many people live in poverty.

The implementation of technology requires a risky expenditure of time and money. Entrepreneurs are those that take the risks necessary to bring workers and capital (tools, machinery, plants, equipment) together to create jobs and wealth. Countries with entrepreneurs tend to implement technology and foster wealth creation; whereas, countries without entrepreneurs stagnate in these same areas. In economic systems that create an environment of creativity and wealth creation, entrepreneurship flourishes. Under other economic systems, there are substantial roadblocks for entrepreneurs that limit creativity and innovation. The system of rules in which entrepreneurs can succeed and in which technological change results is often called economic freedom. Economic freedom is created by a system of rules where property rights are protected and the rule of law prevails. Countries with economic freedom tend to have low tax rates, low amounts of regulation, and very little corruption.



In countries without economic freedom, markets and entrepreneurship are hampered. Many of these countries have a standard of living much like America during the eighteenth century. Part of this is from the lack of property rights, rule of law, and high corruption that make entrepreneurship difficult. To start a business in some countries, many thousands of dollars of bribes must be paid out to corrupt government bureaucrats. After the business is started there is a constant risk of government policy destroying the business. Most new ventures in countries where small business is encouraged, like in the United States, fail within the first five years. If starting a business in a country where private property rights and the rule of law is respected is risky, imagine how difficult entrepreneurship is in a country without economic freedom? The lack of access to capital, the difficulties of gaining education, the lack of technology, the failure of the rule of law—all combine to create a system that crushes the initiative of entrepreneurial citizens and makes upward mobility, education, and achievement difficult.

The level of economic freedom within a country can powerfully influence economic outcomes. As just one example, many students in the African country of Guinea study under street lights at Guinea's G'bessi Airport. They gather at the airport because they are unable to obtain expensive electric power in their homes. Many of these students, however, own cell phones. They have access to the new technology of cell phones because the rules governing their use provide entrepreneurs with incentives to provide that service. The government imposed restrictive rules on electric power generation, so that older technology is not as cheaply and readily available.

When entrepreneurs are given the economic freedom they need, the invisible hand of the market guides profit driven entrepreneurs to solve problems and increase standards of living. For instance, high copper prices frustrate plumbers, telephone companies, and electricians who must use copper in their businesses. If an entrepreneur can find a good alternative to copper and start a business providing consumers with it, they can make a profit. As copper prices went up, entrepreneurs started companies making fiber optic cables, which replaced copper wire in some applications in the communications industry. Entrepreneurs have also started companies making plastic pipes that plumbers can use instead of the more expensive copper pipes. As copper is replaced by alternative products, it becomes economically less scarce and the price goes down.

An entrepreneur can earn significant profits by identifying the problems of others that can be solved. The greater the pain, the more the consumer is willing to pay to solve the problem. The entrepreneur that finds a good substitute to the high priced resource not only earns a high profit, but solves the consumer's problem, and by decreasing demand for the high priced resource, causes the price of the resource to go down. In this way, supply and demand guides the profit-seeking entrepreneur to solve critical problems. For example, it was during the high gas prices of the 1970s that cars became substantially more fuel efficient. Some economists have found that when energy prices are high, air conditioners become more energy efficient. When energy prices are relatively low, entrepreneurs focus on making air conditioners cheaper to produce and purchase. Since profits are found by solving problems, the technological changes that drive economic growth do the most good.

International Trade

In early America, under mercantilism, trade between the colonies and other nations was highly regulated, and most trade was confined to countries in the British Empire. Once independence was won, the United States looked to increase industry and trade. The Constitution took down the trade barriers that had governed commerce between individual states, but international free trade was not the goal. Until the passage of the 16th amendment, which instituted a federal income tax, the government paid for its operations mainly through tariffs and customs duties. A tariff is a tax on imports or exports. Tariffs helped the new nation compete with more powerful countries and established industries abroad and helped promote homegrown industrial development. Throughout its history, the United States has also enacted embargoes (prohibiting the importation of certain goods for economic or political reasons) and quotas (allowing a limited amount of importation depending on needs and cost).

Nations enforce tariffs, embargoes, duties, and quotas because it can be a form of tax paid by non-citizens, and can raise substantial revenue for the government. Additionally, the extra cost of imported goods helps protect domestic business and labor. An American company, struggling to compete with foreign producers, benefits when tariffs make those foreign goods more expensive to the consumer or if quotas and embargoes prevent their importation in the first place. When American businesses prosper, it can create more jobs for American workers.

Trade between nations has been severely restricted in recent decades, but there has been an increasing debate over the issue of "free trade" and the idea of "free trade zones." The reasons to encourage free trade are closely associated with the strengths of the market economy—incentive, creativity, choice, opportunity, and economic competition. Critics of "free trade" point to countries with weaker economies and lower labor costs which disadvantage the United States. Those who argue for "free trade" and open markets suggest that with equal access to the world's goods and services there would be less reason for international competition and war. Over the past thirty years America has moved toward free trade between nations. This move has come through international trade agreements like the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT 1948), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA 1992), the World Trade Organization (WTO 1993), and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP 2016). In the global marketplace, the interrelatedness of the world economy makes trade laws and regulations incredibly complex.

The Church's Teachings on the Market Economy

The Church doesn't have an official stance on the market, though some leaders may have personal opinions. Members and church leaders have generally supported the principles and practices of the market system rather than socialism, as it allows for more agency and accountability.

The 8th Commandment given through Moses, "Thou shalt not steal," presupposes the existence of private property. In this dispensation the doctrine of the Church has reaffirmed the paramount importance of the right to property: "We believe that no government can exist in peace, except such laws are framed and held inviolate as will secure to each individual the free exercise of conscience, the right and control of property, and the protection of life." (Doctrine and

Covenants 134:2). These rights and presuppositions are reinforced through the Declaration of Independence and protected through the Constitution.

In 1805 when Lewis and Clark set out to explore the western part of the North American continent, nothing traveled faster than a horse—not even communication. After centuries of almost no change in the income or economic activity of everyday people, the world dramatically changed sometime between 1820 and 1830. We, as members of the Church, understand the timing of this shift in the economics of the world. Modern prophets have taught that the establishment of the Constitution was necessary for the “marvelous work and wonder” that is the restoration of the gospel. In fact, the continuation of liberty is essential for us to continue to build God’s Kingdom upon the earth. Without freedom, especially religious freedom, God’s servants would not have had the opportunity to restore and preach the gospel. And economic progress and freedom have played an important part in maintaining that liberty.

The prophet Joel in the Old Testament prophesied that in the last days the Lord would pour out His spirit upon all flesh (Joel 2: 28). Joseph Fielding Smith taught that one of the manifestations of the spirit of the Lord being poured out upon all flesh has been the remarkable advances in technology and scientific innovation that has been uniquely associated with the last days. This technological change greatly facilitated the spread of the gospel. The invention of the movable type printing press made it possible for the Bible to be printed for the common man centuries ago. In today’s world, satellite and internet technology makes it possible for people all around the world to listen to modern prophets during the General Conference of the Church. As the “just and holy principles” of the Constitution have been exported to the rest of the world, both the gospel and economic progress have followed.

In countries that have a relatively free market economy, like the United States, we often observe behavior among its most successful participants that we find to be deplorable. Disparities in wealth, economic depressions, and dishonest business practices often cause people to call into question whether a market economy is truly based on a foundation of “just and holy principles.” However, acts of fraud and theft violate the right to property and must be prosecuted in order for a free market economy to be truly free and to function well. Furthermore, freedom requires responsibility. In order to maintain the blessings of liberty, we must remain moral. The Book of Mormon teaches that pride leads to secret combinations which lead to legal plunder, the destruction of the rule of law, and an undermining of free markets. We have also been commanded to be righteous stewards and to serve God by caring for and empowering those that are less fortunate. Ultimately prosperity is obtained by nations as they keep the commandments of God.



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Unequal Distribution of Wealth

Economics

The US is the wealthiest country in the world, but it has one of the highest disparities of wealth. Over the past 30 years, the unequal distribution of wealth has greatly increased and the gap has widened. Fixing perceived economic injustice has become an important political topic and focus. In a modern democratic republic, concentration of wealth can be a threat to democracy.

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The market system that governs the economy of the United States has led to phenomenal growth, world leadership, and unprecedented prosperity over the course of its history. But it is not without its weaknesses and challenges. In an economic environment that has so many variables, economic rewards are delivered unequally. Over time, this creates wildly varying levels of income and wealth. The United States is the wealthiest country in the world, but it also has one of the highest disparities of wealth.

There are many influential factors of the poverty rate (breakdown of the family, economic exploitation, legacy of slavery and racism, and so on). The poverty rate fluctuates between 10–15% of the population in the bracket below the basic standard of living. Over the course of American history, there has been a gap between rich and poor but there has also been a significant movement of people out of poverty. Over the past 30 years, the unequal distribution of wealth has greatly increased and the gap has widened significantly. The most recent available figures (2013) from the Congressional Budget Office report the following on aggregate family wealth (assets minus debts):

- Top 10%: 76% of all family wealth
- Next 40%: 23% of all family wealth
- Bottom 50%: 1% of all family wealth

Families at or below the 25th percentile were \$13,000 in debt.

In a modern democratic republic, concentration of wealth can be a threat to democracy, freedom, opportunity, and virtue. There are many warnings in The Book of Mormon and from modern prophets that warn of the trouble caused by inequality and stark class divisions. As the American economy has evolved and American attitudes about political equality have developed to be more inclusive, many have come to question the justice of this economic inequity. Fixing perceived economic injustice has become an important political topic and focus.

Creating economic justice in our society is difficult, and there is complexity in defining what economic justice is and what it would look like.

There are essentially two sides to this. One argues for greater equality in opportunity—free public education for everyone, government protections against discrimination within the market, regulations to protect against different forms of corruption, and so on. The idea is that when opportunities are quantized, more people have access to fully participate in the market system. Success or economic reward is not guaranteed, but everyone can try.

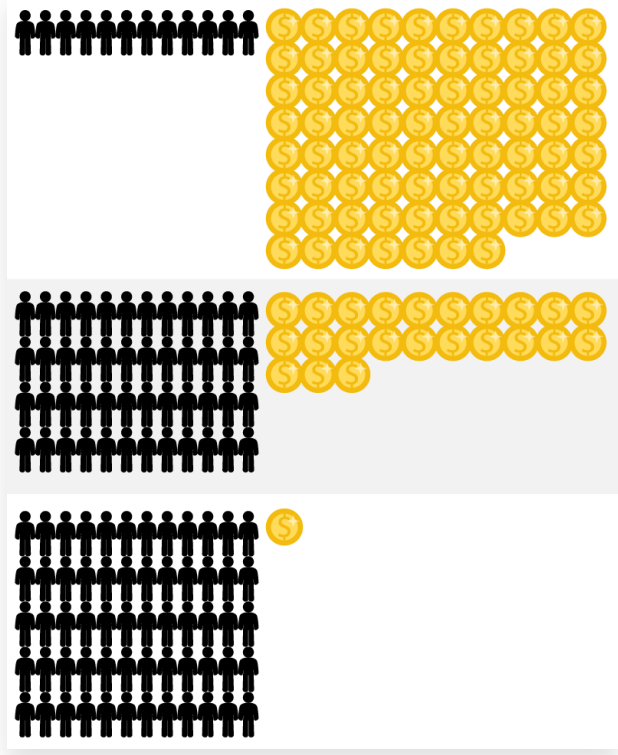
The other common way to address economic inequality is through equality of conditions—an active government role in managing the economy and ameliorating (make better) the effect of unequal wealth distribution through progressive taxation and the redistribution of tax dollars to support an economic safety net. This would provide food, shelter, job training and job insurance programs to support economically disadvantaged people. This would help, but not guarantee, a stabilized market system and a minimization of the pain economic disruptions cause.

These programs are often called “entitlement programs” (such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps, and veterans’ compensation). The vast majority of funds earmarked as entitlements in the federal budget help support veterans, the disabled, the elderly, and children. Some argue that these programs can be seen as an investment of sorts that helps to create economic contributors. The problem, however, remains.

Though neither of these solutions are inherently bad, their attempts to solve the problems of the market system can lead to a society developing a “spirit of entitlement” that can inhibit provident living and self-reliance. Below are two addresses from recent BYU-Idaho leaders that offer counsel and advice about avoiding a spirit of entitlement, regardless of our economic situation.

Elder David A. Bednar, “Repeat Over Again ... the Same Things as Before”, January 26, 2016

I began my service on this campus in the summer of 1997, at what was then the largest private two-year college in the United States—Ricks College. In September of that year President James E. Faust, second counselor in the First Presidency, visited the school to dedicate the new John Taylor Building. Elder Henry B. Eyring of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and the Commissioner of Church Education was President Faust’s companion for that special occasion.



Elder Eyring arrived in Rexburg one day early to review several matters with me and to ensure that everything was in order for President Faust. When I picked up Elder Eyring at the airport, I learned that he had just returned from a two-week assignment in South America. He obviously was tired from his travels, and I was anxious to get him to our home so he could rest.

As we drove to Rexburg, I asked Elder Eyring if he was interested in quickly walking through the completed Taylor Building. He answered that he was interested, and we spent approximately 15 minutes inspecting the classrooms and other facilities.

Our last stop was the Taylor Chapel, and Elder Eyring stood near the pulpit on the stand and surveyed the seating area for quite a long time. After a few minutes, I asked him: "Elder Eyring, what are you thinking about?" He answered with this profound and penetrating observation: "I am thinking about how much we do for so few and how little we do for so many." He then continued, "The tithing of the people I just visited in South America and from good people all over the world paid for this facility. And most of the people who have made this beautiful facility possible will never see or step foot in a building like this. That is what I am thinking about."

That experience and the lesson I learned from Elder Eyring influenced me greatly during the time I served at BYU–Idaho. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has invested millions of tithing dollars over the last 15 years to upgrade the BYU–Idaho campus and programs. Such expenditures have been made to enhance your learning, developmental, and employment experiences. Please do not take these sacred resources, your choice opportunities, and this beautiful campus for granted.

Please do not think that you are somehow more deserving or worthy. Please be grateful for the singular chance you have to learn and work here and for the responsibility that rests upon you as one who has been the recipient of great blessings.

In October of 2006, I returned to BYU–Idaho as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve to speak in a devotional and to preside at the groundbreaking ceremony for this BYU–Idaho Center and the Manwaring Center addition. I repeat again the warning and promise I expressed on that occasion.

*"In the authority of the holy Apostleship, I now raise a voice of warning and make a solemn promise. If the day ever were to come that intellectual arrogance, a lack of appreciation, and a spirit of demanding entitlement take root on this campus—among the students, faculty, employees or the administration, or within the community—then in that day the Spirit of Ricks will be well on the way to being extinguished—and the heavenly influence and blessings that have prospered this institution and the people associated with it will be withdrawn. Conversely, as long as intellectual modesty, humility, gratitude, obedience, and frugality continue to characterize those who learn and serve at BYU–Idaho, then this university will shine forth ever brighter as a beacon of righteousness and of inspired educational innovation" (David A. Bednar, *The Spirit and Purposes of Gathering*, Oct. 2006, 10–11).*

I repeated that identical warning and promise at the dedicatory service of this building in December of 2010. Today I emphasize, affirm, and renew that warning and promise for a third time. You understandably may be asking yourself the question, why repeat this message a third time?

I am not the same man who warned and promised in 2006 and 2010. I am the same man, but I am different. I have traveled the earth for more than a decade and visited countless homes of faithful Church members—the rich and the poor, the meek and the humble, the educated and the uneducated. Those converted and consecrated Latter-day Saints have changed me.

I participate every year in the Council on the Disposition of the Tithes with the First Presidency, the other members of the Twelve, and the Presiding Bishopric. I witness firsthand the watch care exercised by the

leaders of this Church over the widow's mite that makes it possible for you to be a student or an employee at this university. Those experiences have changed me.

As sincere and earnest as I was in 2006 when I first delivered that warning and promise, I am many times more focused and intense about it today than I was then.

This campus is not the same campus it was in 1997 or 2006 or 2010. The campus is the same but different. I have watched for many years as the Lord has blessed and prospered the students, staff, and faculty of this remarkable university. The facilities are functional and beautiful. The students, staff, and faculty are faithful and diligent. So much has been accomplished in such a short period of time.

And precisely because you and the university are being blessed and prospered, the warning and promise are needed a third time. In particular, a warning is most needed when we do not think we need to be warned. Using the language of the Old Testament prophet Haggai, I invite you to carefully and prayerfully "consider your ways" (Haggai 1:5, 7). Is your pride allowing intellectual arrogance to creep into your mind and heart? Are you forgetting the Lord and failing to appreciate His bounteous blessings and promises? Are you turning inward, becoming self-centered, and gradually developing an attitude of personal privilege and entitlement?

These insidious spiritual flaws can develop in us so subtly that we may not recognize or respond to them. As you ponder these questions sincerely and with real intent, I promise the Holy Ghost will help you to see yourself as you "really are" (Jacob 4:13) and to identify both the things you presently are doing well and the course corrections you need to make in your life.

I believe consecrated people like you in this sacred and set apart place, with the help of the Lord and by the power of His Holy Spirit, can attenuate the pride cycle so prominently highlighted throughout the Book of Mormon. You can prosper and remain submissive. You can succeed and avoid arrogance. You can receive blessings with gratitude and not be seduced by a sense of self-serving entitlement. You can increase the intensity of the righteous light that shines forth from Brigham Young University-Idaho.

I love you, and I love BYU-Idaho. I invoke the Lord's blessings upon you, both individually and collectively—even the spiritual capacities and gifts that will be necessary for you to overcome and avoid the pride that so often follows periods of great prosperity.

Elder Kim B. Clark, "Drenched in Gratitude: Protection Against the Spirit of Entitlement" September 14, 2010

When physical poisons enter the body, they disrupt the body's systems and organs and can cause illness and even death. There are also spiritual poisons that disrupt our capacity to discern spiritual feelings and impressions. In their most advanced and virulent forms, spiritual poisons cause the afflicted to "die as to things pertaining unto righteousness" (Alma 12:16). There are many kinds of spiritual poisons. Today, I would like to talk about a spiritual poison that hardens the heart and deadens the soul. I speak today of the spirit of entitlement ...

If you and I have the spirit of entitlement, it means we have an attitude and belief that the world owes us what we want. Like Laman and Lemuel, some who harbor the spirit of entitlement believe they have been shortchanged in life or aggrieved in some way and that they deserve more than they are getting. Often those who succumb to the spirit of entitlement feel superior to those around them, or believe certain rules should not apply to them, or that they should not be required to do what everyone else has to do. They believe they are entitled to special treatment and special privileges. They want something for nothing.

The spirit of entitlement has a history that goes back to the War in Heaven. Satan was full of pride and the spirit of entitlement when he rebelled and fought against the Father and the Son. He said to God, "I will

redeem all mankind, that one soul shall not be lost, and surely I will do it; wherefore give me thine honor.” Jesus, in contrast, said simply, “Father, thy will be done, and the glory be thine forever.”

It is the law of heaven that “when we obtain any blessing from God, it is by obedience to that law upon which it is predicated.” But the blessing comes in God’s “own time, and in his own way.” Not only was Satan’s proposal contrary to God’s law and plan, but he demanded the blessing of God’s honor. Where Jesus was humble and submissive to the Father’s will, Satan was proud and entitled. Satan embraced the demanding spirit of entitlement in the pre-mortal realm and was “cast down.” Now he seeks to infect us with its deadly poison.

That infection often begins with small and simple feelings we might each encounter under certain circumstances; for example, a brother who was absent for several classes in the semester but claimed he should be treated differently because he was the head of a campus organization; or a sister who felt she had a right to an A in a class just because she had turned in all the assignments; or a brother who believed he had a right to park next to every classroom building.

The spirit of entitlement is a poison that works on the spiritual heart. Our heart contains our deepest desires and commitments and our character and our will. It is to and in our heart that the Lord communicates spiritual truth and divine guidance. When the spirit of entitlement gets into our hearts, we become overly concerned with measures of material success and preoccupied with indicators of rank and privilege. Greed creeps in, and we develop an attitude that we deserve to have our worldly wants and the desires of the natural man satisfied.

When this happens, we are on our way to becoming like the people the Lord described in the first section of the Doctrine and Covenants: “They seek not the Lord to establish his righteousness, but every man walketh in his own way, and after the image of his own god.”

Brothers and sisters, this is what the spirit of entitlement is and what it does. It separates us from God and makes us forget the Savior and our dependence on His mercy and grace. It is a deadly spiritual poison. But we can be like Naaman after he washed himself in the Jordan seven times. If we will turn to God, humble ourselves, and repent, the Lord Jesus Christ will take away the poison and heal and change our hearts.

Like physical pain and swelling, there are warning signs of the spirit of entitlement. And so, we need to search our hearts to see if we find any sign of the spirit of entitlement there. Here are some questions that may help in the search: Are you overly critical of others? Do you look down on others? Is the word “deserve” used frequently in your vocabulary—as in “I deserve” or “I don’t deserve” this or that? Do you care too much about indicators of status and rank? If you are not recognized, or accorded a privilege, or blessed immediately after doing something good—do you hear a voice inside saying, “What about me?” or “That is not

fair”? Do you ever seek special treatment for yourself? Does it happen often?

The answers to these questions could be early warning signs that the spirit of entitlement is at work. If you or I ever feel these things or hear these things in our minds, we should not be like the little boy with the pitchfork wound in his foot. We should not foolishly wait for the poison to work. We should act in faith in Christ and repent—turn away from the spirit of entitlement and turn to the healing, redeeming power of the Lord.

Brothers and sisters, gratitude is the great antidote, the great protection against the spirit of entitlement. What we need is deep gratitude for the Lord Jesus Christ. We need to be drenched in gratitude for Him so that we “confess ... his hand in all things” and “live in thanksgiving daily for the many mercies and blessings which he doth bestow upon [us] (Alma 34:38).”

I would like to close by suggesting three things we can do to engender a spirit of gratitude in our lives: pray with real intent, partake of the sacrament with our hearts and minds focused on the Savior, and worship in the temple with thanksgiving. These are gifts from the Savior. He has created them for us and taught us how to use them. They are opportunities to help us always remember Him and express our love and gratitude for Him. If we pursue these three sacred opportunities with full purpose of heart, we will have the spirit of gratitude in our lives and we will be protected from the spirit of entitlement. We will feel like and be like the people at the temple at Bountiful when the Savior appeared to them.

Economic Virtue: Worth Ethic, Self Reliance, Provident Living, and Charity

A strong work ethic, self-reliance, provident living, and charitable giving are also important for the proper operation of the market system. They offer an opposition force to the spirit of entitlement. Economic virtue has been a key topic for church leaders. The following excerpts are meant to help you consider the principle of economic virtue in your own lives. Notice the common principles: avoiding a spirit of entitlement, hard work and industry, self-reliance and provident living, avoiding debt, greed, selfishness, and of giving of our substance to those in need.

Elder D. Todd Christofferson, “Reflections on a Consecrated Life,” October 2010

A consecrated life is a life of labor. Beginning early in His life, Jesus was about His Father’s business (see Luke 2:48–49). God Himself is glorified by His work of bringing to pass the immortality and eternal life of His children (see Moses 1:39). We naturally desire to participate with Him in His work, and in so doing, we ought to recognize that all honest work is the work of God. In the words of Thomas Carlyle: “All true Work is sacred; in all true Work, were it but true hand-labor, there is something of divineness. Labor, wide as the Earth, has its summit in Heaven.”

God has designed this mortal existence to require nearly constant exertion. I recall the Prophet Joseph Smith’s simple statement: “By continuous labor [we] were enabled to get a comfortable maintenance” (Joseph Smith—History 1:55) By work we sustain and enrich life. It enables us to survive the disappointments and tragedies of the mortal experience. Hard-earned achievement brings a sense of self-worth.

Work builds and refines character, creates beauty, and is the instrument of our service to one another and to God. A consecrated life is filled with work, sometimes repetitive, sometimes menial, sometimes unappreciated but always work that improves, orders, sustains, lifts, ministers, aspires.

Having spoken in praise of labor, I must also add a kind word for leisure. Just as honest toil gives rest its sweetness, wholesome recreation is the friend and steadying companion of work. Music, literature, art, dance, drama, athletics—all can provide entertainment to enrich one’s life and further consecrate it. At the same time, it hardly needs to be said that much of what passes for entertainment today is coarse, degrading, violent, mind-numbing, and time wasting. Ironically, it sometimes takes hard work to find wholesome leisure. When entertainment turns from virtue to vice, it becomes a destroyer of the consecrated life. “Wherefore, take heed ... that ye do not judge that which is evil to be of God” (Moroni 7:14).

Elder Joe J. Christensen, "Greed, Selfishness, and Overindulgence," May 1999

... When it comes to overcoming being greedy, selfish, and overly indulgent, we all need a lot more help. In his candid manner, President Brigham Young said: "The worst fear ... I have about this people is that they will get rich in this country, forget God and His people, wax fat, and kick themselves out of the Church ... My greater fear ... is that they cannot stand wealth."

Our prosperity brings some real challenges because many are getting rich, more of us are waxing fat, and as a result of greed, selfishness, and overindulgence, we could lose the Spirit and literally kick ourselves out of the Church ... Money in and of itself is not an evil, but as Paul taught Timothy, it is the love of money that is the root of all evil.

There are some of the wealthy who deal with their prosperity very well using their resources to bless others and build the kingdom. For many, however, wealth presents major difficulties. As we deal with the materialism that threatens us, here are four suggestions for each of us to consider:

First, we should not confuse wants with needs ...

If we are not careful, it is easy for our wants to become needs. Remember the line "There, there, little luxury, don't you cry. You'll be a necessity by and by." Second, we should avoid spoiling children by giving them too much.

In our day, many children grow up with distorted values because we as parents overindulge them. Whether you are well-to-do or, like most of us, of more modest means, we as parents often attempt to provide children with almost everything they want thus taking away from them the blessing of anticipating, of longing for something they do not have. One of the most important things we can teach our children is to deny themselves. Instant gratification generally makes for weak people. How many truly great individuals do you know who never had to struggle? ... In the words of Fred Gosman, "Children who always get what they want will want as long as they live." All too many enter marriage who have never learned to cook, sew, or develop other important life skills. Ignorance of these needed skills, along with the lack of understanding of the management of money, sow the seeds for many failures in our children's marriages. I fear that in many cases we are rearing children who are slaves to expensive fads and fashions. Remember the scripture, "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." How do we determine where our treasure is? To do so, we need to evaluate the amount of time, money, and thought we devote to something. Might it not be well to evaluate how much focus we place on shopping and spending? ...

