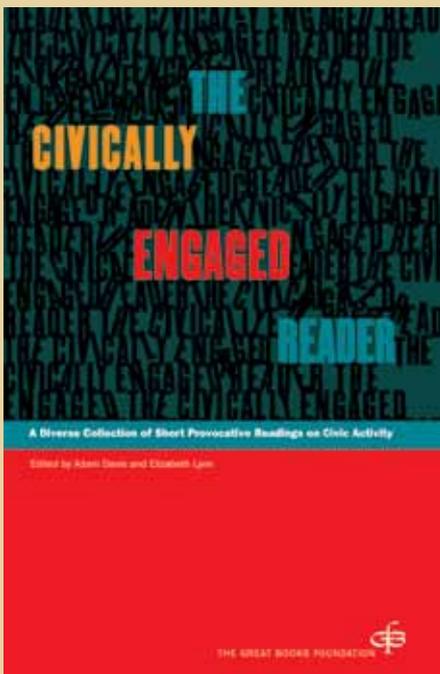
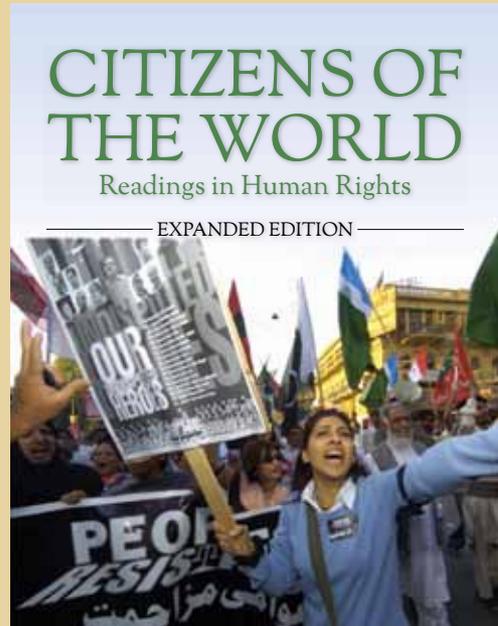
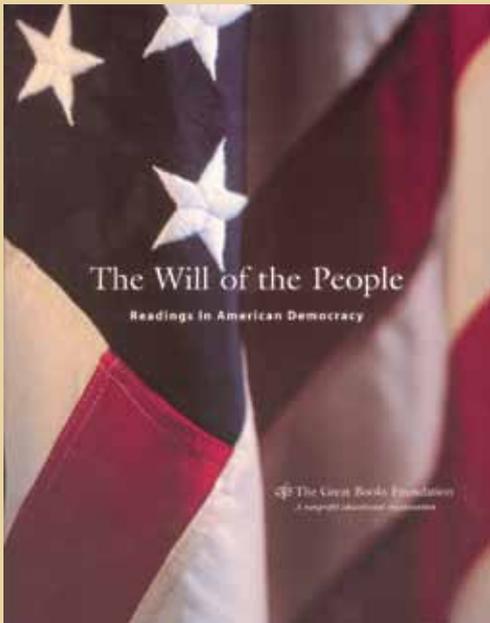


Great Books for Social Studies



Sample Units from

The Will of the People Readings in American Democracy	4
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The Civically Engaged Reader A Diverse Collection of Short Provocative Readings on Civic Activity	20



Foundation

A nonprofit educational organization

Great Books for Social Studies

Increasingly, middle school, high school, and college teachers are being held accountable for improving reading comprehension in the content areas. We at the Great Books Foundation have taken this goal a step further: we have developed a method of learning that improves not only reading comprehension but also critical thinking and writing, skills that are vital for today's student. And in conjunction with that method, we have created anthologies whose content encourages discussion and thought and, as a result, deeper understanding.

Perhaps nowhere is that need for understanding more critical than in the area of social studies. As our society becomes increasingly complex, it is more important than ever to know and understand the foundations both of American democracy and of civil society as a whole. The classic and contemporary texts we have assembled are indispensable in examining and understanding the formation of American democracy, the concept of human rights, and the connection between the inner life and public service. As Thomas Jefferson noted more than two hundred years ago, "An enlightened citizenry is indispensable for the proper functioning of a republic."

About This Booklet

This booklet contains listings of the contents and selected sample readings and questions from three of our anthologies: *The Will of the People: Readings in American Democracy*; *Citizens of the World: Readings in Human Rights*; and *The Civically Engaged Reader: A Diverse Collection of Short Provocative Readings on Civic Activity*. Each of these anthologies brings together some of the most important texts in our history. Some of these writings will be familiar; others *should* be. Each anthology can be used alone or in conjunction with existing classroom texts.