Third, as we have heard so often, live modestly and avoid debt as if it were a plague.

... How much house do we really need to accommodate our family comfortably?

We should not endanger ourselves either spiritually or economically by acquiring homes which are ostentatious, feed our vanity, and go far beyond our needs.

If we are to be self-reliant and in a position to share, obviously we must acquire some resources. If we live within our means and avoid debt, resources can be accumulated. There are those with average incomes who, over a lifetime, do amass some means, and there are those who receive large salaries who do not. What is the difference? It is simply spending less than they receive, saving along the way, and taking advantage of the power of compound interest. Financial consultants indicate that "most people have it all wrong about wealth ... Wealth is not the same as income. If you make a good income each year and spend it all, you are not getting wealthier. You are just living high. Wealth is what you accumulate, not what you spend."

Finally, be generous in giving and sharing with others.

The more our hearts and minds are turned to assisting others less fortunate than we, the more we will avoid the spiritually cankering effects that result from greed, selfishness, and overindulgence. Our resources are a stewardship, not our possessions. I am confident that we will literally be called upon to make an accounting before God concerning how we have used them to bless lives and build the kingdom.

Elder Jeffrey R. Holland, “Are We Not All Beggars?” October 2014

... From the beginning of His ministry, Jesus loved the impoverished and the disadvantaged in an extraordinary way. He was born into the home of two of them and grew up among many more of them. We don't know all the details of His temporal life, but He once said, “Foxes have holes, and ... birds ... have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.” Apparently the Creator of heaven and earth “and all things that in them are” was, at least in His adult life, homeless.

Down through history, poverty has been one of humankind's greatest and most widespread challenges. Its obvious toll is usually physical, but the spiritual and emotional damage it can bring may be even more debilitating. In any case, the great Redeemer has issued no more persistent call than for us to join Him in lifting this burden from the people. As Jehovah, He said He would judge the house of Israel harshly because “the spoil of the [needy] is in your houses.” “What mean ye,” He

cried, “that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor?”... In our day, the restored Church of Jesus Christ had not yet seen its first anniversary when the Lord commanded the members to “look to the poor and ... needy, and administer to their relief that they shall not suffer.” Note the imperative tone of that passage—“they shall not suffer.” That is language God uses when He means business.

Given the monumental challenge of addressing inequity in the world, what can one man or woman do? The Master Himself offered an answer. When, prior to His betrayal and Crucifixion, Mary anointed Jesus's head with an expensive burial ointment, Judas Iscariot protested this extravagance and “murmured against her.” Jesus said: “Why trouble ye her? she hath wrought a good work ...” “She hath done what she could.”

“She hath done what she could”! What a succinct formula! ... So how might we “do what we can”? For one thing, we can, as King Benjamin taught, cease withholding our means because we see the poor as having brought their misery upon themselves. Perhaps some have created their own difficulties, but don't the rest of us do exactly the same thing? Isn't that why this compassionate ruler asks, “Are we not all beggars?” Don't we all cry out for help and hope and answers to prayers? Don't we all beg for forgiveness for mistakes we have made and troubles we have caused? Don't we all implore that grace will compensate for our weaknesses, that mercy will triumph over justice at least in our case? Little wonder that King Benjamin says we obtain a remission of our sins by pleading to God, who compassionately responds, but we retain a remission of our sins by compassionately responding to the poor who plead to us.

In addition to taking merciful action in their behalf, we should also pray for those in need. A group of Zoramites, considered by their fellow congregants to be “filthiness” and “dross”—those are scriptural words—were turned out of their houses of prayer “because of the coarseness of their [wearing] apparel.” They were, Mormon says, “poor as to things of the world; and also ... poor in heart”—two conditions that almost always go together. Missionary companions Alma and Amulek counter that reprehensible rejection of the shabbily dressed by telling them that whatever privileges others may deny them, they can always pray—in their fields and in their houses, in their families and in their hearts. But then, to this very group who had themselves been turned away, Amulek says, “After [you] have [prayed], if [you] turn away the needy, and the naked, and visit not the sick and afflicted, and impart of your substance, if [you] have [it], to those who stand in need—I say unto you, ... your prayer is vain, and availeth you nothing, and [you] are as hypocrites who do deny the faith.” What a stunning reminder that rich or poor, we are to “do what we can” when others are in need.

Now, lest I be accused of proposing quixotic global social programs or of endorsing panhandling as a growth industry, I reassure you that my reverence for principles of industry, thrift, self-reliance, and ambition is as strong as that of any man or woman alive. We are always expected to help ourselves before we seek help from others. Furthermore, I don't know exactly how each of you should fulfill your obligation to those who do not or cannot always help themselves. But I know that God knows, and He will help you and guide you in compassionate acts of discipleship if you are conscientiously wanting and praying and looking for ways to keep a commandment He has given us again and again.

You will recognize that I speak here of difficult societal needs that go well beyond members of the Church. Fortunately the Lord's way of assisting our own is

easier: all who are physically able are to observe the law of the fast. Isaiah wrote: "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? ... Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him ... ? [that thou] undo the heavy burdens, and ... let the oppressed go free ... ?"

I bear witness of the miracles, both spiritual and temporal, that come to those who live the law of the fast. I bear witness of the miracles that have come to me.

Truly, as Isaiah recorded, I have cried out in the fast more than once, and truly God has responded, "Here I am." Cherish that sacred privilege at least monthly, and be as generous as circumstances permit in your fast offering and other humanitarian, educational, and missionary contributions. I promise that God will be generous to you, and those who find relief at your hand will call your name blessed forever. More than three-quarters of a million members of the Church were helped last year through fast offerings administered by devoted bishops and Relief Society presidents. That is a lot of grateful Latter-day Saints.

Brothers and sisters, such a sermon demands that I openly acknowledge the unearned, undeserved, unending blessings in my life, both temporal and spiritual. Like you, I have had to worry about finances on occasion, but I have never been poor, nor do I even know how the poor feel. Furthermore, I do not know all the reasons why the circumstances of birth, health, education, and economic opportunities vary so widely here in mortality, but when I see the want among so many, I do know that "there but for the grace of God go I." I also know that although I may not be my brother's keeper, I am my brother's brother, and "because I have been given much, I too must give."

In that regard, I pay a personal tribute to President Thomas Spencer Monson. I have been blessed by an association with this man for 47 years now, and the image of him I will cherish until I die is of him flying home from then-economically devastated East Germany in his house slippers because he had given away not only his second "suit and his extra shirts but the very shoes from off his feet. "How beautiful upon the mountains [and shuffling through an airline terminal] are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace." More than any man I know, President Monson has "done all he could" for the widow and the fatherless, the poor and the oppressed."

The Decline of Economic Virtue

In a system of free agency, not all choices made are good ones. An overly focus on self-interest is seen in the desire to accumulate wealth regardless of consequence, flaunt riches, exploit advantages, and maintain a position over others. Greed and selfishness leads to the exploitation of others or the system. This type of success is without economic virtue which, again, hurts others.

A purely capitalist economic system would be based on laissez faire principles, where the government would leave the market alone completely. Circumvention of the laws of supply and demand is possible. For example, when monopolies (a lack of competition) develop they tend to charge inflated prices and offer poor service/products. This can hurt the

consumer greatly. Without competition, businesses have no incentive to improve or regulate quality. Producers can take advantage of consumers by knowingly selling poor products. Employers can take advantage of employees by paying wages below what would be considered fair.

To avoid this, the government is called to step in and increase regulation. This solves some of the unvirtuous activities an unvirtuous economy leans toward. A strong, functioning government is key to the successful operation of the market system. The enforcement of rule of law, property rights, and free exchange is necessary for a productive economic activity. The government does this through internal controls on industry—inspections, rules, licensing requirements—which help root out corruption and protect workers and consumers.

As the government has stepped in to try to protect citizens from this lack of economic virtue, society has lost a certain amount of economic freedom and also a certain level of economic responsibility and self-reliance. When freedom declines in the marketplace, businesses tend to find loopholes in the laws and anarchy rises.

Corruption and scandal are not an unavoidable feature of the market system. Pragmatically understood, the market system means economic freedom under the rule of law, which protects natural rights and channels self-interest for the benefit of all.

Corruption and malfeasance—theft, misrepresentation, manipulation, fraud—take those rights away, and do not leave the market “free.”

As our country loses its cultural values of hard work, thrift, and individual responsibility, it must rely more on the government to restrain its excesses, distribute its wealth, and support its people. If we can’t regulate ourselves, then the government will take on more regulatory functions. If we can’t be charitable voluntarily, the government will redistribute money by force and taxation. All of this means a decline in economic liberty. When moral virtues decline, free market institutions decline as well.

The following section on the Progressive Movement examines a key period in American history. It offers a case study of technological change, decline in economic virtue, revolutionary market growth, and responses to those challenges by the government and society.

The Progressive Era Responds to the Lack of Economic Virtue and Unequal Distribution of Wealth

As discussed in Lesson 7, industrialization significantly changed American society. The growth of transportation networks (like cross-continental railroads) and communication systems (like the telegraph and telephone) facilitated the change. Railroads in particular had a multiplier effect. Its need for land, labor, and materials stimulated other industries (like coal, wood, and steel).¹ The companies that controlled these industries quickly amassed immense wealth, and were entrenched in their monopolies over all levels of production.

The country, tied together by these networks, became a nationwide market. Consequently, this led to a standardization of consumers, the creation of national newspapers and magazines, and a significant increase of bureaucracy and economic complexity. Western settlement followed the railroad. As the steel railroads grew horizontally across the landscape, the expansion of the railroads spurred the growth of American cities with skyscrapers and tenement living. These urban environments became centers for immigration. However, these environments also led to worker exploitation, political corruption, crime, and poverty.

Many different groups looked at these monumental changes with fear. It was an unknown world, and assumptions that had governed life before were no longer valid. It is from this environment that the Progressive Reform Movement emerged. There were many concerns—immigration, changing ideas of American cities, unprecedented concentration of wealth and power (referred to as “Robber Barons”), alarm at working conditions, exploitation of child labor, food safety, and attempts to make the political system more responsive and democratic.

The Progressive Reform Movement was made up of many groups with different motivations and goals. Motivation for Progressive reform came from industrialization's significant effect on American economic practice and virtue as well as the unequal distribution of wealth and opportunity. The Progressives fought for a more involved government that regulated the market and protected workers and consumers. One way they tried to promote this is through journalistic muckraking—exposing ugly truths so the people will realize change is needed and fight for it.

These attempts at “muckraking” could reach a larger audience of readers far and wide because of new technology. Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, a 1906 exposé of the meatpacking industry and its exploited workers in Chicago, is a powerful example of muckraking. Sinclair's goal was to portray the failures of capitalism so dramatically that readers would be willing to accept his suggestion that capitalism be scrapped in favor of socialism. Many reforms came as a result of Sinclair's portrayal of the industry and his description of the trials of a particular immigrant family. But as Sinclair remarked later, “I aimed at the public's heart and by accident hit its stomach.” As you read the following excerpt from *The Jungle*, imagine what its impact might be to a public unaware of both the worker's lives and the unsanitary conditions the food they ate was produced in.

Excerpts from Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle* (1906):

Let a man so much as scrape his finger pushing a truck in the pickle rooms, and he might have a sore that would put him out of the world; all the joints in his fingers might be eaten by the acid, one by one. Of the butchers and floormen, the beef-boners and trimmers, and all those who used knives, you could scarcely find a person who had the use of his thumb; time and time again the base of it had been slashed, till it was a mere lump of flesh against which the man pressed the knife to hold it. The hands of these men would be criss-crossed with cuts, until you could no longer pretend to count them or to trace them. They would have no nails—they had worn them off pulling hides; their knuckles were swollen so that their fingers spread out like a fan.



There were men who worked in the cooking rooms, in the midst of steam and sickening odors, by artificial light; in these rooms the germs of tuberculosis might live for two years, but the supply was renewed every hour. There were the beef-luggers, who carried two-hundred-pound quarters into the refrigerator-cars; a fearful kind of work, that began at four o'clock in the morning, and that wore out the most powerful men in a few years.

There were those who worked in the chilling rooms, and whose special disease was rheumatism; the time limit that a man could work in the chilling rooms was said to be five years. There were the wool-pluckers, whose hands went to pieces even sooner than the hands of the pickle men; for the pelts of the sheep had to be painted with acid to loosen the wool, and then the pluckers had to pull out this wool with their bare hands, till the acid had eaten their fingers off. There were those who made the tins for the canned meat; and their hands, too, were a maze of cuts, and each cut represented a chance for blood poisoning. Some worked at the stamping machines, and it was very seldom that one could work long there at the pace that was set, and not give out and forget himself and have a part of his hand chopped off.

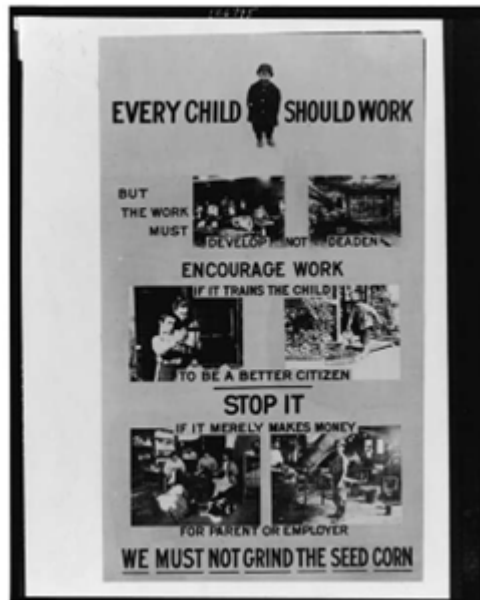
There were the "hoisters," as they were called, whose task it was to press the lever which lifted the dead cattle off the floor. They ran along upon a rafter, peering down through the damp and the steam; and as old Durham's architects had not built the killing room for the convenience of the hoisters, at every few feet they would have to stoop under a beam, say four feet above the one they ran on; which got them into the habit of stooping, so that in a few years they would be walking like chimpanzees ...

With one member trimming beef in a cannery, and another working in a sausage factory, the family had first-hand knowledge of the great majority of Packingtown swindles. For it was the custom, as they found, whenever meat was so spoiled that it could not be used for anything else, either to can it or else to chop it up into sausage. With what had been told them by Jonas who had worked in the pickle rooms, they could now study the whole of the spoiled-meat industry on the inside, and read a new and grim meaning into that old Packingtown jest—that they use everything of the pig except the squeal ... There was never the least attention paid to what was cut up for sausage; there would come all the way back from Europe old sausage that had been rejected, and that was moldy and white—it would be dosed with borax and glycerin, and dumped into the hoppers, and made over again for home consumption. There would be meat that had tumbled out on the floor, in the dirt and sawdust, where the workers had tramped and spit uncounted billions of consumption germs.

There would be meat stored in great piles in rooms; and the water from leaky roofs would drip over it, and thousands of rats would race about on it. It was too dark in these storage places to see well, but a man could run his hand over these piles of meat and sweep off handfuls of the dried dung of rats. These rats were nuisances, and the packers would put poisoned bread out for them; they would die, and then rats, bread, and meat would go into the hoppers together. This is no fairy story and no joke; the meat would be shoveled into carts, and the man who did the shoveling would not trouble to lift out a rat even when he saw one—there were things that went into the sausage in comparison with which a poisoned rat was a tidbit. There was no place for the men to wash their hands before they ate their dinner, and so they made a practice of washing them in the water that was to be ladled into the sausage. There were the butt-ends of smoked meat, and the scraps of corned beef, and all the odds and ends of the waste of the plants, that would be dumped into old barrels in the cellar and left there. Under the system of rigid economy which the packers enforced, there were some jobs that it only paid to do once in a long time, and among these was the cleaning out of the waste barrels.

Every spring they did it; and in the barrels would be dirt and rust and old nails and stale water—and cartload after cartload of it would be taken up and dumped into the hoppers with fresh meat, and sent out to the public's breakfast. Some of it they would make into "smoked" sausage—but as the smoking took time, and was therefore expensive, they would call upon their chemistry department, and preserve it with borax and color it with gelatin to make it brown. All of their sausage came out of the same bowl, but when

they came to wrap it they would stamp some of it "special," and for this they would charge two cents more a pound.



As a result of public pressure created by the response to *The Jungle*, Congress passed two pieces of groundbreaking reform legislation to protect and regulate the food supply with health and safety standards; the Pure Food and Drug Act (1906), and the Meat Inspection Act (1906). Another focus of the Progressives was the working conditions created by the transition to industrial production. "8 hours for work, 8 hours for sleep, 8 hours for what we will" became a popular slogan that helped drive the move toward organized labor and the creation of unions. Reformers focused on the issues of child labor, workplace safety, sanitary conditions, and quality of life protection with maximum hour laws. Children were one of the most exploited classes of workers. Children had always been a key part of the home economy throughout history; however, with the transition to large-scale manufacturing, their role had changed. Children were utilized in coal mines because they could get into small spaces, and on industrial machines because of their small fingers. They were also seen as easier to manage, cheaper to pay, and less likely to organize together in unions or disrupt production with strikes. Shocking pictures of children working in atrocious conditions were often the focus of muckraking photographers. Ending child labor in factories was tied to the movement towards free, compulsory education for all children. Federal efforts to outlaw child labor did not succeed until 1938, as previous attempts were declared unconstitutional.



One of the most dramatic incidents that demonstrated the need for workplace safety regulation was the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire in New York City. This factory had been the focus of union activity and protest in the years leading up to the tragedy. The factory caught fire in early 1911, tragically trapping hundreds of workers, largely young immigrant women, on the top floors of the building. Blocked exits, locked doors to prevent stealing, and generally unsafe working conditions created a tragedy where 147 workers died trapped in the building and overcome by fire or after jumping to their death in desperation. Those who died were seen as victims of greed. The Literary Digest, which covered the trial that followed, in which the owners were acquitted of wrongdoing, stated “Nine months ago 147 persons, chiefly young women and girls, were killed by a fire in the factory of the Triangle Waist Company ... There are no guilty. There are only the dead, and the authorities will forget the case as speedily as possible. Capital can commit no crime when it is in pursuit of profits. Of course, it is well known that those who were killed in the Triangle disaster are only part, and a small part, of those murdered in industry during the passing year.” The media attention to this incident became a rallying cry for those who pushed for workplace safety regulations on the state and federal level. “These doors must remain open during business hours” became a popular sign and clearly marked fire exits are some of the still visible remnants of these changes.

The lives of workers and their struggles in muckraking journals stood in dramatic contrast to the lifestyles of the industrialists of the era. Andrew Carnegie was one of the most famous beneficiaries of industrialization in America in the late 19th century—when the phrase “millionaire” was invented. Carnegie was regarded as the quintessential example of America’s “rags to riches” stereotype, starting out as a poor Scottish immigrant and ending up directing one of the largest steel companies in America. Men like Carnegie were very aware of their unprecedented and extreme wealth next to the impoverished cities and hardscrabble working conditions. Although Carnegie was a generous philanthropist, many saw him as a “robber baron” who unjustly cornered markets and unfairly treated his workers. Carnegie’s company was the focus of one of the most famous worker’s strikes and union organizing attempts of the era—the 1892 Homestead Strike in Pennsylvania amongst iron and steel workers. His company’s controversial decision to call in private security and the state militia to reign in the worker’s strike resulted in violence and deaths on both sides. The way he dealt with labor struggles helped define his legacy and tarnished his reputation.

In the following excerpt, Carnegie attempted to explain and justify his view of wealth and how it should operate in society. Carnegie focused his charity on libraries throughout the country, many of which are still in operation today.

Excerpts from Andrew Carnegie, “The Gospel of Wealth” (1889)

The problem of our age is the proper administration of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship. The conditions of human life have not only been changed, but revolutionized, within the past few hundred years... This change, however, is not to be

deplored, but welcomed as highly beneficial. It is well, nay, essential for the progress of the race, that the houses of some should be homes for all that is highest and best in literature and the arts, and for all the refinements of civilization, rather than that none should be so. Much better this great irregularity than universal squalor.

... Not evil, but good, has come to the race from the accumulation of wealth by those who have the ability and energy that produce it. But even if we admit for a moment that it might be better for the race to discard its present foundation, Individualism—that it is a nobler ideal that man should labor, not for himself alone, but in and for a brotherhood of his fellows, and share with them all in common ... This is not evolution, but revolution ... We might as well urge the destruction of the highest existing type of man because he failed to reach our ideal as favor the destruction of Individualism, Private Property, the Law of Accumulation of Wealth, and the Law of Competition; for these are the highest results of human experience, the soil in which society so far has produced the best fruit. Unequally or unjustly, perhaps, as these laws sometimes operate, and imperfect as they appear to the Idealist, they are, nevertheless, like the highest type of man, the best and most valuable of all that humanity has yet accomplished.

There remains, then, only one mode of using great fortunes; but in this we have the true antidote for the temporary unequal distribution of wealth, the reconciliation of the rich and the poor—a reign of harmony—another ideal, differing, indeed, from that of the Communist in requiring only the further evolution of existing conditions, not the total overthrow of our civilization. It is founded upon the present most intense individualism, and the race is projected to put it in practice by degree whenever it pleases. Under its sway we shall have an ideal state, in which the surplus wealth of the few will become, in the best sense the property of the many, because administered for the common good, and this wealth, passing through the hands of the few, can be made a much more potent force for the elevation of our race than if it had been distributed in small sums to the people themselves. Even the poorest can be made to see this, and to agree that great sums gathered by some of their fellow-citizens and spent for public purposes, from which the masses reap the principal benefit, are more valuable to them than if scattered among them through the course of many years in trifling amounts ... Such, in my opinion, is the true Gospel concerning Wealth, obedience to which is destined someday to solve the problem of the Rich and the Poor, and to bring "Peace on earth, among men Good-Will."

In response to the growth of business monopolies that controlled all levels and aspects of production and distribution, Progressives lobbied for reforms that attempted to force monopolies apart and allow competition. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act (1890) passed by Congress under its interstate commerce clause declared:

Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is ... illegal. Every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons, to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a felony.

Partly in response to the wealth of the men like Carnegie and the need for increased federal revenue, the 16th Amendment (1913) was passed—"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration." Before the passage of this amendment, federal revenue was derived mainly from customs tariffs and excise taxes.

Progressives also focused on political corruption. Corruption was seen in monopolistic businesses, local politics by city machines and ward bosses, and the spoils system where elected officials reward their supporters with government jobs and contracts. The opportunities for self-enrichment in political service were most famously described by George Washington Plunkitt, a political boss from Tammany Hall in New York City. In 1905 he published a memoir in which he detailed his use of "graft" (various schemes that led public officials to benefit financially through corruption), a problem that plagued many large cities.

Excerpts from George Washington Plunkitt, Plunkitt of Tammany Hall (1905)

Everybody is talkin' these days about Tammany men growin' rich on graft, but nobody thinks of drawin' the distinction between honest graft and dishonest graft. There's all the difference in the world between the two. Yes, many of our men have grown rich in politics. I have myself. I've made a big fortune out of the game ...

There's an honest graft, and I'm an example of how it works. I might sum up the whole thing by sayin': "I seen my opportunities and I took 'em."

Just let me explain by examples. My party's in power in the city, and it's goin' to undertake a lot of public improvements. Well, I'm tipped off, say, that they're going to lay out a new park at a certain place.

I see my opportunity and I take it. I go to that place and I buy up all the land I can in the neighborhood. Then the board of this or that makes its plan public, and there is a rush to get my land, which nobody cared particular for before.

Ain't it perfectly honest to charge a good price and make a profit on my investment and foresight? Of course, it is. Well, that's honest graft. Or supposin' it's a new bridge they're goin' to build. I get tipped off and I buy as much property as I can that has to be taken for approaches. I sell at my own price later on and drop some more money in the bank.

Wouldn't you? It's just like lookin' ahead in Wall Street or in the coffee or cotton market. It's honest graft, and I'm lookin' for it every day in the year. I will tell you frankly that I've got a good lot of it, too ...

Now, in conclusion, I want to say that I don't own a dishonest dollar. If my worst enemy was given the job of writin' my epitaph when I'm gone, he couldn't do more than write: "George W. Plunkitt. He Seen His Opportunities, and He Took 'Em."

The Beginning of Modern American Ideological Differences

Progressives spearheaded several reforms to try to open up the political process. This opening would involve giving more power to the middle-class and taking power away from big business interests or entrenched political bosses. Several states passed reforms to allow individuals or groups to put initiatives on the ballot, pass referendums on the actions of state legislatures, and put in place ways for elected leaders to be recalled (IRR reforms). These reforms also helped to create a fairer primary system. On the national level, amendments to the Constitution were passed: the 17th Amendment (the direct election of senators instead of being chosen by state legislatures) and the 19th Amendment (voting rights for women).

All these themes had faith in reform and believed that wrongs could be made right. They had faith in the scientific process and believed that science and technology would allow them to identify, understand, and solve problems. They also had faith in the power of government as the ultimate tool of change and reform. These documents from the Progressive Era demonstrate the difficulties faced by this new industrial order, and began a debate over the proper role of government and the need for reforms and protections. There were other political challenges in this era—socialism, anarchism, communism, and radicalism—but Progressives on the whole tried to improve existing systems within capitalism and the Constitution; they did not argue for a full-scale revolution.

In many ways, this era marks the beginning of modern American liberalism and the increased emphasis on ideological differences in American politics. As a result of the changes wrought by the Progressive Era, modern liberals began to believe that the result of classical liberalism (a limited government that allows people to be as free as possible from undue restraints, encumbrances, and regulation of their activities) is a rather negative freedom. To them, classical

liberalism with limited government allowed those with power in society the freedom to abuse a majority of the people economically and politically.

Modern liberals began to believe that the burdens of freedom (both the political freedom of limited government and the economic freedom from capitalism and free market economics) are too great for the people to bear without restraint and protection. They believed that a positive freedom can only be conferred by the intervention of a vigilant government that protected the people from economic abuse, exploitation, and discrimination within the bounds of the capitalist system. These progressive ideas about the role of modern liberalism would go on to set the stage for future reform periods in times of challenge like the New Deal in the 1930s and the Great Society in the 1960s.



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Price and Production Instability

Economics

John Maynard Keynes greatly influenced the ideas of fiscal policy. Keynesianism says that economic downturns result from insufficient demand. This means there are many “idle resources” in the economy. In times of depression, prices may fall and consumers may still not have the ability to make purchases.

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In the market system, millions of individual people make millions of decisions each day about what to consume and what to produce. Sometimes production will exceed demand, pushing supply up and driving prices down. Sometimes it is difficult for production to keep pace with demand, leading to shortages and higher prices. This process leads to another weakness of capitalism and the market system—price and production instability. This is also part of the business cycle, as growth in capitalism is inconsistent.

There are several causes of price and production instability—inaccurate decisions about future market trends, producing more than the current market requires, or reduced investment in future research and development. Other causes are related to consumer actions, for example a decline in overall demand, often related to a lack of consumer confidence or when wages do not keep pace with the production of goods and services. When this happens, workers do not have the income to purchase the production that exists, surpluses build up, and production must decline to allow sales to catch up with inventory. These surges of too much and too little are bad for the economy. Too much production causes the businesses to have to cut expenses. Too little production causes some people to have to go without. Both of these eventually lead to slower production and can lead to economic recession (a general slowdown in the economy) or even depression (a deeper more pronounced slowdown in the economy).

Fiscal Policy & John Maynard Keynes

Economists have dedicated much of their time and energy to seeking solutions for recession and depression. Many of these economic policy solutions can be categorized as fiscal policy or monetary policy.

Fiscal policy is when the government increases spending or taxes in order to help smooth the fluctuations of the economy. This power is controlled by Congress and is exercised through legislation; however, this spending and taxing is only fiscal policy when used to manage the economy. For example, if the government requisitions a purchase of 10,000 pencils for use by IRS employees, it is not practicing fiscal policy. If the government purchases 10,000 pencils to stimulate production in the timber and mining industries, it is practicing fiscal policy. John Maynard Keynes greatly influenced the ideas of fiscal policy. Keynes was a wealthy, educated, and brilliant economist who lived in the 1800s. Keynesianism says that economic downturns result from insufficient demand—not enough people are buying stuff. Theoretically, supply and demand meets at an equilibrium price that clears the market. Keynes, however, says that the equilibrium gets thrown off when suppliers produce too much and the decreasing prices do not encourage more consumption. This means there are many “idle resources” in the economy—the productive assets not being used—and this inefficiency causes economic stagnation. In times of depression, prices may fall and consumers may still not have the ability to make purchases which encourages more production.

Keynes argues that in these times a government should use fiscal policy to increase demand and encourage production. There are two tools to do this. The first is the tax cut which enables more money to be kept by the people.. The second tool is government spending which enables the government to cover for jobs lost in the private sector. When this happens, it really doesn't matter what the government spends the money on: it can build museums, construct roads, or even hire people to dig holes and fill them back up again. The important part is that the people being paid can now consume.

Keynes's argument was radical at the time. Many considered it to be socialistic since the government (state) takes responsibility for managing the economy. In actuality, the Keynesian theory seeks to explain and overcome one of the inherent weaknesses of capitalism. Some critics are concerned that a budget deficit is created when Keynes's fiscal policy is used. Keynes, however, argues that deficits are necessary during a recession because it provides capital that supports government stimulus—it is not intended to be a long-term practice.

After the recession or depression ends and the economy recovers, governments should raise taxes and reduce spending to rebalance the budget. To those who countered that this government activity might have a negative effect on the economy in the long run, Keynes said, “In the long run we are all dead.” In other words, we need to focus on the here and now—get demand back into alignment with supply and the rest will take care of itself.

Economists and historians continue to debate the relevance of Keynes' arguments. Its advocates place Keynesianism at the middle ground between the extremes of socialism and laissez faire. There are pieces of Keynesianism that appeal to much of the political spectrum. And the battle for and against these policies rages and usually forms an important issue in every election cycle.

Price Instability and Monetary Policy

As production levels vary, prices and value vary as well. This creates price instability, another weakness in the market system. This instability can create inflation or deflation in the economy, which is a change in the value of a nation's currency.

Money performs three functions that are crucial to economic activity. First, it provides a medium of exchange rather than using a crude barter system. Second, it serves as a unit of account—a standardized unit of measurement that improves our economic decisions. Third, it holds its value indefinitely. This is important because capitalism requires saving rather than immediate consumption. Capital grows by saving and investing—banks, stocks, bonds—rather than consuming resources. This pool of capital is then used to grow the market.

The Constitution indicates in Article I, Section 8: “The Congress shall have power to ... coin money and regulate the value thereof.” The government has a vital role in providing a medium of exchange and controlling the value of the money it creates.

In 1913, this power was greatly expanded when President Wilson created the Federal Reserve System (sometimes called “The Fed”). This gave the American people more control over the money supply through their government representatives instead of private banks and interests. This government agency is over “monetary policy,” which means increasing or decreasing the money supply as needed. The Fed can, through open market operations and manipulating interest rates, increase or decrease the amount of money in circulation. It can also regulate the money supply through the buying and selling of government securities.

Money is also subject to the laws of supply and demand and has a price. We call the price of money the interest rate—the amount you must pay to borrow money from a lender. When the Fed raises interest rates, banks also raise their rates, and consumers borrow less money. This causes the money supply to contract. When the Fed lowers interest rates, banks lower their rates, and consumers borrow more money. This causes economic activity to grow, and the money supply expands. When interest rates are low and money is cheap, firms can more easily expand, individuals can more easily buy homes, and entrepreneurs can more easily start businesses. This is why The Fed engages in quantitative easing (increased money supply) when the economy is slow. A high money supply decreases the risk of bank failure. Remember, banks receive our money as deposits but only keep a portion of it on hand. They lend out the rest at interest and that is how they make a profit. This is not a problem unless too many depositors withdraw money at once—we call this a bank run. This is a failure of the whole system. If the money supply is high, then banks have access to more cash and can survive a bank run.

The Fed doesn’t always keep a high money supply for a multitude of reasons. First, a high money supply can create economic bubbles. These bubbles occur when people borrow heavily to purchase assets without intrinsic value. These assets are insubstantial, empty, bubble-like. When these bubbles pop, prices plummet, people lose money, and can’t pay their loans. This causes the economy to contract (most recently seen during the 2008 crash).

Inflation and Deflation

Increasing the money supply will generally increase the rate of inflation—the general increase in prices and fall in the purchasing power of money.

Deflation is its opposite—the reduction of the general level of prices in an economy. Economists use indexes, the measuring of prices over time, to measure inflation and deflation. Examples of these indexes are the consumer price index and the wholesale price index. A consumer price index is a government survey of the price of goods typical consumers purchase regularly. Each month the total price of those goods is compared to the months before. If the price is going up, that is considered to be inflation. If the price is going down, that is considered to be deflation. The wholesale price index simply attempts to measure inflation or deflation before it reaches the consumer level.

The last noticeable period of deflation in the United States occurred during the Great Depression. The value of money during a period of deflation actually increases because each dollar buys more. Although a situation where the cost of what people buy is going down seems attractive, it is usually accompanied by a corresponding reduction in wages and salaries, increased unemployment, and reduced productivity in the economy.

When inflation takes place there are “winners” and “losers.” This happens as the value of money goes down because each dollar buys less. The winners during inflation are those who borrow money, debtors, or those who own real estate. When money is borrowed to finance the purchase of a home in times of inflation, for example, the borrower is able to pay off the mortgage using dollars that are worth less and less as time goes on. When the home is finally paid for, inflation will have also made the value of the home go up, thus the borrower wins again. The government is a winner during inflation because the government is the greatest borrower. Personal incomes generally rise with inflation, so taxes go up.

The losers during a period of inflation are lenders, such as banks, who loan money. Lenders recognize and plan to protect themselves by charging sufficient interest to cover their losses; in a highly unstable market, however, this does not always work. Savers, or money holders, also lose money during inflation, as the interest rate paid to savers does not keep pace with inflation. Despite this possibility of loss, it is important to note that saving is still important. Without savings, individuals cannot be prepared against economic “rainy days” nor can they take advantage of economic opportunities. Additionally, without savings there would not be sufficient capital in the market to allow for investment and growth.

Historically, most inflation in the United States occurred during periods of war because of full-employment, increased wages, and a limited amount of consumer goods. America has, for the most part, enjoyed a relatively stable economy and a moderately growing inflation rate since the end of World War II. As just one example, in 1970 the average price of a gallon of gas was near fifty cents and the price of an average new car was around 3500 dollars. Today the price of gas is closer to three dollars and the price of a new car closer to 30,000 dollars. The difference between the two is what happens over a long period of inflation.

There are several reasons for this long period of inflation. First, people tend to prefer rising wages and profits to declining wages and profits and this makes it difficult to adjust to prices shifting downward. Second, environmental concerns and increased scarcity of some key resources has caused production costs to continue to rise. Third, there are automatic stabilizers built into the system, such as cost of living adjustments in entitlement and welfare programs, thus each increase in the economy triggers further increases in government payments. Fourth, the Federal Reserve’s aggressive use of monetary policy to stimulate and maintain economic growth increases the money supply which leads to inflation. And fifth, the increased use of fiscal policy to stimulate and maintain economic growth has led to increasing government spending.

Inflation is dangerous because it weakens the three functions of money—as a medium of exchange, its account function, and its store of value. People are less willing to accept inflated money in transactions. It’s difficult to use money as a measuring stick in transactions when the value of money is unstable and constantly changing. And finally, inflation spoils the value of money, making it worth less over time and difficult to store. This discourages thrift and deferred gratification which leads to the saving and capital accumulation that helps capitalism succeed.

A few problems exist. First, when using monetary policy to stimulate the economy to fight a recession, it might cause inflation or deflation. Second, the Fed is celebrated or hated because of something that is not entirely in their control.

There are also dangers in using fiscal policy. Using fiscal policy to fight recessions (cutting taxes) can be politically popular, but can lead to deficit spending. It is difficult to use fiscal policy to fight inflation (raising taxes). It is politically unpopular and too slow.

Some may argue that the aggressive use of fiscal and monetary policy since the end of the Great Depression has maintained economic stability in America. Others argue that the use of fiscal and monetary policy has resulted in slower growth in the American economy and has artificially interfered with the natural operations of the laws of supply and demand. Recessions can result from inappropriate actions by the government—no action at all when it should have taken action, or an inappropriate use of fiscal or monetary policy when it does take action. Students should seek to understand these various points of view.

The Great Depression

The Great Depression was the worst economic disaster in American history. There are disagreements between historians as to what caused the Great Depression, though most scholars would include the following:

- Unequal distribution of wealth
- 1928 Presidential election
- Overproduction (industry and agricultural)
- Farm crisis
- Stock market crash and financial panic
- High tariffs and war debts
- Monetary policy

The Great Depression is also a great example of the possible problems created by production and price instability. The Great Depression, beginning in 1929, caused loss and hardship for many Americans. It created a recognizable set of behaviors and fears across a generation. This is one reason it is sometimes referred to as "The Invisible Scar." Because the depression heavily impacted so many, there was a general demand for the government to step in and help. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and other political leaders enacted the "New Deal" plan. This plan made several programs to provide jobs and money that would help stimulate the economy (social security, The National Labor Relations Board, and others still exist today). It also set the new precedent of how the government would respond to such depressions.

There were many causes that led to the Great Depression. But most of it can be tied to the first World War. Wars tend to have a greater consumption of goods. Other countries on the front (like Great Britain) could not produce enough for themselves and America had the means to help. This inability to overproduce led to tremendous wealth in America. However, wars end. When World War One ended, the demand decreased and created surplus. Across the nation, people were laid off and farmers lost their farms.

Overproduction and reduction in purchasing followed a cycle: first, farms and factories overproduced beyond demand. Because of that, businesses would cut production, which meant workers suffered from wage cuts and layoffs. Because of the reduced pay or hours, people had little or no money to spend. Because they didn't have money to spend, the demand for goods fell, which would restart the cycle as businesses would cut production.

These problems existed in the 1920s, but the final cause was the Stock Market Crash of 1929. Rampant, unregulated speculation of the stock market financed by borrowed money inflated stock prices artificially. This upregulation led to 11 billion dollars of wealth in October of 1929. And because of the interconnections of the world economy, the Great Depression was a global phenomenon. Between 1929 and 1933, when President Roosevelt replaced President Hoover, nearly every aspect of the economy worsened.

President Hoover did manage some of the effects of the Great Depression and put some government programs in place. He initiated federal construction projects (like the Hoover Dam) and tried to offer federal assistance to banks and insurance companies to help them avoid bankruptcy. However, these efforts did not pump enough capital into the system to get the economy going again. In addition, most of the federal action came on behalf of banks, insurance companies, and construction companies. This caused people to accuse Hoover of helping banks rather than helping people. Hoover's most notorious misstep was his handling of the Bonus Army protest.

The Bonus Army was made up of World War I veterans who wanted an advance on their bonus checks. These checks were promised to them to be redeemed in 1945 to help with their current situation. Thousands began to march on Washington, D.C., including wives and children. They protested on the steps of the capitol and then moved to a nearby park where they set up tents to continue their pressure on Congress. Hoover refused to support the marchers, and asked General Douglas MacArthur to remove the protesters. They were driven out by soldiers and armed vehicles, and the tents were burned down. This hurt Hoover's reputation and was used as evidence that he didn't care about the people.

In this excerpt from FDR's 1933 Inaugural Address, the environment the new president came into is evident. He appeals to the Constitution and the long-history of American struggle through difficult times to support his desire for the government to step in.

FDR, First Inaugural Address, 1933

This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure, as it has endured, will revive and will prosper.

So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; and the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone. More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment ...

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing great—greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our great natural resources ...

And finally, in our progress towards a resumption of work, we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order. There must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments. There must be an end to speculation with other people's money. And there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency ...

Action in this image, action to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple, so practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has ever seen.

It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations. And it is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority maybe wholly equal, wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for un-delayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure. I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require.

These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption. But, in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.



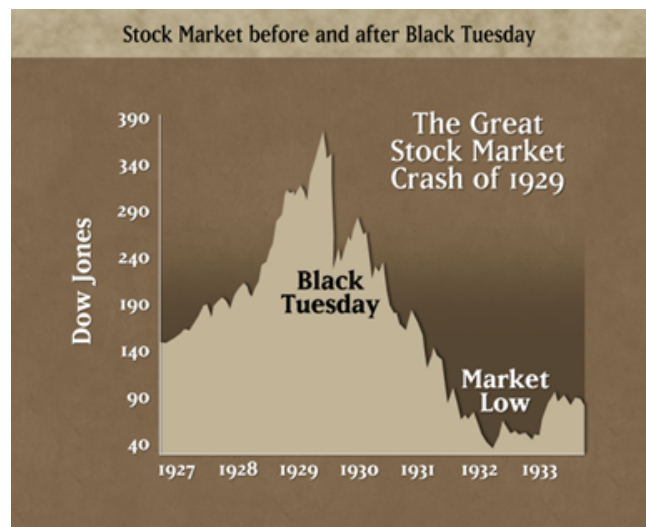
We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

In this dedication—In this dedication of a Nation, we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come.

In 1933, Roosevelt began implementing the programs he had called the New Deal during his campaign. The program was based on Keynesian principles of government spending. These programs had many facets to provide relief, recovery, and reform. In the first 100 days of his presidency, he passed many programs through Congress to help deal with the broken American economy. The Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) pumped \$500 million dollars in to state-run relief programs. The Emergency Banking Relief Act permitted solvent banks to reopen under government supervision. It also created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) to restore trust in banks and guarantee deposits. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Public Works Administration (PWA) and Works Progress Administration (WPA) helped provide jobs and a basic level of income to get the economy going. The government encouraged the creation of jobs in the private sector and protected the rights of unions to organize in worker's interests with the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) and the Wagner Act. The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) was tasked with regulating the financial market excesses that had led to the stock market crash.

With the Social Security Administration (SSA), the government took responsibility for the economic well-being of senior citizens, a group often susceptible to economic crises. To help farmers and regulate commodities prices, the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) partnered the government and major producers to help raise prices. To bolster support for these programs, Roosevelt gave radio speeches, called "Fireside Chats," which communicated directly the goals of his administration to the American people.

There were some voices at the time who believed Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal were contrary to American ideals, anti-capitalistic, and an infringement on individual liberty. Opposing forces in Congress challenged the reach of his power, and several of the New Deal programs were found unconstitutional. Other critics of the New Deal, however, thought that Roosevelt's programs did not go far enough to combat the ills of capitalism. One such voice was Huey Long, a senator from Louisiana and an advocate for what he called "Share the Wealth." His slogan was "None too big, none too little, but every man a king," and the program's main feature was to guarantee each family a minimum income by increasing the tax rate on the wealthy. His proposals went beyond the scope of the New Deal to guarantee a larger safety net. The appeal of Long and others demonstrated the continued suffering and difficulties experienced during the Great Depression.



Senator Huey P. Long, Share The Wealth (Radio Speech, 1934)

I contend, my friends, that we have no difficult problem to solve in America, and that is the view of nearly everyone with whom I have discussed the matter here in Washington and elsewhere throughout the United States—that we have no very difficult problem to solve. It is not the difficulty of the problem which we have; it is the fact that the rich people of this country—and by rich people I mean the super-rich—will not allow us to solve the problems, or rather the one little problem that is afflicting this country, because in order to cure all of our woes it is necessary to scale down the big fortunes, that we may scatter the wealth to be shared by all of the people ...

How many of you remember the first thing that the Declaration of Independence said? It said:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that there are certain inalienable rights for the people, and among them are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and it said further, "We hold the view that all men are created equal." Now, what did they mean by that? Did they mean, my friends, to say that all men are created equal and that that meant that any one man was born to inherit

\$10,000,000,000 and that another child was to be born to inherit nothing? ...

Now, my friends, if you were off on an island where there were 100 lunches, you could not let one man eat up the hundred lunches, or take the hundred lunches and not let anybody else eat any of them. If you did, there would not be anything else for the balance of the people to consume. So, we have in America today, my friends, a condition by which about 10 men dominate the means of activity in at least 85 percent of the activities that you own. They either own directly everything or they have got some kind of mortgage on it, with a very small percentage to be excepted. They own the banks, they own the steel mills, they own the railroads, they own the bonds, they own the mortgages, they own the stores, and they have chained the country from one end to the other until there is not any kind of business that a small, independent man could go into today and make a living, and there is not any kind of business that an independent man can go into and make any money to buy an automobile with; and they have finally and gradually and steadily eliminated everybody from the fields in which there is a living to be made, and still they have got little enough sense to think they ought to be able to get more business out of it anyway ...

Now, we have organized a society, and we call it "Share Our Wealth Society," a society with the motto "Every Man a King." Every man a king, so there would be no such thing as a man or woman who did not have the necessities of life, who would not be dependent upon the whims and caprices and ipsi dixit of the financial barons for a living. What do we propose by this society? We propose to limit the wealth of big men in the country. There is an average of \$15,000 in wealth to every family in America. That is right here today.

We do not propose to divide it up equally. We do not propose a division of wealth, but we propose to limit poverty that we will allow to be inflicted upon any man's family. We will not say we are going to try to guarantee any equality, or

\$15,000 to a family. No; but we do say that one third of the average is low enough for any one family to hold, that there should be a guarantee of a family wealth of around \$5,000; enough for a home, an automobile, a radio, and the ordinary conveniences, and the opportunity to educate their children; a fair share of the income of this land thereafter to that family so there will be no such thing as merely the select to have those things, and so there will be no such thing as a family living in poverty and distress.

We have to limit fortunes. Our present plan is that we will allow no one man to own more than \$50,000,000. ... Those are the things we propose to do. "Every Man a King." Every man to eat when there is something to eat; all to wear something when there is something to wear. That makes us all a sovereign.

You cannot solve these things through these various and sundry alphabetical codes. You can have the N. R. A. and P. W. A. and C. W. A. and the U. U. G. and G. I. N. and any other kind of dad-gummed lettered code. You can wait until doomsday and see 25 more alphabets, but that is not going to solve this proposition. Why hide? Why quibble? You know what the trouble is. The man that says he does not know what the trouble is just hiding his face to keep from seeing the sunlight. God told you what the trouble was. The philosophers told you what the trouble was; and when you have a country where one man owns more than 100,000 people, or a million people, and when you have a country where there are four men, as in America, that have got more control over things than all the 120,000,000 people together, you know what the trouble is.

The New Deal did not bring the Great Depression to an end. Only the massive public sector spending of World War II eventually brought the economy back onto stable footing. However, Roosevelt did stop the economic free-fall of the American economy, and help avoid the economic and political instability that plagued other nations of the world in this same time period.



The New Deal does provide several economic legacies, however, that continue to influence government response to economic challenges down to today. First, as a result of the New Deal people came to accept the government's role as problem solver, economic stimulator, and economic regulator. Government became responsible to intervene in the interest of economic justice and to provide an economic safety net to protect people from economic disaster. These ideas were outlined in what FDR called his "Economic Bill of Rights" (see below). Second, the New Deal strengthened the notion of big government as positive good, as new agencies were created to administer and oversee programs, and more people came to be employed by the federal government. Third, the New Deal shaped the future of both the Democratic and Republican parties. Henceforth, the Democrats would be seen as the party committed to finding government solutions to economic problems within capitalism, and the Republicans became more identified with private sector economics. However each party now operates in the new political environment created by the New Deal, in which the government has a role to play in maintaining and protecting economic responsibility and opportunity. Fourth, the New Deal helped maintain faith in American democracy and capitalism. Many were convinced that the Great Depression demonstrated the failure of capitalism in America.

Thousands joined the communist party and other radical movements. New Deal government programs were always meant to save the free market, and in the moderate political conditions of the time were able to keep in place the fundamentals of capitalism. Other nations, like Germany and Japan, took more radical economic and political steps to deal with the effects of the worldwide depression, making the United States almost conservative in comparison.

Since the New Deal, historians have differed in their interpretations of both the causes of the Great Depression and the effectiveness of the New Deal in combating its problems. Some voices see the New Deal as a necessary evolution of economic actions by government to save the American people in an increasingly complex and worldwide economy. Some have argued that the New Deal didn't go far enough in its reach, leading to a Depression that lasted more than a decade and did not solve the problems of inequality and poverty. Others have questioned whether these New Deal programs unwittingly lengthened the suffering caused by the Great Depression by interfering in the free market in ways that were counter-productive and damaging.

One such voice is economist Lawrence W. Reed of the Mackinac Center for Public Policy. His pamphlet, "Great Myths of the Great Depression," has been reprinted widely since its appearance in 1981. His main argument is that the common explanation for the Great Depression, that it was caused by free-market capitalism, is flawed. He rejects the Keynesian economic model. He contends that poor government policy not only helped cause the Great Depression, but actions taken afterward lengthened and deepened the economic catastrophe.



Great Myths of the Great Depression: Lawrence W. Reed

Many volumes have been written about the Great Depression and its impact on the lives of millions of Americans. Historians, economists, and politicians have all combed the wreckage searching for the “black box” that will reveal the cause of this legendary tragedy. Sadly, all too many of them decide to abandon their search, finding it easier perhaps to circulate a host of false and harmful conclusions about the events of seven decades ago.

How bad was the Great Depression? Over the four years from 1929 to 1933, production at the nation’s factories, mines, and utilities fell by more than half.

People’s real disposable incomes dropped 28 percent. Stock prices collapsed to one-tenth of their pre-crash height. The number of unemployed Americans rose from 1.6 million in 1929 to 12.8 million in 1933. One of every four workers was out of a job at the Depression’s nadir, and ugly rumors of revolt simmered for the first time since the Civil War. Old myths never die; they just keep showing up in college economics and political science textbooks. Students today are frequently taught that unfettered free enterprise collapsed of its own weight in 1929, paving the way for a decade-long economic depression full of hardship and misery. President Herbert Hoover is presented as an advocate of “hands-off,” or laissez-faire, economic policy, while his successor, Franklin Roosevelt, is the economic savior whose policies brought us recovery. This popular account of the Depression belongs in a book of fairy tales and not in a serious discussion of economic history, as a review of the facts demonstrates.

On the eve of America’s entry into World War II and twelve years after the stock market crash of Black Thursday, ten million Americans were jobless. Roosevelt had pledged in 1932 to end the crisis, but it persisted two presidential terms and countless interventions later. Along with the horror of World War II came a revival of trade with America’s allies.

The war’s destruction of people and resources did not help the U.S. economy, but this renewed trade did. More importantly, the Truman administration that followed Roosevelt was decidedly less eager to berate and bludgeon private investors, and as a result, those investors came back into the economy to fuel a powerful postwar boom.

The genesis of the Great Depression lay in the inflationary monetary policies of the U.S. government in the 1920s. It was prolonged and exacerbated by a litany of political missteps: trade-crushing tariffs, incentive-sapping taxes, mind-numbing controls on production and competition, senseless destruction of crops and cattle, and coercive labor laws, to recount just a few. It was not the free market that produced twelve years of agony; rather, it was political bungling on a scale as grand as there ever was.

The debates continue, but there is no argument about the far-reaching impact of the Great Depression and New Deal on economic policy and political culture in the United States. In 1944, in his State of the Union address to Congress, with World War II raging, Roosevelt outlined his plans for the future. In this document, you can see the influence of New Deal programs on the political conversation, with echoes that are still heard today.

The Economic Bill of Rights: Franklin D. Roosevelt (1944)

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.



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Week 10

Inclusion and Exclusion

Inclusion

Exclusion

Roland Martin: Over the history of the United States, certain groups have been excluded from full participation in the American experience. It seems a part of the natural man to understand societal relationships in terms of “us” and “them.” We will examine the struggle against long-held prejudice and discrimination through non-violent protest.

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Over the history of the United States, certain groups have been excluded from full participation in the American experience. The reasons for this exclusion can be grouped into two categories: individual action that results in the removal of certain privileges, and majority belief that certain groups should not be full participants in American society. The first category falls under the laws, rules, and regulations established by a society, the willingness of some people to violate those regulations, and the punishments that result. That punishment cannot be “cruel and unusual” and must be tied to the courts, as well as state and federal governments, to determine appropriate punishments.

The second category is harder to regulate. It seems a part of the natural man to understand societal relationships in terms of separation, of “us” and “them.” To create hierarchies and divisions on the criterion of race, religion, politics, and so on. This tendency creates a spirit of pride, enmity, and competitiveness. Although these practices are a part of human nature, they are not part of the gospel of Jesus Christ. As the Savior said, “If ye are not one, ye are not mine.”