About Our Method

The Shared Inquiry™ method developed by the Great Books Foundation is designed to help students achieve a thorough understanding of a text by having them discuss questions, responses, and insights with others.

The questions that appear after each reading have been carefully designed to bring all participants into the discussion and to create deeper, more informed understanding. Our *interpretive questions* prompt students to articulate and examine the possible meanings of a text. These questions have as many answers as can be supported with evidence from the text. Our *evaluative questions* ask students to go beyond the text to think about the truth or validity of the ideas expressed in or suggested by a selection. Evaluative questions may also be used to focus written responses to a selection. Some selections also provide “Questions for Further Reflection” and “Questions for Research,” which are designed for more in-depth discussion and topics for writing assignments.

The Foundation has also created a program of professional development to help teachers fully understand the Shared Inquiry method and use it to its full potential. Through a progression of courses—as well as on-site consultation—teachers discover how and why students learn through this method; see how the method helps students improve their reading comprehension, critical thinking, and writing skills; and develop higher level questioning skills themselves. Teachers can obtain more information about our professional development program by contacting the Foundation.

About the Great Books Foundation

The Great Books Foundation, established in 1947, is an independent, nonprofit educational organization whose mission is to help people learn how to think and share ideas. Toward this end, the Foundation publishes collections of classic and modern texts for both children and adults and offers training for leaders of and participants in Shared Inquiry discussion. For more information about Great Books materials or professional development courses, call the Great Books Foundation at 800-222-5870 or visit our website at www.greatbooks.org.

Sample Units from

The Will of the People

Readings in American Democracy

Contents of *The Will of the People*

Declaration of Independence

The Federalist No. 10 *James Madison*

The Federalist No. 51 *James Madison*

The Federalist No. 78 *Alexander Hamilton*

Constitution of the United States of America

Farewell Address *George Washington*

Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, Seneca Falls Convention

Emancipation Proclamation *Abraham Lincoln*

Gettysburg Address *Abraham Lincoln*

Second Inaugural Address *Abraham Lincoln*

Address to the First Annual Meeting of the American Equal Rights Association *Sojourner Truth*

The United States of America v. Susan B. Anthony

Let America Be America Again *Langston Hughes*

Letter from Birmingham Jail *Martin Luther King Jr.*

Second Inaugural Address

Abraham Lincoln

March 4, 1865

At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention, and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it—all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to *saving* the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to *destroy* it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read

the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!" If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether."

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

Interpretive Questions

1. Why does Lincoln take up the attitude of “judge not that we be not judged,” even though he believes slavery to have been an offense to God?
2. Why doesn’t Lincoln feel triumphant regarding the successful course of the war? Why does he avoid calling for vengeance?
3. According to Lincoln, did the North “accept” war because of its wish to preserve the Union, or because of its abhorrence of slavery?
4. Does Lincoln blame the South for causing the war? Why does Lincoln point out that “the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement” of slavery?
5. According to Lincoln, why were people who had so much in common—even praying to the same God—unable to avoid such a terrible conflict?

Evaluative Questions

1. Are Americans as deeply divided today as in the time of Lincoln?
2. Would Americans go to war today to preserve the Union from division?
3. What is the proper balance between forgiveness for past wrongs and necessary reparations in the name of justice?

Let America Be America Again

Langston Hughes

1938

Let America be America again.
Let it be the dream it used to be.
Let it be the pioneer on the plain
Seeking a home where he himself is free.

(America never was America to me.)

Let America be the dream the dreamers dreamed—
Let it be that great strong land of love
Where never kings connive nor tyrants scheme
That any man be crushed by one above.

(It never was America to me.)

O, let my land be a land where Liberty
Is crowned with no false patriotic wreath,
But opportunity is real, and life is free,
Equality is in the air we breathe.

(There's never been equality for me,
Nor freedom in this "homeland of the free.")

*Say, who are you that mumbles in the dark?
And who are you that draws your veil across the stars?*

I am the poor white, fooled and pushed apart,
I am the Negro bearing slavery's scars.
I am the red man driven from the land,

Let America Be America Again, by Langston Hughes, from THE COLLECTED POEMS OF LANGSTON HUGHES, edited by Arnold Rampersad, copyright © 1994 by The Estate of Langston Hughes. Used by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, a division of Random House, Inc.