Through a short overview of the Civil Rights Movement, we will examine the struggle against long-held prejudice and discrimination through non-violent protest movements, action by the executive branch, and Supreme Court decisions. These actions help in bringing about full legal equality for African Americans and, by extension, other groups. We will

look at the history of immigration, the different waves that have traveled to the United States, and the degrees they have been accepted by the larger society.

Definitions

Before exploring in brief the history of racism, discrimination, bigotry, and nativism in the United States, we must define our terms.

Bigotry: Obstinate or intolerant devotion to one's own opinions and prejudices. It is a belief that intolerantly holds to the idea that your culture or race is superior to any other.

- Examples of bigotry in the United States include the treatment of African slaves and justification for the practice, the Ku Klux Klan using violence and intimidation against newly freed slaves after the Civil War, and how some react to the newest waves of immigration in the United States today.

Culture: A learned set of expressions and values—language, religion, marriage, responsibility, family, employment, art, music, and so on. Culture is the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group and has more to do with how one is raised than where one was born (nature vs. nurture).

Ethnicity: An expression of chosen cultural characteristics, such as retention of culture or recapturing traditions of family ancestral background. Typically expressed through language, religion, marriage practice, employment, art, and music. It is the status in respect of membership of a group regarded as ultimately of common descent, or having a common national or cultural tradition.

Melting Pot: A place where a variety of peoples, cultures, or individuals assimilate into a cohesive whole.

Nativism: An ideology, governmental policy, or political stance that prioritizes the interests and well-being of native-born or long-established residents of a given country over those of immigrants, typically by advocating or enacting restrictions on immigration. It is a fear of foreign influence associated with racism and a belief that encroaching “others” threaten the power and hold of the dominant culture and its institutions.

- Examples around the world include treatment of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe in the 1880s who were primarily Catholic and Jews. In the United States, nativism has included examples like the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which initially banned Chinese immigration for a decade, or the 1941 Executive Order 9066, which authorized the forced transfer of roughly 120,000 Japanese Americans from their West Coast residences to internment camps.

Pluralism: A state of society in which members of diverse ethnic, racial, religious, or social groups maintain and develop their traditional culture or special interest within the confines of a common civilization.

Race: An inherited set of characteristics that make it possible to distinguish one person or group of persons from another. Many argue race is more of a societal construct than pure genetic difference. These identified and presumed “differences” form the basis for negative stereotypes and often violent discrimination.

Racism: A belief that race is a fundamental determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race. It is a negative expression of discrimination, prejudice, and bigotry based solely on race.

- Examples of racism in United States history include Native American extermination and the reservation system, African American slavery, the continued segregation of African Americans in the South by law and in the North and West by tradition after the end of slavery, anti-Irish sentiment during the great immigration of the 1840s, anti-Jewish and Eastern European attitudes during the immigration of the 1880s and 1890s, and the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II.

Segregation: The separation or isolation of a race, class, or ethnic group by enforced or voluntary residence in a restricted area, by barriers to social intercourse, by separate educational facilities, or by other discriminatory means. Associated with racism.

- Examples in the United States include the social system in which African Americans and other minority races were prevented from mingling with whites in society. This included separate entrances to businesses, seats on buses, libraries, churches, drinking fountains, restrooms, swimming pools, and particularly schools. The system was found to be constitutional in the Supreme Court decision in 1896, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, and remained the practice for nearly 100 years. The legacy of these separations continues to plague the United States today in a myriad of ways.

The Civil Rights Movement

Discrimination against African Americans can be seen as early as 1619 when the first African Slaves were brought to the colonies. The practice of slavery gradually evolved in the colonies, and was practiced throughout the entire region. Another early example of its existence was in the cut section of the Declaration of Independence. It talks about how King George “waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither.” At the insistence of the Southern colonies, the passage was stricken.

Though this section was cut, the controversy continued with the drafting of the Constitution, as various compromises surrounding representation and the limitation on the foreign slave trade were debated (the internal slave trade was still allowed). And as the country continued its movement west, the delicate balance of power between North and South was continually debated as new territories and states had to be admitted based on their slavery status. One of the most famous apologists (a person who offers an argument in defense of something controversial) for the practice of slavery was George Fitzhugh, who, in 1854, published his tract “Sociology for the South, or the Failure of Society.” He argued against the growing anti-slavery sentiment in the North, and the small minority of abolitionists who were arguing for equality and immediate abolition. He maintained that the South’s labor system was not only good for African slaves, who were saved from the horrors of Africa, but was more humane than a free labor capitalist system that exploited its workers in the North.

George Fitzhugh: Sociology for the South, 1854

We would remind those who deprecate and sympathize with negro slavery, that his slavery here relieves him from a far more cruel slavery in Africa, or from idolatry and cannibalism, and every brutal vice and crime that can disgrace humanity; and that it christianizes, protects, supports and civilizes him; that it governs him far better than free laborers at the North are governed ... Our negroes are not only better off as to physical comfort than free laborers, but their moral condition is better ...

Would the abolitionists approve of a system of society that set white children free, and remitted them at the age of fourteen, males and females, to all the rights, both as to person and property, which belong to adults? Would it be criminal or praiseworthy to do so? Criminal, of course. Now, are the average of negroes equal in information, in native intelligence, in prudence or providence, to well-informed white children of fourteen? We who have lived with them for forty years, think not. The competition of the world would be too much for the children. They would be cheated out of their property and debased in their morals. Yet they would meet everywhere with sympathizing friends of their own color, ready to aid, advise and assist them. The negro would be exposed to the same competition and greater temptations, with no greater ability to contend with them, with these additional difficulties. He would be welcome nowhere; meet with thousands of enemies and no friends. If he went North, the white laborers would kick him and cuff him, and drive him out of employment. If he went to Africa, the savages would cook him and eat him.

If he went to the West Indies, they would not let him in, or if they did, they would soon make of him a savage and idolater.

The Civil War ended slavery, but did not end the racial attitudes that had allowed it to exist for 200 years. In the tragic era of Reconstruction, there were brief gains for newly freed slaves and a move towards federal protection with the passage of the 13th (ending slavery), 14th (defining citizenship), and 15th (right to vote despite "previous condition of servitude") amendments. There was some discussion of breaking up plantations, and giving those who had worked the land "40 acres and a mule." However, there was a gradual deterioration of constitutional protections that had been passed and a lack of federal oversight or enforcement. Southern states adopted Black Codes, laws designed to keep freed slaves in a lower social, political, and economic status than whites, and tied them to the land with the system of sharecropping that approximated the experience of slavery. As time went on, Jim Crow laws legalized discrimination with rules designed to separate the races completely and ensure social control. Voting practices—poll taxes, literacy tests, and other tricks and games were put into place that made it difficult for African Americans to register to vote.

*The brief gains in the Reconstruction period were gone, and Northern political power lost interest in remaking Southern society. And those who attempted to circumvent the new order, either with protest or exercising the right to vote, were met with quick and often violent oppression. The Ku Klux Klan, the ghosts of the confederacy, used brutal means to intimidate those who would fight the system. Lynching was the most dramatic and violent of their actions, and these extra-legal mob killings were not rare occurrences. Between 1901-1910 there were 846 cases of lynching, murders of anyone seen as stepping outside the racial boundaries that had been set. And the Supreme Court in 1896 gave constitutional protection to segregation in its decision *Plessy v. Ferguson*, a case that had begun as a challenge to the train seating rules in Louisiana. It put into the law the idea that "separate but equal" was allowed under the constitution, and gave the federal stamp of approval for the system of segregation in the South.*

Plessy v. Ferguson Supreme Court Decision, 1896

The object of the [Fourteenth] Amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political, equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either ... We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it ... The argument also assumes that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured to the Negro except by and enforced commingling of the two races. We cannot accept this proposition. If the two races are to meet upon terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each other's merits and a voluntary consent of individuals ...

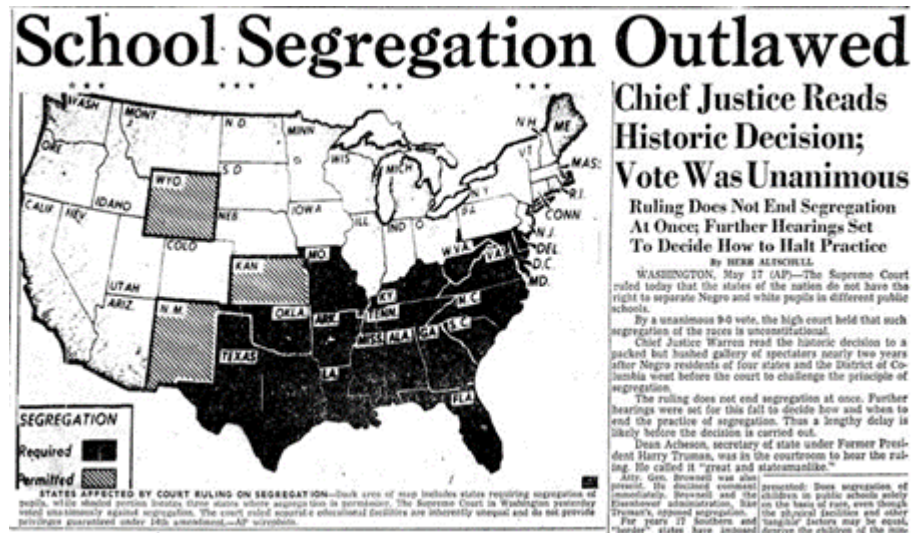
Despite this environment of oppression, there were attempts to combat racial discrimination despite past failures. In 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was created. There was also significant migration of African Americans from the Deep South to the factories in the north and midwest in the early part of the 1900s, and again during World War II to the north and west. Although Northern racism was also powerful and limiting, more economic opportunity allowed communities to develop that would provide a strength and influence to the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. There was a gradual realization that the movement would need the federal government to be its ally. Voters in the north became a key part of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal Coalition, and began to make gains within Washington.

After World War II, the Civil Rights Movement began to change into a national force. Servicemen returning from the war began to question America's professed commitment to democracy as they came home to discrimination. World War II

dramatized the contradiction between the American ideal of equal rights and the reality of racial inequality. By 1945, roughly 1/3 of the African American population lived outside the south. Having found both the legislative and executive branches somewhat indifferent to racial discrimination, activists began to pursue their only remaining branch of government—the judicial.

Court challenges began to work their way through the system, particularly school access. Their direct focus was the Plessy v. Ferguson decision that had made separate schools legal. Schools were separate but never equal in the 17 states that had segregated school systems.

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas (1954)



In 1954, the case Brown v. The Board of Education was argued by lawyers of the NAACP and heard in the Supreme Court. This case involved Linda Brown, a third grader, who had to ride a bus to drive to the black school even though she lived only a few blocks from the white school. They were able to show the inequality between black schools and white schools. They also demonstrated the damaging effect that segregation had on the education of black children. The unanimous decision: segregated schools are inherently unequal and unconstitutional. This decision overturned Plessy v. Ferguson.

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, 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 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 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 ...

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.[\[2\]](#)

Despite hopes for immediate action, most school districts found ways around the court decision—closing public schools, opening private schools, and ignoring or delaying the implementation of the new decision. Many of these decisions were made because of White Citizen Councils that organized throughout the South. Though schools were not obeying the court mandate, President Eisenhower did not pledge the power of the federal government to enforce the law: "I don't believe you can change the hearts of men with law."

Another response to the court's decision was the "Southern Manifesto." This manifesto pledged to fight the Supreme Court's decision at every turn, and to use "all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution... It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through ninety years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding." Many also saw the Court's decision as a threat to states' rights. One letter to Time magazine explained, "Believe it or not, the South is part of the US, and is entitled to majority rule. If the majority of a state wants segregated schools, they should have them... to integrate the schools against the will of the vast majority is a crime against democracy."

Even though there were many continued setbacks, some victories existed. In 1957, nine black students had registered to attend a high school of 2,000 whites in Little Rock, Arkansas. The governor blocked their entry to the school with the national guard. President Eisenhower did not ignore or tolerate a direct defiance of the Supreme Court. He federalized the Arkansas National Guard and sent in 1,000 paratroopers from the Army's 101st Airborne Division to escort the students into the school. This victory was short-lived, though, because the governor closed all Alabama high schools to prevent further integration.

Martin Luther King and Others

The year after *Brown v. Board*, a bus boycott emerged in Montgomery Alabama. A new leader (Martin Luther King, Jr.) and a new method of protest emerged that would revolutionize the fight for civil rights.

The boycott began when Rosa Parks (pictured on the left) refused to give up her seat to a white passenger and was arrested in December 1955. As Martin Luther King later described, "She was anchored to that seat by the accumulated indignities of days gone by and the boundless aspirations of generations yet unborn." Local NAACP leaders, who had been looking for a test case, decided to challenge segregation by boycotting the city buses. Martin Luther King, Jr. was a new preacher in town, and was chosen to head up the Montgomery Bus Boycott. He developed his personal philosophy of nonviolent resistance and Christian love—a mix of scripture, Mahatma Gandhi's example, and the thoughts of other great thinkers. At a mass meeting the night before the boycott, King addressed the crowd: "If we are wrong, justice is a lie ... history will look back and say 'there lived a race of people, black people ... who had the moral courage to stand up for their rights. And thereby they injected a new meaning into the veins of history and civilization.'"

Taking part in the boycott was a risky business. Jobs were lost. Police harassed those walking to work or offering rides through car pools. Originally planned as a one day event, the boycott lasted for 381 days. It ended when a federal court declared bus segregation unconstitutional. With this victory, the tactics of mass, nonviolent action had been pioneered



and proven successful. King founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) with other like-minded clergymen. This conference looked for ways to continue the fight against segregation.

For the segregation that barred African Americans from public places, boycotting was not a workable strategy. As activists had learned from Little Rock, federal protection would only come when the realities of segregation became impossible to ignore. In February 1960, a new phase of the movement began with a spontaneous demonstration by college students in Greensboro, North

Carolina. Four freshmen sat down at a segregated lunch counter and asked to be served. The “sit-in” was born. More students came the next day, and soon news of the protest traveled as lunch counter sit-ins spread to thirty cities in seven southern states. It was a nonviolent direct protest, but in many cases was met with violence, and when police were called, protesters were arrested.

By the summer of 1960, students held read-ins at segregated libraries, wade-ins at public beaches, watch-ins at movie theaters, pray-ins, study-ins, and more. Students formed their own organization, the Student NonViolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) after 21-year old Roslyn Pope proclaimed in her essay, “An Appeal for Human Rights”: “We do not intend to wait placidly for those rights which are already legally and morally ours to be meted out to us one at a time.” They believed in direct confrontation, mass action, and civil disobedience with a focus on non-violence.

Protesters were trained, “to protect the skull, fold the hands over the head, to prevent disfigurement of the face, bring the elbows together in front of the eyes. For girls, to prevent internal injury from kicks, lie on the side and ring the knees upward to the chin; for boys, kneel down and arc over, with skull and face protected. Don’t strike back or curse if abused. Don’t laugh out ... Don’t block entrances to the stores or aisles. Show yourself courteous and friendly at all times. Remember love and non-violence.”

By the end of 1960, 70,000 people had taken part in sit-ins in over 100 cities in 20 states. Police arrested more than 3600 protesters, and authorities expelled 187 students from college because of their activities. Nevertheless, the new tactic worked. The movement gained supporters and attention. This initiated a new phase in the civil rights struggle..

In the upper South, federal court orders and student sit-ins successfully desegregated lunch counters, theaters, hotels, public parks, churches, libraries, and beaches. But in three states—Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina—segregation in restaurants, hotels, and transportation terminals remained intact. In 1961, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized the Freedom Rides, an interracial group of CORE members and college students from the North who traveled by bus to test the effectiveness of a 1960 Supreme Court decision which prohibited racial segregation in public accommodations, such as rest rooms, waiting rooms, and restaurants that catered to interstate travelers. They were met with violence and anger, and their bus was attacked and burned while local law enforcement failed to protect them. SNCC provided a new bus, and the ride continued, despite the call of President Kennedy for a “cooling off period.” The threat of continued racial violence in the South led the Kennedy administration to pressure the Interstate Commerce Commission to desegregate air, bus, and train terminals. In more than 300 southern terminals, signs saying “white” and “colored” were taken down from waiting room entrances and lavatory doors. Direct, non-violent protest continued as the 1960s progressed, focusing on segregation but also voting rights and economic opportunity. In response to the violence against protesters in Birmingham, Alabama, President Kennedy gave his first Civil Rights speech in the spring 1963.

Kennedy Civil Rights Address, June 1963

We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it, and we cherish it here at home, but are we to say to the world, and much more importantly to each other, that this the land of the free except for the Negroes, that we have no second class citizens except Negroes ...

It ought to be possible ... for American students of any color to attend any public institution they select without having to be backed up by troops. It ought to be possible for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodation, such as hotels and restaurants and theaters and retail stores, without being forced to resort to demonstrations in the street, and it ought to be possible for American citizens of any color to register and to vote in a free election without interference or fear of reprisal. It ought to be possible, in short, for every American to enjoy the privileges of being American without regard to his race or his color. In short, every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated. But this is not the case ...

This is not a sectional issue. Difficulties over segregation and discrimination exist in every state of the Union, producing in many cities a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety ...

We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the scriptures ... and is as clear as the American Constitution ... The rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened ... One hundred years of delay have passed since President Lincoln freed the slaves, yet their heirs, their grandsons, are not fully free. They are not yet freed from the bonds of injustice. They are not yet freed from social and economic oppression. And this Nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free.

In the summer of 1963, the high-water mark of a unified Civil Rights Movement came together in the March on Washington. It was a march to advocate the passage of a bill through Congress, as well as to mark the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. It attracted over 200,000 people to the Lincoln Memorial. This is also where Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his "I Have a Dream" speech.

I Have a Dream: Martin Luther King, Jr., August 1963

Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. 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 lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children ... And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, 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 slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

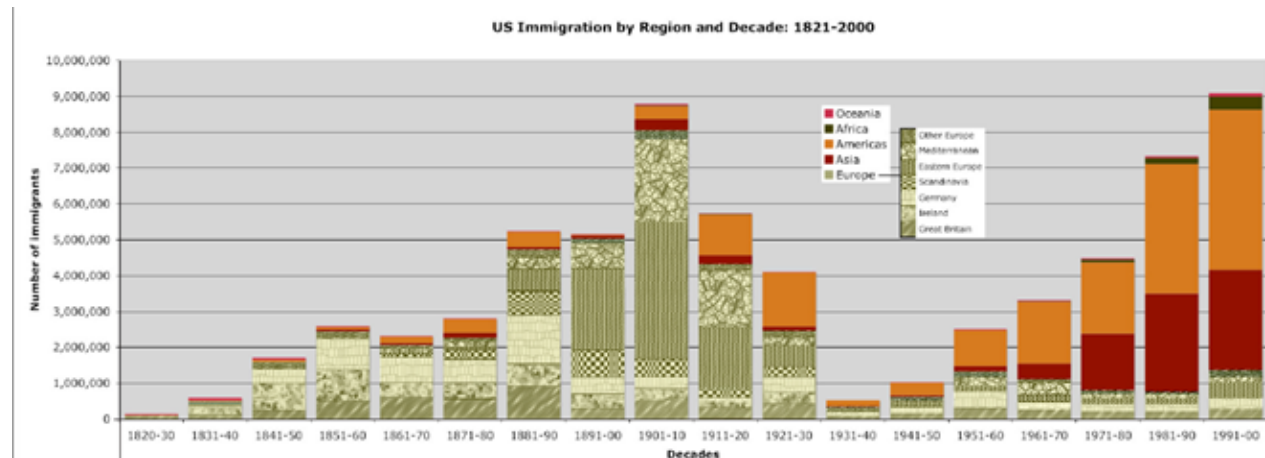
I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today!

The Civil Rights Movement continued with the March from Selma to Montgomery, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Freedom Summer, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Towards the end of the 1960s, other leaders and methods would emerge—the Black Panthers, the Black Power movement, Malcolm X, and Stokely Carmichael. Because non-violent tactics proved unsuccessful, these latter groups and leaders made use of some violent methods. Racial rioting increased as the 1960s ended, Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated, and the Vietnam War took attention away from the civil rights struggle.

But the movement changed America, bringing to light the evils of racism and segregation. This movement led to many successes: the registration of millions of voters, the passing of federal protections, and the structure future protests would use. This set the stage for other movements—women’s suffrage, The Red Power movement of Native Americans, Latino rights, and so on.

Immigration: From Open Door to Racial Quotas

Most immigrants come to America because of economic, religious, social, or political oppression in their home country. They perceive that opportunities will be better in the United States. Although some immigrants may come for only one of those reasons, there can be multiple reasons. An immigrant could come for religious freedom, but also for economic opportunity, or to be with their family that has already immigrated.



With the reasons listed before, most immigration to America has come in waves. When a country has deteriorating conditions, America tends to have increased immigration from that country. This explains part of why immigrants have been both welcomed and rejected by those who have come before. New immigrants are seen as different in cultural background and less acceptable.

Chronological Review of Immigration Waves

1607: Jamestown is established as the first European settlement in North America

1619: The first African slaves are delivered to Jamestown

1790: Naturalization Act—limited citizenship to immigrants who were “free white persons” of “good moral character”

1798: Alien and Sedition Acts restrict the freedoms of speech and press among non-naturalized immigrants

1840: Cherokee Indians forcibly removed from Georgia to the Indian Territory in the “Trail of Tears”

1840s: Famine in Ireland causes thousands to immigrate to America

1847: Mormons flee Missouri and enter Mexican Territory for religious freedom

1882: Chinese Exclusion Act prohibits further immigration of Chinese laborers (after transcontinental railroad completed)

1890–1914: Millions of new immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe travel to the United States, largely Catholic and Jewish. They were seen as socially and culturally different from those immigrants who arrived earlier from Northern and Western Europe

1908: Gentlemen’s Agreement between Japan and the United States unofficially ending immigration from that country

1924: National Origins Act severely restricted immigration by establishing a system of national quotas, based on the 1890 census. It aimed to end all Asian immigration and limit immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe (in effect until the 1960s)

1942: Bracero Program—allowed temporary contract laborers from Mexico for wartime production

1965: Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965—replaced national origins quota system based on race and/or ethnic origins with system focused on work skills and family relationships, opening the door to immigrants from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East

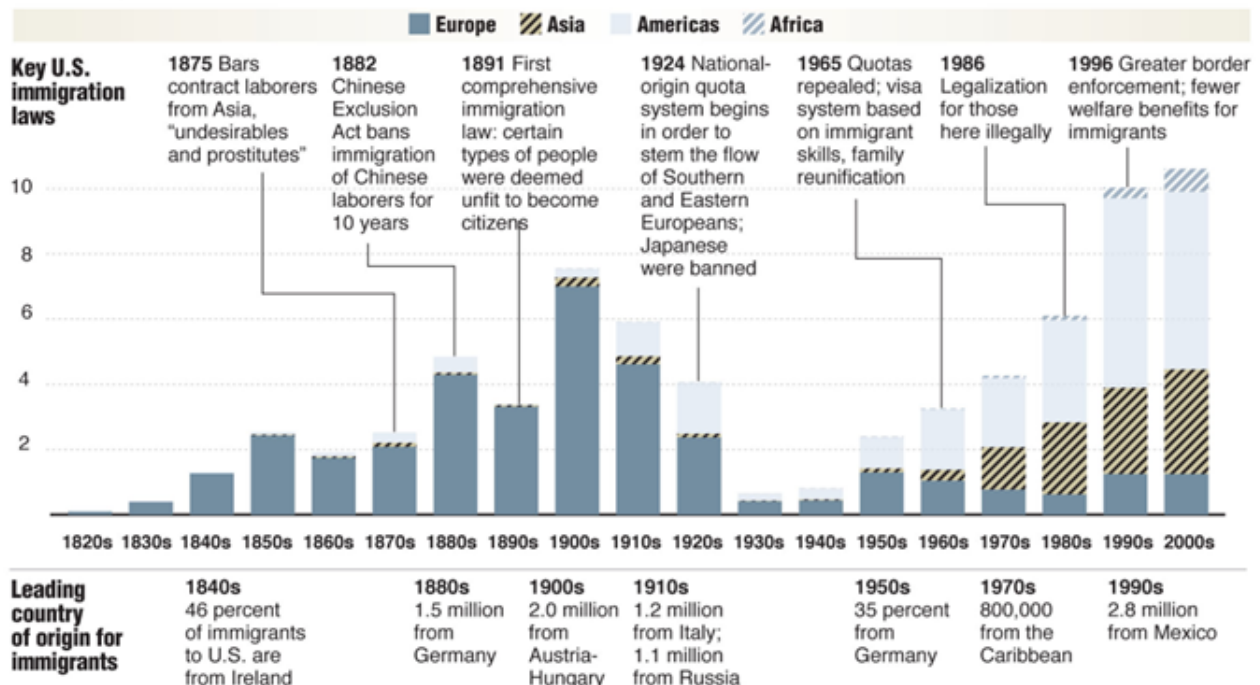
1960s–1970s: Increased immigration from Asia and Southeast Asia in the wave of Korean and Vietnam Wars

1980s–1990s: Increased support for stronger immigration restrictions especially aimed at Mexico and Latin America

1986: Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986—required employers to attest to their employees' immigration status, and granted amnesty to certain illegal immigrants

U.S. laws and the changing flow of immigrants

U.S. immigration laws have attempted to restrict people from different world regions since the early 19th century. A look at some of those laws and how the flow of immigrants from world regions has changed. Chart shows people obtaining legal permanent resident status, in millions, by decade:



Source: Department of Homeland Security, U.S. State Department, University of Washington, Bothell

Graphic: Judy

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Bigotry in Early Immigration

During the early years of colonial settlement, a steady stream of laborers was needed for the new land. Immigrants and slavery provided a solution to that labor shortage. A few colonial Americans, like Benjamin Franklin, expressed concerns about those immigrants who were not Protestant or did not speak English, particularly the Germans. As he wrote in 1753, "Few of their children in the country learn English ... The signs in our streets have inscriptions in both languages ... Unless the stream of their importation could be turned, they will soon so outnumber us that all the advantages we have will not be able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious." There was also a virulent stream of anti-Catholicism in the colonies.

However, in the early years of the nation, as most citizens were immigrants or of recent immigrant stock, the benefits of immigration seemed to outweigh the fears, and there were no limitations on immigration. But as different waves of immigration landed on shore, people found reason for concern. Irish immigration in the 1840s drastically changed the ethnic make-up of Eastern cities, and were largely Catholic. Negative stereotypes of the Irish abounded, and a political party, the Know-Nothings, organized largely around an anti-immigrant, anti-Irish platform.



Another wave of immigration arrived between 1890 and 1914. They were also seen as a dangerous horde because they were too different in language, religion, politics, and physical characteristics to truly assimilate and become part of the melting pot of America. They came from Southern and Eastern Europe—Czechs, Poles, Russian, Greeks, Turks, Italians, who were largely Catholic and Jewish—as well as Asia—Chinese and Japanese, who were largely Buddhists, Shintoists, and Confucianists.

Many saw these immigrants' religious and political backgrounds as dangerous to American life. The

following document by Josiah Strong, a Protestant clergyman and activist, demonstrates the idea that "our country" made up of superior "Anglo-Saxon" people must be protected from the unrestrained influence of outsiders.

Josiah Strong: "Our Country" (1885)

Thoughtful men see perils on our national horizon. Our argument is concerned not with all of them, but only with those which peculiarly threaten the West.

America, as the land of promise to all the world, is the destination of the most remarkable migration of which we have any record ... During the 100 years 15 million foreigners have made their homes in the United States ...

So immense a foreign element must have a profound influence on our national life and character. Consider briefly the moral and political influence of immigration. The typical immigrant is a European peasant, whose horizon has been narrow, whose moral and religious training has been meager or false, and whose ideas of life are low. Not a few belong to the pauper and criminal classes ... Immigration not only furnishes the greater portion of our criminals, it is also seriously affecting the morals of the native population. It is a disease and not health which is contagious. Most foreigners bring with them congenital ideas of the Sabbath, and the result is sadly manifest in all our cities, where it is being transformed from a holy day into a holiday ...

We can only glance at the political aspects of immigration ... Immigration furnishes most of the Victims of Mormonism and there is a Mormon vote. Immigration is the strength of the Catholic church; and there is a Catholic vote. Immigration is the mother and nurse of American socialism; and there is to be a socialist vote. Immigration tends strongly to the cities, and gives to them their political complexion. And there is no more serious menace to our civilization than our rabble-ruled cities.

Immigration in the 20th and 21st Centuries

Many felt that the United States should remain a Protestant country of people from Northern Europe. This resulted in the passage of legislation that restricted the numbers and types of immigrants allowed into the country, ending the

Open Door policy. This legislation included the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), the Gentlemen's Agreement (1908 Japan), and the National Origins Act of 1924 (Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia). The act of 1924 instituted quotas from the 1890 census, which limited immigration from "undesirable" nations that had made up the "new immigrants."

Americans have generally been ambivalent about immigration, despite the proclamation on the Statue of Liberty, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free." Some Americans have feared that a large number of immigrants could overwhelm American culture and alter American politics and government. While America has seen itself as a refuge for the oppressed, there has also been a counter strain of nativism and an expectation that immigration must have limits. For example, Jews fleeing Germany in 1930 made it within sight of the Statue of Liberty before they were forced to return to Europe. The desire to keep out immigrants proved more powerful than the desire to give asylum to a violently persecuted minority.

Since the 1960s, the United States has undergone another demographic shift, partly as a result of the Immigration Act of 1965 which ended the nation-based quota system and encouraged family chain migration. The response echoes the historical pattern—questions of assimilation, impact on the economy, fears of criminality, and racism.

Immigrants have been scrutinized, discriminated against, and denied access to full participation in American society throughout its history. Decisions surrounding immigration continue to evoke strong emotions and foster heated controversial debate.

In 2011, in response to harsh immigration laws passed in Arizona, the Church issued the statement below. It declared that an "enforcement only" approach to immigration fails the moral standard Latter-Day Saints must hold themselves to.

Official Statement: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, June 2011

Around the world, debate on the immigration question has become intense. That is especially so in the United States. Most Americans agree that the federal government of the United States should secure its borders and sharply reduce or eliminate the flow of undocumented immigrants. Unchecked and unregulated, such a flow may destabilize society and ultimately become unsustainable.

As a matter of policy, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints discourages its members from entering any country without legal documentation, and from deliberately overstaying legal travel visas.

What to do with the estimated 12 million undocumented immigrants now residing in various states within the United States is the biggest challenge in the immigration debate. The bedrock moral issue for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is how we treat each other as children of God.

The history of mass expulsion or mistreatment of individuals or families is cause for concern especially where race, culture, or religion are involved. This should give pause to any policy that contemplates targeting any one group, particularly if that group comes mostly from one heritage.

As those on all sides of the immigration debate in the United States have noted, this issue is one that must ultimately be resolved by the federal government. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is concerned that any state legislation that only contains enforcement provisions is likely to fall short of the high moral standard of treating each other as children of God.

The Church supports an approach where undocumented immigrants are allowed to square themselves with the law and continue to work without this necessarily leading to citizenship.

In furtherance of needed immigration reform in the United States, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints supports a balanced and civil approach to a challenging problem, fully consistent with its tradition of compassion, its reverence for family, and its commitment to law.

The long history of immigration policy—nativism, quotas, economic fears—continues to reverberate today, echoed in the political debates over current immigration policy. The disconnect between supply and demand in the labor economy continues to drive illegal immigration. There are a very limited quota of green cards issued to those who wish to immigrate legally, but do not have preferred skills or job connections.

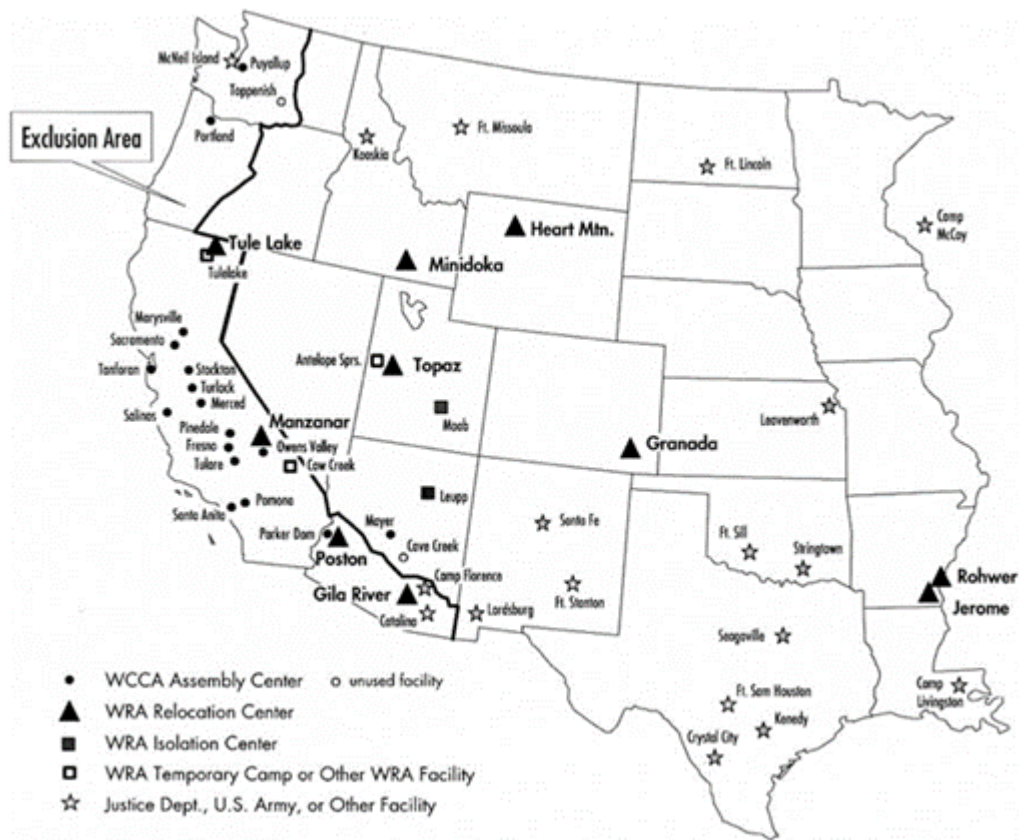
When Alabama successfully reduced the number of illegal laborers in their state in 2013, their crops rotted in the fields, proving pretty decisively that many of these jobs are niche jobs that would not be filled by native-born Americans. There is a huge debate on the net cost of illegal immigration, whether the societal costs of providing emergency, medical, school, and welfare services is balanced by the taxes they pay in local economies. Those using false identification have wages withheld for SSI, FICA, and state and federal income taxes, yet will never collect Social Security or Medicare and do not file for tax refunds, giving a bonus to those programs. But the larger cost and danger is to public virtue, as this “cash economy” operates in the shadows, ripe for corruption and exploitation in human trafficking, drugs and guns, and difficult to police or regulate. Immigration policy must confront the labor needs of an economy that pulls in millions of unskilled laborers, and create a path where legal immigration is possible and regulated in a fair and just way.

Japanese Internment: Racism and Fear in Wartime

The Japanese were barred from immigrating after the Immigration Act of 1924. The law also prohibited naturalization (the course of action undertaken to become a citizen of a country other than the country where one was born). There were approximately 260,000 Japanese people living in the United States before World War II.

The larger portion lived in Hawaii, but 120,000 Japanese lived on the mainland, mostly concentrated in farming communities on the West Coast. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, rumors of espionage and sabotage ran rampant, with many fearful that an attack on the West Coast was possible and imminent. From the beginning, the war against Japan had a very different tenor than the fight against Germany.

The Japanese enemy was often portrayed as subhuman in war propaganda, advertisements, movies, comic strips, and newspapers. There had been a long history of anti-Japanese sentiment on the West Coast, and tensions in the communities where they lived. The war only increased that sentiment. The first months of the war went well for Japan, increasing the anxiety in the country, particularly on the West Coast. News of sabotage and spying in other countries seemed to imply that the United States could also fall victim to subversion. Newspapers published rumors with banner headlines—“Enemy Planes Sighted Over CA Coast,” “Caps on Japanese Tomato Plants Point to Air Base,” “Japanese Vegetables Found Free of Poison.”



By January of 1942, calls for the relocation of Japanese people away from the West Coast reached a fever pitch, most notably amongst the Japanese farmers' competitors. As an article in the Saturday Evening Post explained,

We're charged with wanting to get rid of the Japs for selfish reasons. We might as well be honest. We do. It's a question of whether the white man lives on the Pacific Coast or the brown man. They came into this valley to work, and they stayed to take over ... If all the Japs were removed tomorrow, we'd never miss them in two weeks, because the white farmers can take over and produce everything the Jap grows. And we don't want them back when the war ends either.

On February 16, 1942, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which authorized the War Department to designate military areas and to exclude any or all persons under the general war powers and military necessity granted to the president. It never mentioned the Japanese specifically, but it was aimed directly at that population. The entire West Coast was designated a military area, and those of Japanese ancestry, citizens or not, were removed from the states of Oregon, Washington, California, part of Arizona and other selected areas. They were then placed in internment camps located in the interior of the United States. There was no action taken against the Japanese population in Hawaii, who were a larger group, more difficult to relocate, and more important to the Hawaiian economy.

The 1942 Executive Order 9066

Whereas the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material, national defense premises, and national-defense utilities ...

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders whom he may from time to time designate, whenever he or any designated Commander deems such action necessary or desirable, to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion. The

Secretary of War is hereby authorized to provide for residents of any such area who are excluded therefrom, such transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary, in the judgment of the Secretary of War or the said Military Commander, and until other arrangements are made, to accomplish the purpose of this order. The designation of military areas in any region or locality shall supersede designations of prohibited and restricted areas by the Attorney General under the Proclamations of December 7 and 8, 1941, and shall supersede the responsibility and authority of the Attorney General under the said Proclamations in respect of such prohibited and restricted areas.

I hereby further authorize and direct the Secretary of War and the said Military Commanders to take such other steps as he or the appropriate Military Commander may deem advisable to enforce compliance with the restrictions applicable to each Military area herein above authorized to be designated, including the use of Federal troops and other Federal Agencies, with authority to accept assistance of state and local agencies. I hereby further authorize and direct all Executive Departments, independent establishments and other Federal Agencies, to assist the Secretary of War or the said Military Commanders in carrying out this Executive Order, including the furnishing of medical aid, hospitalization, food, clothing, transportation, use of land, shelter, and other supplies, equipment, utilities, facilities, and services.

This order shall not be construed as modifying or limiting in any way the authority heretofore granted under Executive Order No. 8972, dated December 12, 1941, nor shall it be construed as limiting or modifying the duty and responsibility of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with respect to the investigation of alleged acts of sabotage or the duty and responsibility of the Attorney General and the Department of Justice under the Proclamations of December 7 and 8, 1941, prescribing regulations for the conduct and control of alien enemies, except as such duty and responsibility is superseded by the designation of military areas hereunder.

Franklin D. Roosevelt The White House, February 19, 1942

The evidence and arguments for relocation stemmed from wartime fear and long-held racism towards the Japanese. The Western Defense Command argued, "The very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken." Of the 120,000 people relocated, 60% of those were United States citizens (the remaining 30% could not become citizens because of the Immigration Act of 1924). The Japanese proving their loyalty was also argued against. As one California congressman argued, "I submit that if an American born Japanese, who is a citizen, is really patriotic and wishes to make his contribution to the safety and welfare of his country, right here is his opportunity to do so, namely that by permitting himself to be placed in a concentration camp, he would be making his sacrifice and he should be willing to do it if he is patriotic and is working for us. As against his sacrifice, millions of other native born citizens are willing to lay down their lives, which is a far greater sacrifice, than being placed in a concentration camp."

The California State Attorney General issued a decision in support of Japanese internment in the guise of national security (ironically, this same Judge would later join the Supreme Court, and help pass the unanimous *Brown v. Board of Education* decision). The internment of Japanese people in America was a decision made by the government founded in fear and hatred. Despite the high tension between the United States and Japan at the time, the United States government unjustly held many innocent people in seclusion.

In Support of Evacuation, 1942: California State Attorney General Earl Warren

A wave of organized sabotage in California accompanied by an actual air raid or even by a prolonged black-out could not only be more destructive to life and property but could result in retarding the entire war effort of this Nation far more than the treacherous bombing of Pearl Harbor.

... Many of our people in other parts of the country are of the opinion that because we have had no sabotage ... activities in this State since the beginning of the war, that means that none have been planned

for us. But I take the view that this is the most ominous sign in our whole situation.

... We believe that when we are dealing with the Caucasian race we have methods that will test the loyalty of them, and we believe that we can, in dealing with the Germans and the Italians, arrive at some fairly sound conclusions because of our knowledge of the way they live ... But when we deal with the Japanese we are in an entirely different field and we cannot form any opinion that we believe to be sound ...

Many Japanese who are now roaming around the State and roaming around the Western States ... will unquestionably bring about race riots and prejudice and hysteria and excesses of all kinds ...

... In time of war, every citizen must give up some of his normal rights.

After order 9066, Japanese people on the West Coast were given a few days to sell or secure property. They were then gathered into detention centers and moved to ten internment camps (some refer to these camps as concentration camps). Because the camps required so much land, most of these camps were located in different deserts—California, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Arizona—places people hadn't lived previously. Almost all Japanese cooperated with the army's orders. The camps operated similarly to a prison. They had watchtowers, fences, barbed wire, and so on. The camp's maintenance (dust, quick construction, difficult living conditions) had an immense impact on the families who lived there.

Throughout their lifespan, 6,000 new American citizens were born in the camps. 18,000 Japanese-American men won release from those camps to fight for the United States Army, making up some of the most decorated army units in the European theater.

There were several court challenges during the war that challenged how constitutional the camps were. One of these cases involved Fred Korematsu, who refused to report for transportation to a relocation center and tried to enlist twice (turned down because of a physical disability). He was arrested, convicted, and sent to an internment camp in Utah. His case went all the way to the Supreme Court which upheld the internment order by a six to three vote.

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Exclusion and Internment Upheld, 1944: Supreme Court Decision Korematsu v. United States

The petitioner, an American citizen of Japanese descent, was convicted in a federal district court for remaining in San Leandro, California, a "Military Area," contrary to Civilian Exclusion Order ... No question was raised as to the petitioner's loyalty to the United States. Exclusion was deemed necessary because of the presence of an unascertained number of disloyal members of the group, most of whom we have no doubt were loyal to this country ...

To cast this case into outlines of racial prejudice, without reference to the real military dangers which were presented, merely confuses the issue. Korematsu was not excluded from the Military Area because of hostility to him or his race. He was excluded because we are at war with the Japanese Empire, because the properly constituted military authorities feared an invasion of our West Coast and felt constrained to take proper security measures.

Camps began closing in late 1944, because the possibility of Japanese invasion was past. Japanese prisoners were released, and they attempted to rebuild their lives. Unfortunately, during the four year interim, properties had been sold and homes had been lost. There weren't many places for camp detainees to go, and few had homes to return to. Many of them resettled in the West and created new and scattered communities. In the 1970s, a movement began to recognize these wartime wrongs and the constitutional mistake of Japanese Internment. In 1983, a federal civil rights

committee determined that internment had been the result of “unsubstantiated facts, distortions, and misrepresentation of at least one military commander whose views were affected by racism.” With the passage of the Civil Liberties Act in 1988, \$20,000 was given to each of the 60,000 surviving internees as reparations for their economic losses as a result of internment. Also, Fred Korematsu was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom. President Reagan issued an apology that same year. Part of the text is provided below:

We gather here today to right a grave wrong. More than 40 years ago, shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living in the United States were forcibly removed from their homes and placed in makeshift internment camps. The action was taken without trial, without jury. It was based solely on race ... Yes, the Nation was at war, struggling for its survival, and it's not for us today to pass judgment upon those who may have made mistakes while engaged in that great struggle. Yet we must recognize that the internment of Japanese-Americans was just that: a mistake.

The trend toward inclusion and equality continues to manifest the divine nature of the constitutional aspirations. People have more access to agency and freedom. The Book of Mormon gives us the perfect example of the type of society we should be striving for with regard to social, cultural, racial, and ethnic differences, as we try to treat others as equal children of our Heavenly Father and our brothers and sisters.

4 Nephi 15–17 says,

And it came to pass that there was no contention in the land, because of the love of God which did dwell in the hearts of the people.

And there were no envyings, nor strifes, nor tumults, nor whoredoms, nor lyings, nor murders, nor any manner of lasciviousness; and surely there could not be a happier people among all the people who had been created by the hand of God.

There were no robbers, nor murderers, neither were there Lamanites, nor any manner of -ites; but they were in one, the children of Christ, and heirs to the kingdom of God.



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The Democratization of America

Democracy

Government

Constitution

The founders made some distinctions between republican principles and the democratic spirit. Republican principles were considered good and the basis of any government that protected the people's interests. The democratic spirit was somewhat feared by the philosophers because of its susceptibility to passion and factional divisions. The framers of the Constitution built in many protections against direct democracy.

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The founders made some distinctions between republican principles and the democratic spirit. Republican principles—the idea that people should participate in civic affairs so that the government will act for the common well-being of the people, were considered good and the basis of any government that protected the people's interests. The democratic spirit, on the other hand, was somewhat feared by the philosophers because of its susceptibility to passion and factional divisions. The framers of the Constitution built in many protections against direct democracy. Originally senators were not appointed by the people. Instead, they were appointed by state legislators. The electoral college is another way that the electing of the president was insulated from direct democracy.

This fear of excessive democracy, factions and political parties, and the divisiveness that might threaten the new republic are evident in George Washington's farewell address as president. He warned against both geographical divisions, created by the coming together of very different states, as well as the challenges of the "Spirit of Party" which he believed must have limited influence for a republic to survive.

Farewell Address: President George Washington, 1796

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 heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable.

No alliances, 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 ...

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 ...

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 find 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. But in those [governments] of the popular character, in

Governments purely elective, it is a Spirit not to be encouraged ...

It was hoped that a well-regulated republic would avoid the excesses of total democracy. But the country's founders espoused principles that naturally led to greater public participation. This has led to the democratization of the American government. Democratization means that processes have evolved to include rather than exclude more people in the operation of government. The increasing commitment to a democratic spirit has been an important part of American political culture.

The growth of the political community is an important aspect of this democratization. The idea "all men are created equal" has expanded to take on a more literal meaning beyond white males who own property; all are equal to participate in their government and influence its policies.

The Expansion of Suffrage



The expansion of voting rights is a primary example of democratization. The Constitution stipulated no significant barriers to participation for any citizen of the United States because voter qualifications were left for the states to decide. In the 1790s, suffrage, which is the right to vote, was limited to land-owning (generally defined as fifty acres) white males of at least twenty-one years of age. By the 1830s, the practice of “universal manhood suffrage” allowed any white male to vote, regardless of whether or not he owned land.

This expansion of the political community in the early republic did not include women.

Even as far back as the Revolution, the language of liberty and freedom caused some to question whether women could and should be included in the rhetoric. As Abigail Adams wrote in a letter to her husband John Adams in the spring of 1776:

I long to hear that you have declared an independency—and by the way in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands.

Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation.

The first stirrings of the battle for women’s suffrage were part of the abolitionist movement to end slavery. Many of its leaders were women who led the moral charge against labor practices. These abolitionists believed the oppression of African-Americans and women were connected because of their common lack of economic and political power. Both groups had limited access to education, and neither could own property or vote. The first Women’s Rights Convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York, 1848. The meeting drafted a document that mirrored the language of the Declaration of Independence and used its structure as the model. It demanded that the women be acknowledged as right-bearing individuals and respected by society.

The Declaration of Sentiments, 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.

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.

After the Civil War, the women's suffrage movement faced many setbacks and divisions. The passage of the 14th amendment, while a victory for abolitionists, defined citizenship as "male," adding that word to the constitution for the first time. Women, it was argued, were less intelligent and less able to make political decisions than men. Men could represent their wives better than the wives could represent themselves. Women's participation in politics would lead to the end of family life. Some even argued there were too many voters already. For women's suffrage to succeed, men would have to be convinced to vote for it.

The campaign became a state by state battle. and western states, wishing to attract settlers, were the first to allow women to vote. Suffragists countered the opposition with the idea that women would elevate politics, increase the power of the male voters in their families, and protect their homes and children with their vote. In the early twentieth century, Women's suffrage became a Progressive reform. It was tied to ideas about reducing political corruption and increasing the power of the middle class. Finally, in the wake of World War I, the 19th amendment became law in 1920.

In the 20th century, the expansion of suffrage continued. When Native American tribes were given reservation lands, tribes were also made sovereign (self-governing) nations, and the 14th amendment was interpreted as not applying to Native peoples. As a result, many Native Americans were not considered citizens, and therefore not allowed to vote in federal elections. After thousands of Native Americans fought for the United States during World War I, the push came for the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, which granted Native Americans full U.S. citizenship in addition to their tribal membership. However, the Constitution leaves it up to the individual states to decide who has the right to vote in each state.

Though some states allowed Native Americans to vote immediately, most waited—some even decades. Native Americans lived on reservations, which operate as separate nations. This was one of the reasons used to deny Native American suffrage. The last state to grant suffrage to Native Americans was New Mexico in 1962.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 eliminated poll taxes and literacy requirements that restricted some legal voters from voting. Additionally, because of soldiers and veterans of the Vietnam War, the legal voting age was lowered to 18 through the 26th Amendment. Long state residence requirements were also eliminated in the 1980s. This completed the broadest voting base the United States has ever had.

The Power of Political Parties

Despite Washington's warnings, organized political parties became an integral part of the operation of government. As like-minded people exercised their right to assemble, petition, and rally for people and ideas that would push forward their agenda, political parties developed. Many of the early political battles echoed the same controversies discussed during the Constitutional Convention.

1790–1828: The First Party System

The Federalists and the Democratic Republicans, the first political parties, were relatively weak or entrenched in the political process as today's parties. However, they did provide an opportunity for more active participation in the political process. The Federalists were led by Alexander Hamilton and John Adams. This is not the same Federalists that favored the Constitution's ratification. The Federalists believed in a strong central government, a loose interpretation of the Constitution, and a strong economy based on finance and industry. Alexander Hamilton believed that government should be led by a privileged class because the illiterate masses could not be trusted to make important decisions. Hamilton felt these decisions should be left to the ruling elite, who would earn their position by merit. The Democratic Republicans were led by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. They believed in strong state government, a strict interpretation of the Constitution, an America based on an agricultural economy, and government by the common man who could be trusted with the decisions of the republic.

With the election of 1800 came a moment of truth for the United States. Democratic Republican Thomas Jefferson beat out Federalist President John Adams for the presidency. It was the first time in the country's short history that power had changed parties, but despite the bitterly divided contest, the transition of power was peaceful. Thomas Jefferson called this the "Revolution of 1800." This precedent set the stage for the political "battles" between parties that continue today. Each side agrees to the rule of law and does not attempt to subvert the election outcome.

1828–1860: The Second Party System

Parties became a normal and important part of political tradition and the organization of government. Voters developed strong loyalties to certain parties. With universal manhood suffrage, all classes involved themselves in the workings of government. States did away with property requirements for voting, despite opposition from some who feared the expansion of the electorate.

In 1828, Andrew Jackson created the Democratic Party to work for his presidential election. He symbolized the rise of the common man. His party advocated strong state governments and strict constitutional constructionism which favored state supremacy. His main opposition was the Whigs, led by John Quincy Adams, who believed government's role should be to help encourage finance and industry by building roads and canals and maintaining harbors. The Whigs eventually lost influence as they became divided over the issue of slavery and disappeared in the 1850s.

1860–1932: The Republican Era

With the dismantling of the Whigs, a new party emerged in the early 1850s. With the slogan "Free Labor, Free Land, Free Men," the Republican party positioned itself as the party of western growth, finance, and industry. They brought together anti-slavery forces and ex-Whigs to contain the expansion of slavery. Most of their supporters were in the North and West. The majority of supporters were not abolitionists, but saw slavery as a constitutionally protected state matter. In 1860, with Abraham Lincoln on the ballot, the Republican party won the White House with an electoral college majority but no support from the South. Before Lincoln's inauguration, seven states seceded from the Union, and the Civil War began in 1861.