I am the immigrant clutching the hope I seek—
And finding only the same old stupid plan
Of dog eat dog, of mighty crush the weak.
I am the young man, full of strength and hope,
Tangled in that ancient endless chain
Of profit, power, gain, of grab the land!
Of grab the gold! Of grab the ways of satisfying need!
Of work the men! Of take the pay!
Of owning everything for one's own greed!

I am the farmer, bondsman to the soil.
I am the worker sold to the machine.
I am the Negro, servant to you all.
I am the people, humble, hungry, mean—
Hungry yet today despite the dream.
Beaten yet today—O, Pioneers!
I am the man who never got ahead,
The poorest worker bartered through the years.

Yet I'm the one who dreamt our basic dream
In that Old World while still a serf of kings,
Who dreamt a dream so strong, so brave, so true,
That even yet its mighty daring sings
In every brick and stone, in every furrow turned
That's made America the land it has become.
O, I'm the man who sailed those early seas
In search of what I meant to be my home—
For I'm the one who left dark Ireland's shore,
And Poland's plain, and England's grassy lea,

And torn from Black Africa's strand I came
To build a "homeland of the free."

The free?

Who said the free? Not me?
Surely not me? The millions on relief today?
The millions shot down when we strike?
The millions who have nothing for our pay?

For all the dreams we've dreamed
And all the songs we've sung
And all the hopes we've held
And all the flags we've hung,
The millions who have nothing for our pay—
Except the dream that's almost dead today.

O, let America be America again—
The land that never has been yet—
And yet must be—the land where *every* man is free.
The land that's mine—the poor man's, Indian's, Negro's, ME—
Who made America,
Whose sweat and blood, whose faith and pain,
Whose hand at the foundry, whose plow in the rain,
Must bring back our mighty dream again.

Sure, call me any ugly name you choose—
The steel of freedom does not stain.
From those who live like leeches on the people's lives,
We must take back our land again,
America!

O, yes,
I say it plain,
America never was America to me,
And yet I swear this oath—
America will be!

Out of the rack and ruin of our gangster death,
The rape and rot of graft, and stealth, and lies,
We, the people, must redeem
The land, the mines, the plants, the rivers.
The mountains and the endless plain—
All, all the stretch of these great green states—
And make America again!

Interpretive Questions

1. Who is the speaker in the poem addressing? What is the speaker's purpose in making this address?
2. If America has not been America for the people listed in the poem, then has it been America for anyone?
3. According to the speaker, who is responsible for building America?
4. Why does the speaker say, "We must take back our land again"? From whom should it be taken? Why?
5. What will be necessary, according to the speaker, to redeem the land?

Evaluative Questions

1. Did an earlier and more just America ever exist, as suggested in the statement "Let America be America again"?
2. If America was founded on stolen property, then is it contradictory for Hughes to say, "We must take back our land"?
3. How can the products of injustice be redeemed?

Sample Unit from

Citizens of the World

Readings in Human Rights

Contents of *Citizens of the World*

How to Keep a Slave <i>Cato the Elder</i>	The Stalin Epigram <i>Osip Mandelstam</i>
Hortensia's Protest <i>Appian of Alexandria</i>	The Arrest of Osip Mandelstam <i>Nadezhda Mandelstam</i>
Letter XLVII <i>Seneca the Younger</i>	I Will Bear Witness* <i>Victor Klemperer</i>
Magna Carta	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
English Bill of Rights*	Harlem [2] <i>Langston Hughes</i>
Second Treatise of Government* <i>John Locke</i>	Survival in Auschwitz* <i>Primo Levi</i>
The Social Contract* <i>Jean-Jacques Rousseau</i>	Defending Freedom and Freedom of Speech <i>Luis Aguilar</i>
Declaration of Independence	Letter from Birmingham Jail <i>Martin Luther King Jr.</i>
Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen	The Rivonia Trial: Second Court Statement* <i>Nelson Mandela</i>
Constitution of the United States of America (Preamble and Bill of Rights)	Letter to Deng Xiaoping <i>Wei Jingsheng</i>
State of the Union Address* <i>Andrew Jackson</i>	The Censors <i>Luisa Valenzuela</i>
Emancipation Proclamation <i>Abraham Lincoln</i>	We Say No <i>Eduardo Galeano</i>
<i>The United States of America v. Susan B. Anthony*</i>	A Few Remarks <i>Václav Havel, Stanislav Devdry, Jiri Krizan, and Sasa Vondra</i>
Slavery on the Henequen Plantations of Yucatan <i>Channing Arnold and Frederick Frost</i>	Comrades <i>Nadine Gordimer</i>
Independence v. Swaraj <i>Mahatma Gandhi</i>	The War and the Law <i>Max Frankel</i>
Gandhi's Followers Protest the Salt Tax <i>Webb Miller</i>	Safeguard Your Lives <i>Jan Wong</i>
	Red Scarf Girl* <i>Ji-li Jiang</i>
	My Forbidden Face* <i>Latifa</i>