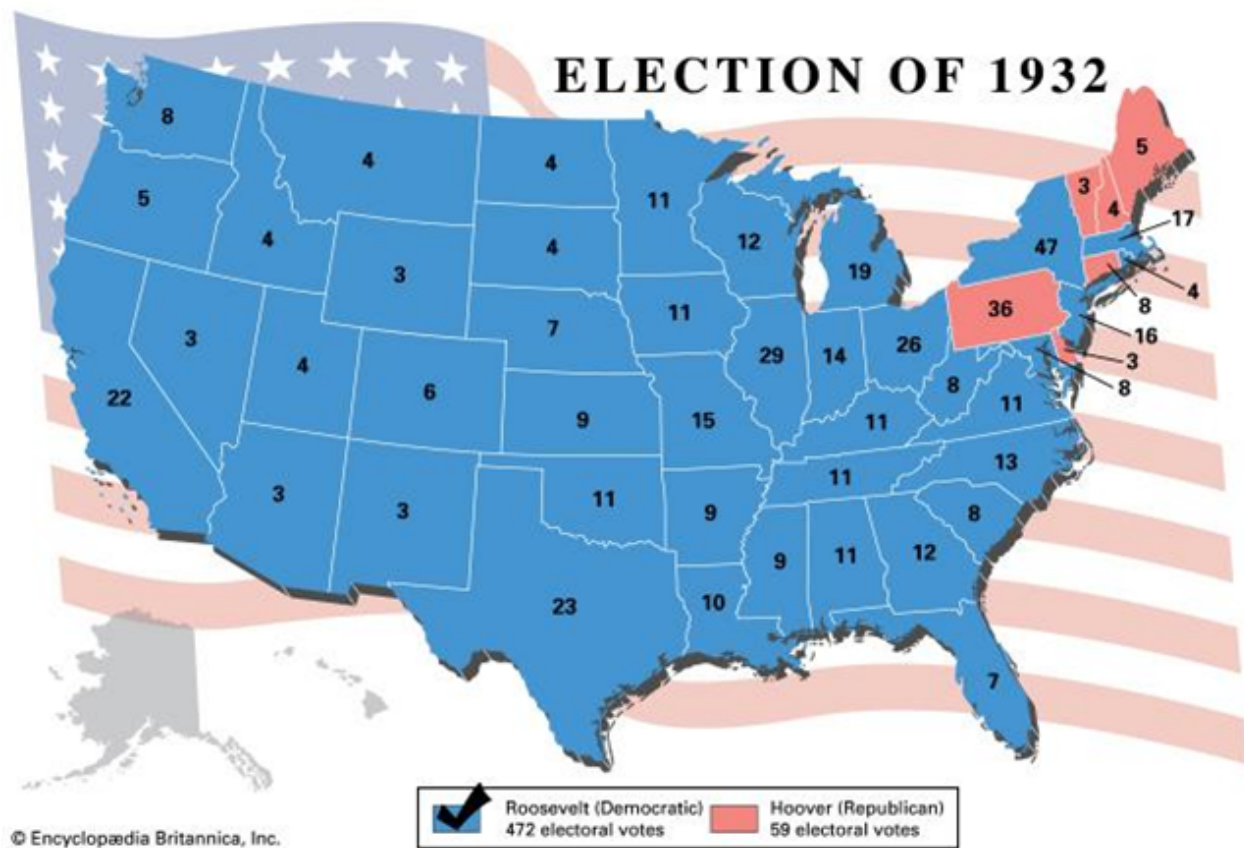
The Civil War ended slavery, solidified the position of the Republican Party as one of the two major parties, and established the national government over state government. After the war, Republicans stayed in power. There were only two Democratic presidents in this time period. The famous party symbols developed from Thomas Nast political cartoons—the elephant for the Republicans and the donkey for the Democrats. The images were meant originally as insults but eventually became party mascots. The South remained loyal to the Democratic Party, winning the nickname of "the Solid

South.” Former slaves, whose political freedom was severely limited, allied themselves to the Republican party. Loyalty to the party reached its highest point in American history during this time, with voter turnout in the late 1800s reaching levels as high as 75–85%.

At this time, third parties held a significant level of influence in national politics. On the major issues of this period—tariffs, prohibition, and the money supply—the Republicans and Democrats were fairly evenly divided. This allowed third parties, built around specific issues or personalities, to champion causes The major parties avoided. During this era, the Greenback Party, Prohibition Party, Populist Party, Socialist Party, and Progressive Party all ran candidates and received a significant amount of public support. William Jennings Bryan, Teddy Roosevelt, and Eugene V. Debs were closely aligned with the third party movement. Though none of the third parties actually elected a president, they influenced the political debate and the outcomes of the elections.

1932–1952: Democratic Party Control

The Great Depression created a national crisis. Because the Republicans were in power at the time, they were blamed for the issues (particularly President Hoover). The Depression caused a shift in party loyalties during the presidential election of 1932. Democratic nominee Franklin Roosevelt promised to use the power of the government to combat the national emergency, and built a new coalition of supporters. As a result of this loyalty shift, the Democratic Party gained support from voters outside the South—namely immigrants, Jews, and African Americans. This Democratic block of voters was referred to as the “New Deal Coalition.” Those who continued to support the Republican Party were mostly white-collar workers, big business, and large farmers. But during the Great Depression these were in the minority which helped Franklin Roosevelt win four straight presidential elections.



1952–Today: Democrats, Republicans, and Declining Political Loyalty

With the emergence of the Civil Rights Movement, party loyalty shifted again. As the Democratic Party began to be seen as allied to the struggle for equality and political power for African Americans, the Republican party began to make

inroads into the "Solid South" and became the dominant party. The New Deal coalition built during the Roosevelt years broke up because Democrats began looking for supporters among minority, urban, and progressive voters.

In general, the United States has seen a decline in political party loyalties and a rise in political party independence. People in the U.S. do not vote in the numbers they once did. Voter apathy, reduced party loyalty, frustration with the political system, lack of inspiring candidates—all have been suggested as reasons for lower participation rates. There is an increasing number of independent voters, implying that people voted more for the candidate than for the party. There is an increasing significance of ideological labels rather than party labels to describe political philosophies.

The Two Party System and its Challenges

A two-party system, a result of democratization, has two main political parties vying for control. These large parties seek broad voter support in order to win elections and control public policy. The tradition of the two-party system developed in the United States for a number of reasons. First, there was the Constitutional requirement of the electoral college for choosing a president. So a candidate must garner more than half the total Electoral College votes, not just a majority. Three or more major parties vying for the electoral college votes would frequently result in no candidate getting a majority. The election of the president would then be turned over to Congress and the people would have less say on who would be elected. Second, there is a strong tradition of constituent representation in the United States.

The two-party system perpetuates itself. First, existing parties make the rules to perpetuate their power. The "Winner-takes-all" rules exist because of this. Because there is only one winner and the loser gets nothing, there is "strategic voting" and the "wasted vote" theory. Voters choose not to support parties that they do not view as "viable." The lack of voter support discourages formation of minor parties. Fewer parties flourish, so existing parties make the rules to perpetuate their power, and so on.

Representatives are expected to represent a specific district, and it is expected that these representatives will be elected by a majority of the popular vote in those districts. The organization of Congress also depends upon the two-party system: the Senate Majority Leader is the head of the party with the most people in the Senate and the Speaker of the House is the head of the party with the most people in the House of Representatives. Political parties also provide leadership and cooperation in the executive branch because members of the cabinet are often chosen from the same party as the president. There have been very few times in American history when the party in office for president also held the majority in Congress. This means that there has to be cooperation and compromise between the legislative and executive branches, forming a check and balance on each other so that one party does not gain too much power.

Third, there are the election laws and finance laws that have been put into place to protect the two-party system. The election laws in many states only allow candidates from parties that ran candidates in the previous election. This makes it difficult for third-parties and independents to run. The finance laws are equally exclusive. If a presidential candidate represents a political party that received at least 2% of the popular vote in the last election, they will receive money from the national government for their campaign. However, it is highly unlikely that any member of a third party will receive that percentage of the vote when facing the two major parties.

Third parties, however, do provide a forum to alternative voices. These upstarts seldom get their candidates elected, but they can affect the outcome of elections and push their ideas into the political conversation. Third parties develop when segments of the population feel locked out of the political debate by the two major parties. Abolition of slavery, prohibition, monetary policy, income tax, government regulation of transportation and communication systems, the eight-hour day, and protecting the environment all came from third party efforts.

In the American political tradition, there are three types of third parties. The first is a party built around a specific issue. The Republican Party began as a third party dedicated to limiting the expansion of slavery. The Anti-Masonic Party was dedicated to keeping political control out of the hands of the Masons. The Greenback Party of the late 1800s urged the government to manage the money supply by printing paper money. The Dixiecrats of 1948 were opposed to Harry Truman's efforts to desegregate the military and other civil rights measures. One of the most successful issue parties

was the Populist Party of the 1880s and 1890s. They worked to give the people more of a voice in government and protect the people from the capitalistic power of monopolies and trusts.

Another type of third party is the personality party. These parties are built around the personality of a charismatic leader rather than party or issues. Examples of personality parties are Teddy Roosevelt's Progressive Party, George Wallace's American Independent Party, and Ross Perot's Reform Party.

Finally, there is the ideological party. These include the Libertarian, Green, Socialist, and Communist parties. These parties are based on social, economic, or political ideologies that are too far to the right or left to fit into mainstream American politics. Although ideological parties have never been very successful at getting candidates elected, in periods of economic and/or social stress they have received significant voter support.

There has also been evidence of a single party challenge to the American two-party system. A single-party system is when one party dominates and controls all policy; this is not always a dictatorship, nor does it mean that there is no political conflict. It just means that one party has come to dominate elections. In some areas one of the two major parties has been discredited to the point that a true two-party system does not exist. A demonstration of this type of single-party can be found on local ballots for county commissioner, clerk, and assessor positions. This can be a dangerous situation as the ruling party can ignore its constituents because it can depend on their support. The minority party also ignores the voice of the people because it can never gain enough traction to gain political power. Without two healthy competing parties, the voice of the people can be stifled. These one-party political systems are often regional rather than national challenges, but they also form an important part of American political culture.

There are other types of party systems in place around the world. The most common alternatives are single party systems and multi-party systems. These alternatives may seem obvious, but they too have developed out of the existing political culture to meet the needs of people in certain situations. A single party system is where only one party exists, as in a dictatorship for example, or where only one party can get enough support from the people to win elections and influence policy. A multi-party system has three or more parties, each with a chance of winning elections; these are most often found in parliamentary systems where parties are awarded seats in parliament based on a percentage of votes cast rather than on which party receives the most votes in a particular area.

Political Ideology

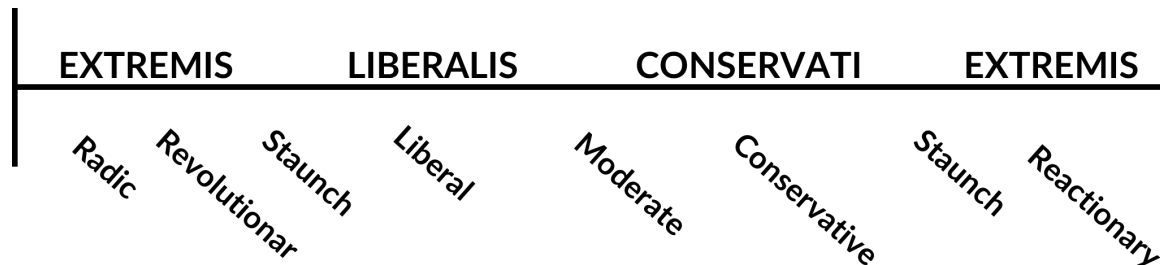
"Conservative" and "liberal" are ideological labels. The policies and issues that a conservative or liberal believes in today may be quite different from what they believed eighty or ninety years ago. Also, ideological labels are not inherently connected to political parties. As we look back through history or at present conditions in many countries, those who supported popular government and the Free Market economy were often called the liberals because democracy and the free market represented a change from tyranny and oppression. In other words, the conservative party in one time period could become the "liberal" party in another. Throughout much of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Democratic Party was considered to be the conservative party and the Republican Party the liberal party. To gain an understanding of the role political ideology has played and continues to play in American politics, it is important to start with generic definitions of the terms.

The generic definition of conservatism: disposition in politics to preserve what is established. If conservatives advocate change, it is usually a change to return to traditional ideas, values, and institutions. Those who supported the tyrant and defended the rich against the poor were called the "conservatives" because tyrants and the power of the rich had been the status quo of the world. Not all conservatives are equal in their defense of the status quo or in their desire to return to the policies and practices of the past. Conservatives differ from each other based on their level of commitment to issues, ideas, and ideological principles. Reactionaries, or extreme conservatives, will sometimes use force and violence if necessary to promote their goals.

The generic definition of liberalism: a political philosophy based on belief in progress, the essential goodness of the human race, and the autonomy of the individual and standing for the protection of political and civil liberties. A great

example of this type of liberal thinking would be Franklin Roosevelt's approach to the Great Depression. Hoover was more constrained in his policies because of his conservatism; FDR was more willing to try new ideas, programs, and policies because of his liberalism.

Conservatism and liberalism can be represented on a continuum, with the conservatives on the right and the liberals on the left. When the two ends of the ideological continuum are put together, a clearer picture of the entire scope of political ideology in the world and in our own country becomes apparent. Notice especially the position of the ideologically "moderate" on the continuum.



Some historians and political scientists like to draw the Ideological Continuum as a circle instead of a straight line because the goals at the extremes are different, but all extremists resort to the same methods to obtain their goals. Some examples of these extreme methods are warfare, terrorist activities, and assassinations. Extreme groups may use violence, force, and fear to obtain their goals.

Internationally an example of this extremism using similar methods would be Stalin and Hitler. Hitler was a reactionary (conservative) who used violence and intimidation to gain and maintain power while Stalin was a revolutionary (liberal) who used violence and intimidation to gain and maintain power.

In nations where dictators or chaos governs, extremism is a way of life and is the foundation of political traditions and governing power. In many democratic nations of the world, active politicians with political clout and influence can also be extremists. Political traditions in these countries, although strongest in the center, are also shaped, molded, and influenced by extremist political parties and groups.

In the United States, our political traditions have been pushed more towards the center. The operation of the two-party system, and the compromise it requires, tends to lock out extremists. Extremists exist but don't have significant influence on government policies. The American political character has a strong commitment to the Rule of Law—to fairness and justice—that allows us to come to a consensus on basic political principles and to ensure that the rights of everyone are represented. The nature of the Constitutional system in America requires compromise in the process of lawmaking and policy. And the two-party system makes it so that both parties must seek support from as many Americans as possible.

Today the Democratic Party is usually considered to be the liberal party in America because liberals feel more comfortable there, but the Democrats often attract those who consider themselves to be moderate conservatives. The Republican Party is often referred to as the conservative party today because conservatives feel more comfortable there, but the Republicans often attract those who consider themselves to be moderate Democrats. In fact both parties seek to attract those in the middle rather than on the fringe right or left because there are more moderate voters in the center than there are at the extreme right or left.



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American Foreign Policy

Independence

Military

In the early years after independence, American foreign policy revolved around strict isolation, neutrality, and avoiding political or military alliances with foreign nations, especially Europe. George Washington set this policy during his presidency by remaining a neutral bystander to the military conflicts of Europe and focusing on the internal affairs of the United States.

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Since colonial times, America has tended to exhibit a sense of idealism and mission. In the early years after independence, however, American foreign policy revolved around strict isolation, neutrality, and avoiding political or military alliances with foreign nations, especially Europe.

Commercial relations were acceptable as long as Americans were not pulled into the complexity of European affairs and rivalries. George Washington set this policy during his presidency by remaining a neutral bystander to the military conflicts of Europe and focusing on the internal affairs of the United States.

In his Farewell Address in 1796, Washington outlined the benefits of neutrality towards Europe and America's unique destiny and place in the world. He states:

... 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 ...

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 combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities ...

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?

'Tis 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 ...

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 ...

Contrary to the policy of isolation and neutrality in Europe, Americans believed from the beginning that the United States had a special relationship with other nations in the Western Hemisphere because of our shared colonial heritage.

In 1823, President James Monroe established the Monroe Doctrine. The idea: America and Europe would occupy separate spheres of influence. Europe was to engage in no further colonization in the Western Hemisphere and in return the United States would stay out of European affairs. At the time the United States had no means of backing up this declaration militarily, but Europe was too preoccupied with colonization efforts in Asia and Africa to extend colonial involvement in the Americas and so the doctrine stood.

James Monroe, “Monroe Doctrine,” 1823

The occasion has been judged proper, for asserting as a principle ... that the American Continents ... are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power.

Of events in [Europe], with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The Citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly, in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellowmen on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy, so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries, or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this Hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected ... The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America ... We owe it therefore to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this Hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependences of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their Independence, and maintained it, and whose Independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light, than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States

Our policy in regard to Europe ... is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations, by a frank, firm and manly policy, meeting in all instances, the just claims of every power; submitting to injuries from none. But, in regard to [the American continents], circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers, should extend their political system, to any portion of either continent, without endangering our peace and happiness, nor can any one believe, that our southern Brethren, if left to themselves, would

adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States, to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope, that other powers will pursue the same course ...

The Monroe Doctrine became the cornerstone of American foreign policy in the Western Hemisphere for over one hundred years. America's relationship with the countries of the Western Hemisphere was strengthened by the Roosevelt Corollary in 1904. The Corollary announced to the world that the United States would act as the protector and policeman in conflicts between American nations, thus establishing a policy that justified American intervention in Mexico, Central America, and South America.

Theodore Roosevelt: "Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine"—1906

... It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere save such as are for the welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing ... may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing and impotence, to the exercise of an international police power ... Our interests and those of our southern neighbors are really identical. They have great natural riches, and if within their borders the reign of law and justice obtains, prosperity is sure to come to them ... We would interfere with them only in the last resort, and then only if it became evident that their inability or unwillingness to do justice at home and abroad had violated the rights of the United States or had invited foreign aggression to the detriment of the entire body of American nations.

As noble as America's stated goals in the Western Hemisphere were, their paternalism and control often made for a complicated foreign policy. American efforts at interference, influence, and occasionally armed invasion were often despised and rejected. While some welcomed American help, most saw that help as an effort to intrude in local matters in an effort to protect American interests.

Although most Americans saw "imperialism" negatively, the United States did act to form and maintain an empire through conquest and domination in some fashion. The early United States was focused on a type of continental imperialism: westward expansion through the Louisiana Purchase, relocation and dislocation of Native American tribes, and the annexed Mexican territory gained in the Mexican-American War (1846–1848). Throughout the nineteenth century, Manifest Destiny, the idea that the United States was destined to control all territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts, was widely held and promulgated.

As America developed into an industrial and continent-wide powerhouse, the sense of mission began to include a desire to expand and share the free-market system and create markets and suppliers of raw materials for industrialization. Along with this sense of mission, a spirit of nationalism—a strong patriotic devotion to one's country—has impacted America's role in the Western Hemisphere. This can largely be a positive attribute, but extreme nationalism can lead to militaristic patriotism, wars of conquest and empire building, domestic division, and international oppression.

This spirit can be seen during the last decade of the nineteenth century, as a spirit of nationalism and expansion gripped America, leading it into armed conflict with Spain. As a result of the 1898 Spanish-American War, the United States gained a colonial empire which included Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines, along with the annexation of Hawaii. This accidental empire was not planned as imperialistic expansion, but was viewed that way by many of the territories that were acquired. For example, the Filipinos fought alongside the United States against Spain, hoping to gain independence. When the United States decided to remain in power in the Philippines at the conclusion of the war, the Filipino independence movement took up arms against the United States. It took three years of fighting for the United

States to put down the rebellion. To American policymakers, the Philippines was not yet ready for self-government and it was the duty of the United States to oversee the country. To the Filipinos, this was seen as imperialism.

One of the strongest advocates of this type of American colonial empire was Senator Albert Beveridge, whose ideas about manifest destiny, American nationalism and superiority, and the continuing sense of religious mission can be clearly seen in the following popular campaign speech.

“The March of the Flag”: Albert Beveridge—1898

It is a noble land that God has given us; a land that can feed and clothe the world; a land whose coastlines would inclose half the countries of Europe; a land set like a sentinel between the two imperial oceans of the globe, a greater England with a nobler destiny. It is a mighty people that He has planted on this soil; a people sprung from the most masterful blood of history ... people imperial by virtue of their power, by right of their institutions, by authority of their Heaven-directed purposes—the propagandists and not the misers of liberty.

It is a glorious history our God has bestowed upon His chosen people; a history heroic with faith in our mission and our future; a history of statesmen who flung the boundaries of the Republic out into unexplored lands and savage wilderness; a history of soldiers who carried the flag across blazing deserts and through the ranks of hostile mountains, even to the gates of sunset; a history of a multiplying people who overran a continent in half a century; a history of prophets who saw the consequences of evils inherited from the past and of martyrs who died to save us from them; a history divinely logical, in the process of whose tremendous reasoning we find ourselves today.

Therefore, in this campaign, the question is larger than a party question. It is an American question. It is a world question. Shall the American people continue their march toward the commercial supremacy of the world? Shall free institutions broaden their blessed reign as the children of liberty wax in strength, until the empire of our principles is established over the hearts of all mankind? Have we no mission to perform no duty to discharge to our fellow man? Has God endowed us with gifts beyond our deserts and marked us as the people of His peculiar favor, merely to rot in our own selfishness, as men and nations must ... Shall we be as the man who had one talent and hid it, or as he who had ten talents and used them until they grew to riches? And shall we reap the reward that waits on our discharge of our high duty; shall we occupy new markets for what our farmers raise, our factories make, our merchants sell—aye, and please God, new markets for what our ships shall carry?

Hawaii is ours; Puerto Rico is to be ours; at the prayer of her people Cuba finally will be ours; in the islands of the East, even to the gates of Asia, coaling stations are to be ours at the very least; the flag of a liberal government is to float over the Philippines, and may it be the banner that Taylor unfurled in Texas and Fremont carried to the coast.

The Opposition tells us that we ought not to govern a people without their consent. I answer, The rule of liberty that all just government derives its authority from the consent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government We govern the Indians without their consent, we govern our territories without their consent, we govern our children without their consent. How do they know what our government would be without their consent? Would not the people of the Philippines prefer the just, humane, civilizing government of this Republic to the savage, bloody rule of pillage and extortion from which we have rescued them? And, regardless of this formula of words made only for enlightened, self-governing people, do we owe no duty to the world? Shall we turn these peoples back to the reeking hands from which we have taken them? Shall we abandon them, with Germany, England, Japan, hungering for them? Shall we save them from those nations, to give them a self-rule of tragedy? ...

Wonderfully has God guided us yonder at Bunker Hill and Yorktown. His providence was above us at New Orleans and on ensanguined seas His hand sustained us. Abraham Lincoln was His minister and His was

the altar of freedom the Nation's soldiers set up on a hundred battle-fields. His power directed Dewey in the East and delivered the Spanish fleet into our hands ... The American people cannot use a dishonest medium of exchange; it is ours to set the world its example of right and honor. We cannot fly from our world duties; it is ours to execute the purpose of a fate that has driven us to be greater than our small intentions. We cannot retreat from any soil where Providence has unfurled our banner; it is ours to save that soil for liberty and civilization.

American Foreign Policy in the 20th Century

In 1914, Europe and much of the world entered into World War I (or the “Great War”). This was the first industrial war. This means that colonial empires of Europe fought with the new technologies (chemical warfare, airplanes, submarines, machine guns and other advanced weaponry). President Woodrow Wilson, consistent with America’s long standing commitment to isolation and neutrality, urged Americans to remain “impartial in thought, as well as action.” In time, neutrality became difficult because America was made up of immigrants with commercial and historic ties to the Allies as well as complicated allegiances to England and Germany.

American shipping bound for Germany was blockaded by the British Navy and shipping bound for England or France was sunk by German U-boats. American civilians became casualties of war when their ships were sunk. Additionally, both sides in the conflict engaged in political intrigue and espionage here in America to disrupt our ability to support the opposite side. Wilson was re-elected on the platform “He kept us out of war” in 1916, and he attempted to help negotiate a peace. However, Wilson eventually came to decide that if the United States was going to protect its international interests, or to have any influence on the world after the war, the United States would have to fight in Europe.



War Message to Congress, President Woodrow Wilson, 1917

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it, and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

... The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them ... It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

As this address indicates, Wilson's goals were based on America's traditional sense of mission to offer the world the benefits of American liberty and free government. The entry of American forces helped turn the tide of the war, at the cost of nearly 32 billion dollars and 130,000 American lives. The losses by European combatants dwarfed those numbers, and left much of Europe's civilian populations devastated by the war's destruction.

Wilson always looked beyond the fighting of the war to a plan for peace in a postwar world. He proposed what came to be known as Wilson's 14 points, which included open covenants, freedom of the seas, free trade, arms reduction, and the formation of the League of Nations. With the end of hostilities in November of 1918, Wilson met with American allies in Versailles, France, to negotiate a peace treaty based on these principles.

Woodrow Wilson, 14 Points, 1918.

... What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us ...

- I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.*
- II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.*
- III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.*
- IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.*
- V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.*
- VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia ...*
- VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations ...*
- VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.*
- IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.*
- X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development.*
- XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored ...*
- XII. The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.*
- XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.*
- XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.*

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this programme does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this programme that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the new world in which we now live—instead of a place of mastery.

Unfortunately for Wilson, the allies were more focused on punishing Germany for starting the war than in making the world safe for democracy. Wilson was forced to negotiate away most of what he wanted in order to secure the acceptance of the League of Nations as a peace-keeping body. The Treaty of Versailles required Germany to admit guilt for starting the war, surrender her overseas colonies, pay war reparations, and limited its rearmament. In many ways this peace set the stage for the conflicts that would bring about World War II. Wilson returned home disappointed. Yet, he was confident that the League of Nations could later recover part of his original plan lost at Versailles. He presented the Treaty to the Senate in the United States for ratification.

The Senate, however, was less interested in “making the world safe for democracy” than in returning to the policy of keeping America free from “entangling alliances.” The Senate saw the League of Nations as a potential blank check to involve America in other foreign wars and as a violation of the American Constitution, and therefore refused to ratify the treaty, preventing the United States from joining the League of Nations. Following World War I, America reduced the size of its military and returned to its earlier position of isolation and neutrality.

Most Americans were frustrated by the experience of World War I, and became suspicious of foreign crusades. Leaders vowed never to be dragged into another foreign conflict, especially in Europe. Yet even in this environment, American interests in foreign affairs and efforts to provide moral leadership between World War I and World War II can be seen in the Washington Naval Conference (1922) and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. The Washington Naval Conference sought to reduce the likelihood of another world war by reducing and balancing the size of the world’s naval fleets. Because of the agreement, potential combatants—including the United States, Great Britain, and Japan—were supposed to find themselves either without the naval armaments to wage a war or so evenly balanced with their enemies that going to war was inadvisable. Unfortunately, some nations, like Japan, came out of the conference feeling persecuted because they had not been allowed a navy in size equal to the United States and Great Britain, and many others along with Japan began looking for ways to violate the agreement and increase their naval arsenal anyway. The Kellogg–Briand Pact was an agreement between nations that they would not use military force as a way of furthering foreign policy goals. This agreement, too, would be broken by those nations that saw another world war as beneficial to their interests.



World War II began in Asia in 1931 and in Europe in 1939. Congress passed legislation to promote neutrality in the growing conflict, trying to avoid what many saw as the false propaganda, business interests, and commercial arms sales that had drawn them into the first world war. Franklin Roosevelt, limited by public sentiment, took measures to support Great Britain’s efforts to fight Germany. But in 1940, he promised “Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.” The United States did not become involved directly until Japan bombed Pearl Harbor in December of 1941. This was quickly followed by Germany, an ally of Japan, declaring war against the United States.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Declaration of War on Japan,” December 8, 1941

Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan. The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply

stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya. Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam. Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands. Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island. This morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island. Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area.

The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our Nation. As Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense. Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us. No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people, in their righteous might, will win through to absolute victory. I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again. Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory, and our interests are in grave danger. With confidence in our armed forces with the unbounded determination of our people we will gain the inevitable triumph so help us God. I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.



American objectives upon entry in World War II were to rescue the world from military aggression and tyranny and restore the territorial integrity of the invaded nations. The United States sought total defeat of the Axis Powers so that post-war world could be made much safer in the future. After the war was won America sought the rebuilding of Germany and Japan for the same reasons. It did not seek to create a colonial empire, thereby holding to its original objectives.

The destruction of World War II altered the entire world—economically, politically, and militarily. It was a total war. It involved more than 70 nations. Civilian losses were much higher than military ones. Entire societies participated, as soldiers, workers, victims of occupation, bombing, and mass murder. Even though the United States didn't experience total war on its soil, the country was altered by its focus and involvement in the conflict. It increased the power of the

president and the size of federal budgets to an unprecedented degree. For the most part, the ideals of isolation and neutrality were replaced by a new sense to protect America's allies and the world from future military aggression and prevent another world war.

After World War II, the Soviet Union became a political, economic, and cultural competitor. An atmosphere of fear, suspicion, and competition rose between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, invaded twice in 20 years by Germany, sought to create a buffer zone in Eastern Europe, and exert its control over those countries. Americans feared that communist expansion and aggression would destroy world freedom, but since communism could not be destroyed without starting World War III, United States policy shifted to "containment," limiting communism to its current sphere of influence.

This period of time came to be known as the Cold War. America entered into a number of military alliances including NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization) and ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, United States Alliance) to limit Soviet influence around the world. The existence and stockpiling of nuclear weapons during the Cold War made possible the total annihilation of life on the planet. This encouraged the two superpowers to engage each other in proxy wars rather than world wars. A regional conflict in Turkey led to the Truman Doctrine where President Truman committed America to helping all nations around the world to resist Soviet communism. As Truman stated, "The United States will defend free people and their free institutions at any place at any point in the world where outside communist aggression threatens that nation's internal stability." In 1949, China fell to communism and America pledged to support the non-communist government of China when it fled to Taiwan. America decided to back France's claim to its colonies in Indochina after World War II to keep the region from falling under Soviet influence.

Two of the most important regional conflicts, in terms of resources and men involved, were Korea and Vietnam. In the wake of World War II both Korea and Vietnam were left divided based on Soviet and American influences. In both areas, forces allied with the Soviets sought to end the geographic and political divisions using military power.

America sought to prevent what it saw as communist aggression and expansion in its defense of South Korea in the early 1950s and Vietnam in the 1960s. Wrought with tragedy and disaster, these conflicts taught the United States difficult but necessary lessons.



1. Before engaging in a war it is important to understand the true nature of the conflict, the land, and the people involved. Many of the tragedies of the Korean and Vietnam wars occurred because of misunderstanding and ignorance of the land, people, and country. North Vietnamese guerrilla tactics are prime examples of this ignorance.
2. Some conflicts, even when there is a noble purpose, cannot be nobly resolved.
3. The government must have achievable objectives and clearly communicate them to the people. The Vietnam War was a period of political unrest throughout the country. Promises were made to the American people that were never kept and reports were given out with fabricated or omitted numbers, spreading distrust and anger among the citizens.
4. Without a plan and clear objectives it is difficult to persuade the American people to support a war, especially a long war fought on foreign shores. Even with careful planning, when the people are dissatisfied with government and war, they have the ability to vote in a leader who will end the fighting, making it difficult for democracies to sustain long wars.

Another drastic change in the postwar world was how militarism—maintaining political or economic control and enforcing foreign policy decisions through the use of military power—had become a key part of American foreign policy. Militarism requires a standing military; however much of America's early history standing armies were an example of the British system of control over its colonies.

After World War II, America emerged as the world's super power with military obligations around the world. The United States would try to be an international peacekeeper by fighting the influence of the Soviet Union. This would be difficult to do without a strong military establishment. This led to a "military industrial complex, which is a standing army plus all the support services necessary to maintain it. It is a complex interweaving of public funding and private business enterprise. In 1961, after 8 years as president and in the middle of the Cold War, Eisenhower, a former World War II general, spoke about the dangers of this military industrial complex and its outsized power in both the economy, the government, and American life.



Military-Industrial Complex Speech, Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1961

My fellow Americans: This evening I come to you with a message of leave-taking and farewell, and to share a few final thoughts with you, my countrymen.

We now stand ten years past the midpoint of a century that has witnessed four major wars among great nations. Three of these involved our own country. Despite these holocausts America is today the strongest, the most influential and most productive nation in the world. Understandably proud of this pre-eminence, we yet realize that America's leadership and prestige depend, not merely upon our unmatched material progress, riches and military strength, but on how we use our power in the interests of world peace and human betterment.

Throughout America's adventure in free government, our basic purposes have been to keep the peace; to foster progress in human achievement, and to enhance liberty, dignity and integrity among people and among nations. To strive for less would be unworthy of a free and religious people. Any failure traceable to arrogance, or our lack of comprehension or readiness to sacrifice would inflict upon us grievous hurt both at home and abroad. Progress toward these noble goals is persistently threatened by the conflict now

engulfing the world. It commands our whole attention, absorbs our very beings. We face a hostile ideology—global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method. Unhappily the danger it poses promises to be of indefinite duration. To meet it successfully, there is called for, not so much the emotional and transitory sacrifices of crisis, but rather those which enable us to carry forward steadily, surely, and without complaint the burdens of a prolonged and complex struggle—with liberty the stake. Only thus shall we remain, despite every provocation, on our charted course toward permanent peace and human betterment. Crises there will continue to be. In meeting them, whether foreign or domestic, great or small, there is a recurring temptation to feel that some spectacular and costly action could become the miraculous solution to all current difficulties. A huge increase in newer elements of our defense; development of unrealistic programs to cure every ill in agriculture; a dramatic expansion in basic and applied research—these and many other possibilities, each possibly promising in itself, may be suggested as the only way to the road we wish to travel.

But each proposal must be weighed in the light of a broader consideration: the need to maintain balance in and among national programs—balance between the private and the public economy, balance between cost and hoped for advantage—balance between the clearly necessary and the comfortably desirable; balance between our essential requirements as a nation and the duties imposed by the nation upon the individual; balance between actions of the moment and the national welfare of the future. Good judgment seeks balance and progress; lack of it eventually finds imbalance and frustration.

A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction. Our military organization today bears little relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime, or indeed by the fighting men of World War II or Korea.

Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry.

American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations. This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society. In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

In the post-Cold War era, brought about by the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States faces new challenges. A sense of responsibility, whether real or imagined, wanted or not, follows the United States in aspects of foreign affairs and world conflicts. Often there is the expectation that the United States must broker peace whenever conflict arises in the world. And when action is taken, America is often accused by others of practicing economic and/or political imperialism. The American economy is large compared to some nations, and America's political power is somewhat dominant, so many foreign policy decisions the United States makes can affect other nations and peoples. Since sometimes those effects are negative, the charge of economic and political imperialism is nearly unavoidable.

Guidance from our Church leaders can help us feel peace and hope, and inspire us even in difficult times. In the General Conference following September 11th, 2001, President Gordon B. Hinckley gave the following address:

President Gordon B. Hinckley, “The Times in Which We Live” General Conference, October 2001

Let us be prayerful. Let us pray for righteousness. Let us pray for the forces of good. Let us reach out to help men and women of goodwill, whatever their religious persuasion and wherever they live. Let us stand firm against evil, both at home and abroad. Let us live worthy of the blessings of heaven, reforming our lives where necessary and looking to Him, the Father of us all. He has said, “Be still, and know that I am God.” Are these perilous times? They are. But there is no need to fear. We can have peace in our hearts and peace in our homes. We can be an influence for good in this world, every one of us.

President Gordon B. Hinckley, “War and Peace” General Conference April 2003

We sometimes are prone to glorify the great empires of the past, such as the Ottoman Empire, the Roman and Byzantine Empires, and in more recent times, the vast British Empire. But there is a darker side to every one of them. There is a grim and tragic overlay of brutal conquest, of subjugation, of repression, and an astronomical cost in life and treasure ... In the course of history tyrants have arisen from time to time who have oppressed their own people and threatened the world. Such is adjudged to be the case presently, and consequently great and terrifying forces with sophisticated and fearsome armaments have been engaged in battle.

One of our Articles of Faith, which represent an expression of our doctrine, states, “We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law ...” But modern revelation states that we are to “renounce war and proclaim peace.” In a democracy we can renounce war and proclaim peace. There is opportunity for dissent. Many have been speaking out and doing so emphatically. That is their privilege. That is their right, so long as they do so legally ... When war raged between the Nephites and the Lamanites, the record states that “the Nephites were inspired by a better cause, for they were not fighting for ... power but they were fighting for their homes and their liberties, their wives and their children, and their all, yea, for their rites of worship and their church.” And they were doing that which they felt was the duty which they owed to their God” ...

It is clear from these and other writings that there are times and circumstances when nations are justified, in fact have an obligation, to fight for family, for liberty, and against tyranny, threat, and oppression ... This places us in the position of those who long for peace, who teach peace, who work for peace, but who also are citizens of nations and are subject to the laws of our governments. Furthermore, we are a freedom-loving people, committed to the defense of liberty wherever it is in jeopardy. I believe that God will not hold men and women in uniform responsible as agents of their government in carrying forward that which they are legally obligated to do. It may even be that He will hold us responsible if we try to impede or hedge up the way of those who are involved in a contest with forces of evil and repression.

Now, there is much that we can and must do in these perilous times. We can give our opinions on the merits of the situation as we see it, but never let us become a party to words or works of evil concerning our brothers and sisters in various nations on one side or the other. Political differences never justify hatred or ill will. I hope that the Lord’s people may be at peace one with another during times of trouble, regardless of what loyalties they may have to different governments or parties.

Let us pray for those who are called upon to bear arms by their respective governments and plead for the protection of heaven upon them that they may return to their loved ones in safety ... We can hope and pray for that glorious day foretold by the prophet Isaiah when men “shall beat their swords into plowshares, and

their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Even in an evil world we can so live our lives as to merit the protecting care of our Father in Heaven. We can be as the righteous living among the evils of Sodom and Gomorrah. Abraham pleaded that these cities might be spared for the sake of the righteous. And, above all, we can cultivate in our own hearts, and proclaim to the world, the salvation of the Lord Jesus Christ. Through His atoning sacrifice we are certain life will continue beyond the veil of death. We can teach that gospel which will lead to the exaltation of the obedient.

Even when the armaments of war ring out in deathly serenade and darkness and hatred reign in the hearts of some, there stands immovable, reassuring, comforting, and with great outreaching love the quiet figure of the Son of God, the Redeemer of the world. We can proclaim with Paul: "For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come,

"Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

This life is but a chapter in the eternal plan of our Father. It is full of conflict and seeming incongruities. Some die young. Some live to old age. We cannot explain it. But we accept it with the certain knowledge that through the atoning sacrifice of our Lord we shall all go on living, and this with the comforting assurance of His immeasurable love.

He has said, "Learn of me, and listen to my words; walk in the meekness of my Spirit, and you shall have peace in me" (D&C 19:23).

And there, my brothers and sisters, we rest our faith. Regardless of the circumstances, we have the comfort and peace of Christ our Savior, our Redeemer, the living Son of the living God. I so testify in His holy name, even the name of Jesus Christ, amen.



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Week 13

The Spirit of Change and Reform

Change

Reform

Social movements, focused on humanitarian goals and improving quality of life, occurred often. Many reformers were involved in more than one movement, as abolitionists became women's rights advocates, legal reformers looked at slavery, and religious revivals looked to improve their community. We'll begin with Jacksonian reform in the early Republic, and then look at more recent social change in the 1960s' Great Society and Youth Rebellion.

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In this chapter we will continue to look at change and reform. We'll begin with Jacksonian reform in the early Republic, and then by looking at more recent social change in the 1960s' Great Society and Youth Rebellion.

We will also examine the impact of the revolution in technology over the last 200 years, and a consumer culture unmatched in the history of the world, and the spiritual impact those changes can have.

Jacksonian Reform

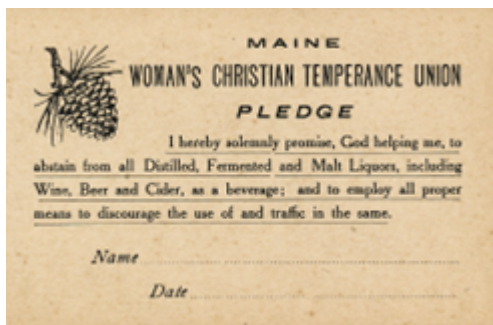
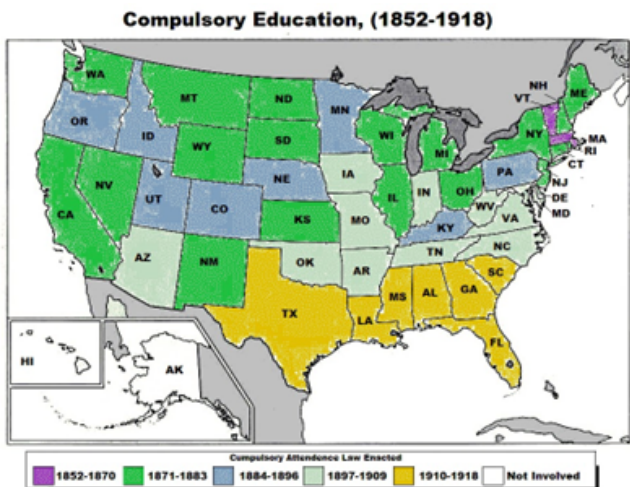
Andrew Jackson's presidency was a period marked by political, economic, and social reform. Social movements, focused on humanitarian goals and improving the quality of life, occurred often. Efforts to improve the conditions of prisons, mental institutions, abolitionism, religious communitarian movements, and others were made. Many reformers were involved in more than one movement, as abolitionists became women's rights advocates, legal reformers looked at slavery, and religious revivals looked to improve their community.

The idea of a free public education, another point of reform, went hand in hand with universal manhood suffrage because the common man needed training and knowledge in order to be a contributing and voting member of the Republic.

Between 1810 and 1820 the number of American colleges doubled, and the number of primary schools grew at a fast rate. At the forefront of those advocating free public education was Horace Mann. He believed that for a republic to survive, an educated citizenry was vital. He also believed that increased education would eliminate poverty and create general prosperity for the nation. In a report to the Massachusetts State Board of Education in 1846 Mann argued:

I believe in the existence of a great, immortal, immutable principle of natural law ... which proves the absolute right to an education of every human being that comes into the world; and which, of course, proves the correlative duty of every government to see that the means of that education are provided for all ... Education, then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men—the balance-wheel of the social machinery. I do not here mean that it so elevates the moral nature as to make men disdain and abhor the oppression of their fellow-men. This idea pertains to another of its attributes. But I mean that it gives each man the independence and the means by which he can resist the selfishness of other men. It does better than to disarm the poor of their hostility towards the rich: it prevents being poor.

Over the following decades, education evolved from something only available to the wealthy, through tutors with small groups of children, to a public, compulsory education provided by local and state governments. After the Civil War, women's colleges emerged which offer higher education to women.



At the same time, Temperance (anti-alcohol) societies sprung up around the country. These societies were organized to publicize the evils of drinking. They believed this would protect the collective morality of society and families. Many of the leaders of this movement were women who were also involved in the women's suffrage movement. Groups such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union organized rallies and helped elect candidates committed to stricter laws against consuming and selling alcohol. They advocated

"temperance pledges" and abstinence from all liquor. Advocates argued that many of society's evils, particularly crime and poverty, could be traced to "demon rum," which was dangerous to the country as a whole. Abraham Lincoln addressed the issue in 1842:

Turn now, to the temperance revolution. In it, we shall find a stronger bondage broken; a viler slavery, manumitted; a greater tyrant deposed. In it, more of want supplied, more disease healed, more sorrow assuaged. By it no orphans starving, no widows weeping. By it, none wounded in feeling, none injured in interest. ... And what a noble ally this, to the cause of political freedom. With such an aid, its march cannot fail to be on and on, till every son of earth shall drink in rich fruition, the sorrow quenching draughts of perfect liberty ... And when the victory shall be complete—when there shall be neither a slave nor a drunkard on the earth—how proud the title of that Land, which may truly claim to be the

birth-place and the cradle of both those revolutions, that shall have ended in that victory. How nobly distinguished that People, who shall have planted, and nurtured to maturity, both the political and moral freedom of their species.



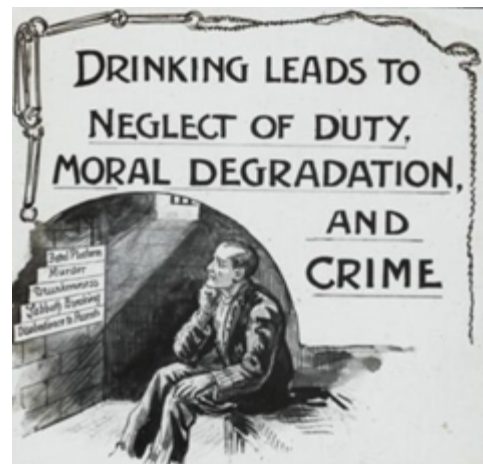
The battle for temperance often pitted rural, native-born Americans against urban immigrants, often colored by anti-immigrant sentiment. The movement continued throughout the 19th century into the 20th century Progressive Era. These groups eventually gained enough political strength to pass the 18th amendment in the early 20th century with Prohibition (which was later overturned by the 21st amendment).

The Second Great Awakening was also part of this reform environment, and an integral part of the establishment of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

In religious terms the Second Great Awakening emphasized the ability of each person to achieve salvation through submission to Jesus Christ. Free will and individual understanding of scripture were all important in working out one's own salvation. Revivalist preachers, such as Charles Grandison Finney, traveled with their dramatic message of a revival of religious devotion. "Revival is a renewed conviction of sin and repentance, followed by an intense desire to live in obedience to God. It is giving up one's will to God in deep humility," Finney preached. It was in this heightened environment of religious questioning and personal salvation which moved Joseph Smith to find answers praying in the Sacred Grove.

The Great Society of the 1960s

Despite these reforms efforts, poverty, access to quality education, and poor living conditions continued. In 1962, socialist intellectual and writer Michael Harrington published "The Other America," which criticized the lack of public and government attention to the cycle of poverty and those outside the middle class. "The poor are increasingly slipping out of the very experience and consciousness of the nation ... the development of the American city has removed poverty from the living, emotional experience of millions upon millions of middle-class Americans. Living out in the suburbs it is easy to assume that ours is, indeed, an affluent society," he wrote. "Only the larger society, with its help and resources, can really make it possible for these people to help themselves."



Political pressure, created by an increased attention to civil rights and economic inequality, fostered support of government efforts and programs. These efforts were spearheaded by President Lyndon Johnson and they moved forward much like previous reform traditions. A "Great Society" was envisioned. It was without poverty or discrimination, and all Americans enjoyed equal educational and vocational opportunities. Government programs, moving beyond the provisions of the New Deal, began taking on a federal responsibility for housing, income, employment, and health problems. In the following 1964 address, President Johnson outlined his program, and connected his vision to earlier ideas of community and the "pursuit of happiness."

The Great Society, Lyndon B. Johnson, Address at University of Michigan, May 1964

The purpose of protecting the life of our nation and preserving the liberty of our citizens is to pursue the happiness of our people. Our success in that pursuit is the test of our success as a nation.

For a century we labored to settle and to subdue a continent. For half a century we called upon unbounded invention and untiring industry to create an order of plenty for all of our people.

The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use that wealth to enrich and elevate our national life, and to advance the quality of our American civilization.

Your imagination and your initiative, and your indignation will determine whether we build a society where progress is the servant of our needs, or a society where old values and new visions are buried under unbridled growth. For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society.

The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. But that is just the beginning.

... The solution to these problems does not rest on a massive program in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority. They require us to create new concepts of cooperation, a creative federalism, between the national capital and the leaders of local communities ... Those who came to this land sought to build more than just a new country. They sought a new world. So I have come here today to your campus to say that you can make their vision our reality.

There were four general areas of Johnson's programs. The first was a War on Poverty: raised minimum wage, programs to train poorer Americans for new and better jobs, cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development, and federal housing programs. The second was education: student loans, scholarships, and grants were increased to allow more students to attend college. Programs, like Head Start, began and federal funding of education increased with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The third was racial inequality: Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Johnson issued an executive order requiring government contractors to ensure that job applicants and employees were not discriminated against with "affirmative action." These measures brought Johnson into conflict with his fellow Southern Democrats, but his experience in Congress helped him push through legislation without southern support. And finally, Medicare extended medical insurance to older Americans under the Social Security system. Congress also passed the Medicaid Act of 1968 to provide for the medical expenses of those below the poverty line. This was not universal health care, but it was the first step in providing money for medical services to those who could not afford it.

Many of these Great Society programs continue today and have been expanded and enlarged. It can be argued that they are successes and failures. Many of the programs have helped lift people out of poverty, increased access to education, provided a safety net for those unable to provide for themselves, and increased awareness of social, racial, and economic inequities. However, poverty still remains, racial inequality is still entrenched in some areas of the country, and many argue that a spirit of entitlement has been fostered as the responsibilities of federal and state governments have increased. The Vietnam War undermined many of President Johnson's other projects. This eroding support weakened his congressional power and took funds from those programs.

The Youth Rebellion

During this same time period, large groups of young people, disenchanted with the Vietnam War and attuned to the perceived systemic wrongs of the American system, began to organize and protest. The baby boom generation was the

largest cohort in the history of the United States. Between 1946 and 1964, 76 million babies were born. This generation was the first to experience the culture of television, consumer power, rock and roll, and the creation of the word “teenager.” Their parents had grown up during the Great Depression and World War II, but they were growing up in a time of rapid economic growth and opportunity.

Despite the abundant opportunities, many in this generation were anxious about the status of the world and the conformity of the suburbs they lived in. Young, highly educated, unoccupied masses created an atmosphere of rapid social change. Many baby boomers questioned aspects of post-war society, including materialism, the war in Vietnam, racial injustice, and gender inequalities.

While the vast majority of young people did not protest or organize, the influence of such movements cannot be overlooked, and their rejection of parental and societal traditions would be far-reaching. Those protesting were often referred to as a “counterculture,” because they were opposing the established culture.

Many students organized on college campuses. One of these groups was the Students for a Democratic Society, founded in 1960. Inspired by the Civil Rights Movement, college students began to organize politically, and were radical in their rhetoric and goals. In 1962 they issued a statement in Port Huron, Michigan, calling for “participatory democracy”—direct individual involvement in the political controversies of the day and explained their disillusionment with the world they were inheriting.

The Port Huron Statement, Students for a Democratic Society, 1962

We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.

When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world ... Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people—these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men.

As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract “others” we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time ... we began to see complicated and disturbing paradoxes in our surrounding America. The declaration “all men are created equal ... rang hollow before the facts of Negro life in the South and the big cities of the North ...

Not only did tarnish appear on our image of American virtue, not only did disillusion occur when the hypocrisy of American ideals was discovered, but we began to sense that what we had originally seen as the American Golden Age was actually the decline of an era.

Another youth protest movement occurred on the University of California Berkeley campus in 1964. This was the first 1960’s campus student movement to make global headlines. Students protested universities’ impersonality, requirements, restrictions on student political activities, and dormitory rules. Many leaders of this movement had also been involved in civil rights protests in the South, initiating many students into politics. The most dramatic moment of the protest was a takeover of the campus, including common areas and administration buildings. They borrowed many of the sit-in tactics of the Civil Rights Movement. One of the leaders, Mario Savio, inspired young people by saying,

“There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can’t take part; you can’t even passively take part, and you’ve got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you’ve got to make it stop. And you’ve got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you’re free, the machine will be prevented from working at all!”

As the 1960s progressed, the youth movement gained cultural power. The archetype of the hippie emerged, striking out at social norms in dress and grooming standards, sexual morality, and drug use. Youth culture developed its own popular music and language.

Direct protest with marches and rallies continued. The escalation of the Vietnam War, and the draft related to the war, encouraged even more radicalized student movements. This conflict divided America and proved to be a disastrous piece of Cold War foreign policy for both countries.

The legacies of the 1960s continue to influence us today—changed morals and definitions of family, questioning of gender roles, increased acceptance of casual drug use and sexual activity, and a sense of moral relativism. However, the questions raised by many in the youth rebellion have also contributed to the political conversation, increased attention to American hypocrisy, and college campuses' environment and the power of young people to influence culture.

The Rise of Consumer Culture

The postwar focus on consumer culture was another evolution in American society. The rise of big business after the Civil War increased the number of consumer goods available and the reach of mass industries. Advertising and media influence increased in the 1920s with radio and film. This growth was somewhat hampered by The Great Depression and World War II. But even during the war, advertisers focused on the idea that freedom and victory would mean new consumer opportunities, for example “after victory kitchens.”

In 1947, the United States had the world's most productive and prosperous economy, consumer demand being one driver of its success. In the 1950s, with only 6% of the world's population and the rest of the world rebuilding after unprecedented wartime destruction, the United States produced 50% of the world's manufactured goods: 57% of its steel, 62% of its oil, and over 80% of its cars. The growth of suburban housing, the expansion and prosperity of the middle-class through increased educational opportunities of the G.I. Bill, and high wages in manufacturing fed the consumer market. A new American dream entered the lifestyle, a fusion of need and desire that was focused on baby boom families. With the emergence of television, and the creation of new products to sell for all these new households, the businesses increased expenditure on advertising by 400%.

Consumer culture and technological advancements have increased in the last 60 years. Planned obsolescence forces consumers to buy new products on a consistent basis, and advertising promotes the need for new things. The majority of Americans buy much of their consumer lifestyle on credit. This mass consumerism helps drive much of our prosperity through wages and business growth. Technology has enabled gains and connections throughout the world, many of which have been used to facilitate the teaching of the gospel. However, there are real costs to consumer culture, many of which are paid by workers in other countries who toil under terrible conditions in sweatshops to make cheaper products. There are also spiritual dangers. We have received wise counsel as members of the church about how we can live in this world, remain righteous, and keep focused on things of eternal value. The following conference address from 2006 deals with some of these issues and offers some guidance on how to live in the culture and time we are in.

“Zion in the Midst of Babylon”: Elder David R. Stone, April 2006

Last summer, my wife and I had the opportunity to travel to San Diego, California, and see Shakespeare's Macbeth at the Old Globe Theatre. We saw two performances, because our daughter Carolyn was playing the part of one of the three witches in that play. Of course, we were delighted to see her in the play and even more delighted when, at a dramatic moment, she said those famous lines:

“By the pricking of my thumbs, / Something wicked this way comes” (act 4, scene 1, lines 40–41). When I heard that, I thought how useful it would be to have an early-warning system which would tell us about the

approach of evil and allow us to be prepared for it. Evil is coming toward us, whether or not we have an early-warning system.

On a later occasion, my wife and I were driving cross-country one night and were approaching a great city. As we came over the hills and saw the bright lights on the horizon, I nudged my wife awake and said, "Behold the city of Babylon!" Of course, there is no particular city today which personifies Babylon. Babylon was, in the time of ancient Israel, a city which had become sensual, decadent, and corrupt. The principal building in the city was a temple to a false god, which we often refer to as Bel or Baal.

However, that sensuality, corruption, and decadence, and the worshipping of false gods are to be seen in many cities, great and small, scattered across the globe. As the Lord has said: "They seek not the Lord to establish his righteousness, but every man walketh in his own way, and after the image of his own god, whose image is in the likeness of the world" (D&C 1:16).

Too many of the people of the world have come to resemble the Babylon of old by walking in their own ways, and following a god "whose image is in the likeness of the world." One of the greatest challenges we will face is to be able to live in that world but somehow not be of that world. We have to create Zion in the midst of Babylon.

"Zion in the midst of Babylon." What a luminous and incandescent phrase, as a light shining in the midst of spiritual darkness. What a concept to hold close to our hearts, as we see Babylon becoming more widespread. We see Babylon in our cities; we see Babylon in our communities; we see Babylon everywhere.

And with the encroachment of Babylon, we have to create Zion in the midst of it. We should not allow ourselves to be engulfed by the culture which surrounds us. We seldom realize the extent to which we are a product of the culture of our place and time. During the days of ancient Israel, the people of the Lord were an island of the one true God, surrounded by an ocean of idolatry. The waves of that ocean crashed incessantly upon the shores of Israel. Despite the commandment to make no graven image and bow down before it, Israel seemingly could not help itself, influenced by the culture of the place and time. Over and over again—despite the prohibition of the Lord, despite what prophet and priest had said—Israel went seeking after strange gods and bowed down before them.

How could Israel have forgotten the Lord, who brought them out of Egypt? They were constantly pressured by what was popular in the ambience in which they lived. What an insidious thing is this culture amidst which we live. It permeates our environment, and we think we are being reasonable and logical when, all too often, we have been molded by the ethos, what the Germans call the zeitgeist, or the culture of our place and time. Because my wife and I have had the opportunity to live in 10 different countries, we have seen the effect of the ethos on behavior. Customs which are perfectly acceptable in one culture are viewed as unacceptable in another; language which is polite in some places is viewed as abhorrent in others. People in every culture move within a cocoon of self-satisfied self-deception, fully convinced that the way they see things is the way things really are.

Our culture tends to determine what foods we like, how we dress, what constitutes polite behavior, what sports we should follow, what our taste in music should be, the importance of education, and our attitudes toward honesty. It also influences men as to the importance of recreation or religion, influences women about the priority of career or childbearing, and has a powerful effect on how we approach procreation and moral issues. All too often, we are like puppets on a string, as our culture determines what is "cool."

There is, of course, a zeitgeist to which we should pay attention, and that is the ethos of the Lord, the culture of the people of God. As Peter states it, "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light" (1 Pet. 2:9). It is the ethos of those who keep the Lord's commandments, walk in

His ways, and “live by every word that proceedeth forth from the mouth of God” (D&C 84:44). If that makes us peculiar, so be it.

My involvement with the building of the Manhattan temple gave me the opportunity to be in the temple quite often prior to the dedication. It was wonderful to sit in the celestial room and be there in perfect silence, without a single sound to be heard coming from the busy New York streets outside. How was it possible that the temple could be so reverently silent when the hustle and bustle of the metropolis was just a few yards away?

The answer was in the construction of the temple. The temple was built within the walls of an existing building, and the inner walls of the temple were connected to the outer walls at only a very few junction points. That is how the temple (Zion) limited the effects of Babylon, or the world outside. There may be a lesson here for us. We can create the real Zion among us by limiting the extent to which Babylon will influence our lives.

When, about 600 years B.C., Nebuchadnezzar came from Babylon and conquered Judah, he carried away the people of the Lord. Nebuchadnezzar selected some of the young men for special education and training. Among them were Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. They were to be the favored ones among the young people brought to Babylon. The king’s servant instructed them that they were to eat of the king’s meat and drink of the king’s wine.

Let us clearly understand the pressures that the four young men were under. They had been carried away as captives by a conquering power and were in the household of a king who held the power of life or death over them. And yet Daniel and his brothers refused to do that which they believed to be wrong, however much the Babylonian culture believed it to be right. And for that fidelity and courage, the Lord blessed them and “gave them knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom” (Dan. 1:17).

*Seduced by our culture, we often hardly recognize our idolatry, as our strings are pulled by that which is popular in the Babylonian world. Indeed, as the poet Wordsworth said: “The world is too much with us” (“The World Is Too Much with Us; Late and Soon,” in *The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth* [1924], 353). In his first epistle, John writes: “I have written unto you ... because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one. “Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world” (1 Jn. 2:14–15).*

We do not need to adopt the standards, the mores, and the morals of Babylon. We can create Zion in the midst of Babylon. We can have our own standards for music and literature and dance and film and language. We can have our own standards for dress and deportment, for politeness and respect. We can live in accordance with the Lord’s moral laws. We can limit how much of Babylon we allow into our homes by the media of communication.

We can live as a Zion people, if we wish to. Will it be hard? Of course it will, for the waves of Babylonian culture crash incessantly against our shores. Will it take courage? Of course it will. We have always been entranced by tales of courage of those who faced fearsome odds and overcame. Courage is the basis and foundation for all of our other virtues; the lack of courage diminishes every other virtue that we have. If we are to have Zion in the midst of Babylon, we will need courage.

Have you ever imagined that, when it came to the test, you would perform some act of bravery? I know I did, as a boy. I imagined that someone was in peril and that, at the risk of my own life, I saved him. Or in some dangerous confrontation with a fearsome opponent, I had the courage to overcome. Such are our youthful imaginations! Almost 70 years of life have taught me that those heroic opportunities are few and far between, if they come at all.

But the opportunities to stand for that which is right—when the pressures are subtle and when even our friends are encouraging us to give in to the idolatry of the times—those come along far more frequently. No photographer is there to record the heroism, no journalist will splash it across the newspaper's front page. Just in the quiet contemplation of our conscience, we will know that we faced the test of courage: Zion or Babylon?

Make no mistake about it: much of Babylon, if not most of it, is evil. And we will not have the pricking of our thumbs to warn us. But wave after wave is coming, crashing against our shores. Will it be Zion, or will it be Babylon? If Babylon is the city of the world, Zion is the city of God.

The Lord has said of Zion: "Zion cannot be built up unless it is by the principles of the law of the celestial kingdom" (D&C 105:5) and, "For this is Zion—the pure in heart" (D&C 97:21).

Wherever we are, whatever city we may live in, we can build our own Zion by the principles of the celestial kingdom and ever seek to become the pure in heart. Zion is the beautiful, and the Lord holds it in His own hands. Our homes can be places which are a refuge and protection, as Zion is. We do not need to become as puppets in the hands of the culture of the place and time. We can be courageous and can walk in the Lord's paths and follow His footsteps. And if we do, we will be called Zion, and we will be the people of the Lord. I pray that we will be strengthened to resist the onslaught of Babylon and that we can create Zion in our homes and our communities—indeed, that we may have "Zion in the midst of Babylon."

We seek Zion because it is the habitation of our Lord, who is Jesus Christ, our Savior and Redeemer. In Zion and from Zion, His luminous and incandescent light will shine forth, and He will rule forever. I bear witness that He lives and loves us and will watch over us.

This devotional talk by Elder Bateman covers the time period of this lesson, and examines the interesting connections between technological change, social reform, and the restoration of the gospel since the time of Joseph Smith. He argues that this is not an accidental convergence, but part of the divine plan. He also testifies of the importance of both a temporal and spiritual education, as we confront the ever-changing times we live in and wrestle with opposition in all things.

"Nothing Shall Be Withheld": Elder Merrill J. Bateman Brigham Young University-Idaho Devotional, May 22, 2007

In a dank, dark dungeon during one of Joseph Smith's bleakest hours, the Prophet pleaded with the Lord to make Himself known and to remember His suffering saints. Listen to Joseph's pleadings: "O God, where art thou? . . . How long shall thy hand be stayed, . . . behold from the eternal heavens the wrongs of thy people? . . . Yea, O Lord, how long shall they suffer these wrongs and unlawful oppressions, . . . O Lord God Almighty, . . . stretch forth thy hand; . . . Remember thy suffering saints." (D&C 121:1-6.)

In response to Joseph's prayer came one of the most remarkable revelations of this dispensation, the 121st Section of the Doctrine and Covenants. First, Joseph was told that his adversity and afflictions would be "but a small moment" (D&C 121:7). He was assured that those who wreaked vengeance on the saints would receive their just dues.

All Knowledge to be Revealed

And then the Lord told Joseph that great knowledge was about to be revealed to the earth through the power of the Holy Ghost. The scripture states: "God shall give unto you knowledge by his Holy Spirit . . . that has not been revealed since the world was until now" (D&C 121:26). The Lord went on to say that it would be "A time to come in the which nothing shall be withheld, . . . All thrones and dominions, principalities and powers, shall be revealed . . . And also, if there be bounds set to the heavens or to the seas, or to the dry land, or to the sun, moon, or stars—All the times of their revolutions, all the appointed

days, months, and years, . . . and all their glories, laws, and set times, shall be revealed in the days of the dispensation of the fulness of times” (D&C 121:28-31).

The Lord makes clear that in the last days, the dispensation of the fulness of times, all things will be revealed. (See D&C 101:23-34.) All knowledge includes the laws that govern the earth as well as those which are spiritual in nature. The Apostle Paul prophesied 1800 years earlier “That in the dispensation of the fulness of times” the Lord will “gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth” (Ephesians 1:10).

One might interpret “all things in Christ” to refer only to spiritual laws, but it is more since the great Jehovah made “all things” (John 1:3). The Apostle Peter also spoke of a period of “refreshing” coincident with a “restitution of all things” which would precede the Second Coming of the Lord (Acts 3:19, 21). It is true that we understand these apostolic prophecies to refer to the Restoration of the gospel in the last days. But the Lord’s statement to Joseph Smith in Liberty Jail indicates that more than spiritual truths will be revealed. He states that knowledge pertaining not only to the heavens, but also to the seas, the earth, thrones, dominions, etc. will be made known.

On an earlier occasion, the Lord revealed to the Prophet Joseph that “all things . . . are spiritual” (D&C 29:34). All laws and knowledge have a spiritual purpose. For this reason the Lord has instructed us to become educated in temporal as well as spiritual things.

Doctrine and Covenants section 88 states that we should “be instructed more perfectly in theory, in principle, in doctrine, in the law of the gospel, in all things . . . that are expedient for [us] to understand;

“Of things both in heaven and in the earth, and under the earth; things which have been, things which are, things which must shortly come to pass; things . . . at home, things . . . abroad; the wars and the perplexities of the nations.” (D&C 88:78-79.)

From this section one understands that secular knowledge is also important to us and the Lord tells us why: “That ye may be prepared in all things when I shall send you . . . to magnify [your] calling” (D&C 88:80).

Church educational institutions have a dual purpose: to provide both a temporal and a spiritual education. Temporally, BYU-Idaho prepares you to provide for yourself and your family. It prepares you to make a contribution to the communities in which you live. Spiritually, it educates you in the laws of the Kingdom so that you can contribute to the establishment of the Church. Ultimately, of course, the purpose of this educational opportunity is to bring you to Christ.

The Pattern for Revealing Spiritual Truths

As Latter-day Saints, we understand the pattern by which a new dispensation is initiated and spiritual truths are revealed. It begins with the Lord calling a prophet, angels are then sent to instruct him (see Moroni 7:29-32). Others are called to assist. The priesthood is transmitted to them with its keys and powers. Through the priesthood, the Gift of the Holy Ghost is given as a personal guide and to establish the Church. A book is often provided which contains the fulness of the gospel and serves as a witness of the Lord and His work (see Exodus 24:12, Ezekiel 2:9-10, 1 Nephi 1:11). The calling of Joseph Smith was not the first to follow this pattern. The callings of Moses, Ezekiel, Lehi, and, undoubtedly other prophets followed these steps. Even John the Revelator’s commission to write the history of the earth and its dispensations included an appearance from the Lord, an angel to guide him, and a book (see Revelations 1, 5:1-2).

The Source of Temporal Knowledge

Now, what about temporal knowledge? How is it revealed and to whom? It is clear that secular inventions and innovations generally do not come through prophets. Their mission is special as they focus on spiritual things. However, secular knowledge has the same source as does spiritual truths. God is omniscient and the source of all truth. The Savior said, "I am the way, the truth, and the light" (John 14:6). The Light of Christ is given to every man and woman and anyone who responds to the Light may be a conduit for secular knowledge. I enjoy Elder Neal A. Maxwell's description of God's omniscience:

God, who knows the beginning from the end, knows, therefore, all that is in between. . . .

Below the scripture that declares that God knows "all things" there is no footnote reading "except that God is a little weak in geophysics"! We do not worship a God who simply forecasts a generally greater frequency of earthquakes in the last days before the second coming of His Son; He knows precisely when and where all these will occur. God has even prophesied that the Mount of Olives will cleave in twain at a precise latter-day time as Israel is besieged. (Zechariah 14:4.)

There are no qualifiers, only flat and absolute assertions of the omniscience of God.¹

The Burst of Secular Knowledge Coincident with The Restoration

*It is apparent that secular knowledge has flowered since the time of Joseph Smith, that the Lord has been flooding the earth with temporal knowledge as well as spiritual. Let me illustrate the explosion of temporal knowledge with two statements, the first from Stephen E. Ambrose's book, *Undaunted Courage*, and the second William J. Bernstein's *The Birth of Plenty*. Speaking of the early 1800s, Ambrose wrote:*

A critical fact in the world of 1801 was that nothing moved faster than the speed of a horse. No human being, no manufactured item, no bushel of wheat, no side of beef, no letter, no information, no idea, order or instruction of any kind moved faster. Nothing had moved faster, and, as far as Jefferson's contemporaries were able to tell, nothing ever would.²

The horse had been the mainstay of land transportation since the dawn of history. As far as anyone knew in the early 1800s, it would remain that way. It took Thomas Jefferson ten days to travel from Monticello to Philadelphia. In less than 50 years, with the advent of the steam locomotive, the trip was cut to one day. The invention of the telegraph in 1837 brought instantaneous communication across the globe that abruptly altered the political, social and economic affairs of nations. And these inventions were just the beginning.³

In describing the dramatic changes that occurred in the first half of the 19th century, William Bernstein writes:

When we look at the [facts], it becomes crystal clear that something happened ... in the early nineteenth century. Before then, the rate of improvement in the lot of mankind was small and stuttering, and after, substantial and steady ... Until approximately 1820, per capita world economic growth – the single best way of measuring human material progress – registered near zero ... Then, not long after 1820, prosperity began flowing in an ever-increasing torrent; with each successive generation, the life of the son became observably more comfortable, informed, and predictable than that of the father.⁴

The pattern of world economic wellbeing described by Bernstein is illustrated in a graph developed by a Scottish economist, Angus Maddison. Maddison graduated from Cambridge University in 1948 and, for the next 30 years, served as an economist for one of the world's largest international aid organizations. During this time he became fascinated with the problems of the developing world and the differences in wealth between rich and poor nations. In 1978 he accepted a professorship at a Dutch university and for the next 20 years developed a model of world economic growth for the last 2000 years. The results were both stunning and unexpected.

As the graph illustrates, the economic wellbeing of the average individual, measured as real per capita output or income, “did not change at all during the first millennium after the birth of Christ. Over the next 800 years, between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1800, things did not get much better.”⁵ There were few innovations and the improvement prior to 1800 was marginal.

The real progress begins in 1820 when the graph suddenly turns upward and begins a long steady climb to unprecedented heights. Maddison indicates that the exact timing of the turn is somewhat arbitrary. American data suggests that it may have been a few years before 1820 while British data suggests a date as late as 1830. Regardless, it is clear that sometime during the first half of the nineteenth century, world economic growth took off and continued upward despite wars, famines, and social strife.⁶

Bernstein describes Maddison’s findings with the following words: “Beginning around 1820, the pace of economic advance picked up noticeably, making the world a better place to live in. What happened? An explosion in technological innovation the likes of which had never before been seen.”⁷

The Foundations for The Explosion of Secular Knowledge in The 1800s

What caused the sudden change in economic wellbeing? It was an explosion in technological innovation unlike anything the world had seen. It was an explosion of ideas and knowledge in an environment that allowed the innovations to take hold. During the period of the enlightenment, and even before, the Lord prepared the earth not only for the return of the gospel, but the reception and dispersion of secular knowledge that had never before been revealed (see D&C 121:26, 28-29). Four environmental foundations necessary for the use of the technological innovations were put in place during the centuries prior to 1820. They included laws that secured property rights, safe havens for scientific rationalism, efficient capital markets, and the bases for improved transportation and communications.⁸

Prior to the 1700s there were very few technological discoveries. The major innovations were the three-crop rotational system, the horseshoe and horse collar, the water mill, the windmill, the four-wheeled cart and the printing press. The first economically viable steam engine came into existence in the late 1700s. The steam engine was important because it provided the foundation for the nineteenth century to escape from the limitations of animal muscle, wind, and water. It provided the power that led to modern manufacturing and the steamship and railroad. The barriers to the use of electricity for communication were finally overcome in the early part of the nineteenth century. Thus the foundations were laid for the explosion of knowledge that began with the openings of the heavens in 1820.

The Explosion of Secular Knowledge—Post 1820

One could make a long list of the scientific discoveries that followed 1820. These discoveries brought more change in the lives of people between 1825 and 1875 than at any other time in history. Railroads and steamships brought swift and reliable travel for the first time. Roads were macadamized which tied nations and continents together. Factories were mechanized into highly productive units. The telegraph brought instantaneous global communications. The instantaneous flow of information eliminated great inefficiencies in world markets and increased productivity. Cars, telephones, airplanes and computers followed. Advances in medicine improved health and extended life. Eventually, rockets became a reliable means of extraterrestrial transportation for human beings and satellites.

For a few moments, I will examine some of the key innovations of the last 50 years and their implications for the spread of the gospel. In doing so, I appreciate being able to use some materials developed by Brother Gerrit Gong of BYU and Clint Melander at Church headquarters.

The first innovation is the satellite. The Russians launched the first satellite into orbit on Friday, October 4, 1957, the first day of October general conference that year. The United States followed in 1958. To date, eight countries have independently launched satellites into orbit on indigenously developed launch

vehicles. In addition to Russia and the U.S., other countries include France, Japan, China, the United Kingdom, India and Israel.

The Church began using satellites for communications 25 years ago. Today, the Church leases transponders on six satellites that provide downlinks to more than 2,900 stakes, districts and missions around the globe. The satellite coverage allows 87 percent of Church membership to receive a signal. It will not be long before the other 13 percent are also within range. Satellites have allowed the Church to develop a global communications network that is extraordinarily important for a worldwide Church. This allows members to receive general conference and Church leaders to communicate with other leaders across the globe.

Last week, Elder Scott and I held a videoconference with the Area Presidency in West Africa regarding missionary work, the strengthening of stakes and temple worship. This coming Sunday, President Monson, Elder Holland, Sister Lant and I will be part of a satellite stake conference broadcast for all of the stakes in Samoa and Tahiti. Satellites have become an important medium for communicating with the members of the Church.

The Internet is a network of networks created from computers and cables that stretches across the globe. It delivers packets of information anywhere in the world, generally well under a second. It began in 1969 when communications were established between UCLA and the Stanford Research Institute. In 1990, CSNET came into being which linked universities in North America and then Europe. In 1995, popular interest exploded as the U.S. Government transferred control of the Internet to independent organizations.

In 1991, British computer scientist, Tim Berners-Lee, created the World Wide Web and posted the first Web site on August 6, 1991. The World Wide Web consists of the documents, sounds, videos and collections of data that ride on the Internet. Access to the Internet is highest in Japan at approximately 90 percent. North America is second at 70 percent. Penetration in Australia and Oceania is 54 percent and Europe follows with 39 percent. Asian penetration is eleven percent. The dominant language, of course, is global English.

The vast majority of searches regarding the Church are under the term "Mormon" rather than under the official Church name (about 23 million hits per day). The majority of the hits are sympathetic in nature i.e., most hits represent a positive interest in the Church. Still, there is a significant interest and number of hits directed to negative or even antagonistic information.

The Internet is a missionary tool. Many individuals use the net to find out information on the Church. Often, after the first meeting with the missionaries, investigators will go to the Internet to learn more. The Internet is also a key source of communications not only for the general populace but also for the Church. E-mail is a key method of communicating with leaders across the earth. The Internet is also a source for receiving general conference and other broadcasts.

In today's world, one cannot talk about innovation without mentioning the iPod. Some call the iPod the first consumer icon of the 21st century. When you see a young person with earbud headphones, chances are they are listening to one. The iPod and other MP3 players are handheld digital storage devices that come in different sizes and are generally used for music. The smallest, the iPod Shuffle, holds 120 songs. Video iPods with 60 GB of memory can hold up to three general conferences.

iPods are becoming more and more useful. They are used not only for listening to music, but educational materials may be stored on them. They can be used to study a foreign language or listen to general conference. Brothers and sisters, do not waste time with long periods of listening to the world's music. Rather, use the devices in productive ways to increase your understanding of the world and the Lord's work.

The next chart illustrates the pervasiveness of electronic equipment. According to a recent Business Week magazine article, “human beings produced more transistors than they did grains of rice” in 2005.⁹ Those transistors powered 2 billion cell phones, 1.5 billion televisions, 820 million personal computers, 190 million Game Boys, 70 million iPods, 50 million PDAs and 3.2 million BlackBerrys.

Given Geoffrey Moore’s law that the power of semiconductor chips will double roughly every 18 to 24 months, electronic devices will become even smaller, less expensive and more capable. Access to information will become more personal, available anytime, and anywhere.

Not only are electronic devices proliferating, but there is also a convergence. Last year, mobile phone manufacturers shipped 850 million phones to global customers. The current cost for a regular unit is about \$30. The industry goal is to reduce that cost to \$20 in the near future.

The first mobile phone produced by Motorola, nicknamed “The Brick” weighed 2 pounds and cost \$3,995. It was nothing more than a wireless phone. The new Apple iPhone weighs 4.8 ounces and offers voice, multimedia, and Internet on a touch screen. It will cost between \$400 and \$600 depending on storage capacity.

Moore’s law fuels the technology convergence that is taking place. As the picture illustrates, devices conveying video, voice, data, and multi-media are converging to a personal, portable, affordable handheld device that almost everyone, everywhere will own or be able to access.

Can you think of Church uses for such a device? It will be useful for missionary work, family history searches, communications, education, and many other needs. I also know that Satan—who has already found many uses for the various devices—will continue to tempt people with material that he places on the new ones.

Now, may we return to the beginning. In a dank, dark dungeon called Liberty Jail, the Lord revealed to the Prophet Joseph Smith that He would unleash “knowledge by [the] holy spirit . . . that has not been revealed since the world was even until now” (D&C 121:25).

Moreover, the knowledge would not only pertain to the spiritual realm but also include knowledge pertaining to the earth (see D&C 121:25, 29-31). From the time of Christ until 1820, Angus Maddison’s data supports the notion that the heavens were almost sealed during the dark ages. Finally, a small stream of light began to emerge between 1500 and 1800. And then Maddison says something happened. The switch was turned on and a flood of knowledge pierced men’s minds beginning about 1820.

Brothers and sisters, you are living the miracle, the promise made by the Lord to His prophet 170 years ago. It is interesting that the world is just beginning to understand what has happened, but still does not perceive the Source. The technological inventions and discoveries of the last 170 years are a clear witness that our Father in Heaven and His Son deliver on Their promises. They control the universe. They know the pace and the extent of the discoveries needed for the gospel to reach every nation, kindred, tongue and people.

I testify to you that the gospel of Jesus Christ was restored through the Prophet Joseph Smith and that President Gordon B. Hinckley has all of the priesthood keys necessary to save and exalt you and me. I testify that the Savior performed the Atonement so that our shortcomings will not limit us if we exercise faith in Him, repent, and partake of the ordinances and covenants associated with His work. Finally, the Lord is the Source of all truth including the marvelous scientific discoveries and inventions that have improved mankind’s lot during the last 200 years. May our testimonies of Him deepen and may we enjoy the power of His Holy Spirit in our lives is my prayer in the name of Jesus Christ, amen.



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