* Indicates a selection taken from a longer work.

Wei Jingsheng (1950–)

Deng Xiaoping, who dominated the Chinese government and Communist Party in the 1980s, at first seemed to support some of the growing demands for democratic reform. Once in power, however, he began arresting and imprisoning activists.

Wei Jingsheng has been called the “father of Chinese democracy.” Born in Beijing to committed revolutionary parents a year after the founding of the People’s Republic of China, Wei was a loyal Communist until the oppression and injustice he saw during the Cultural Revolution disillusioned him. He began his public career as a dissident in 1978, when he posted an essay demanding democratic change on Democracy Wall, near Tiananmen Square in Beijing. In 1979, he was arrested after posting a second essay and was sentenced to fifteen years in prison. He was first kept on death row and then in solitary confinement for five years; while in prison, several of his teeth fell out, and he developed a weak heart, high blood pressure, and arthritis. Despite the difficulty of getting pen and paper, he wrote many letters to government leaders and his family; when necessary, he wrote on toilet paper. Wei’s fame as a political prisoner began to embarrass the Chinese government, and he was released on parole in 1993. He was arrested again six months later for resuming his prodemocracy work. On November 16, 1997, strong international pressure finally brought about Wei’s release, but he was not allowed to remain in China. He immediately immigrated to the United States and has continued to write and speak about human rights abuses in China. *The Courage to Stand Alone*, a collection of his prison letters from which this letter is taken, was published in 1997.

Letter to Deng Xiaoping

July 6, 1987

Dear Deng Xiaoping:

You might not be able to remember a person you wronged, but it isn't easy for me to forget the one who wronged me. Our situations are very different—you are at the top of a billion people and I am at the very bottom—but life isn't easy for either of us. It's just that I am not the one making your life difficult, while you're the one making it hard for me. Therefore, when things start looking up for you, you might still on occasion remember a person you once wronged. But if my days get better, then perhaps I won't have time to remember all of the people who once wronged me. For the number of people you have wronged and who have wronged me are many.

Even if this letter does manage to make it into your hands, it will most likely have passed through many inspections along the way. All these readers probably had to cover their mouths and stifle their laughter: What a madman! An emperor and a prisoner—how can the two even speak to one another! But that's not actually the case.

Your Excellency Deng, you hold supreme powers, but after eight years of “reform” the results are inflation and an upsurge in popular dissatisfaction; you're cut off from the people and deserted by your followers; you have troubles at home and abroad; and you're so confused and unsure that you're “groping for stones to cross the river.” Moreover, there are signs that you haven't made it to the other side yet and are still pacing back and forth along your old path. “Emperor of emperors” and “chairman of the Central Advisory Committee”—such titles do you little good, and the honey-laden words of flattery from abroad don't give you much comfort either! I don't think that your weak points include being taken in by flattery anyway, otherwise you would have an easier conscience by now. Your weakness is that you have great ambition, but

Letter to Deng Xiaoping, from THE COURAGE TO STAND ALONE: LETTERS FROM PRISON AND OTHER WRITINGS, by Wei Jingsheng. Edited and translated by Kristina M. Torgeson. Copyright © 1997 by Wei Jingsheng. Reprinted by permission of Viking Penguin, a division of Penguin Group, USA.

you're untalented and small-minded. You certainly wouldn't be happy to hear me say that you're like Yuan Shao in *The Three Kingdoms*, and perhaps your attendants will see to it that you never have to read these words at all. But such a person doesn't really cause much harm to others either, and few people would aspire to be ambitious, untalented, as well as small-minded. Being small-minded but without ambition, like a farmer or a craftsperson, presents no great obstacle either; at worst people might just look down on you. To have ambition but little talent is also not that harmful. The first and last emperors of the Han dynasty and the founding emperors of the Tang and Song dynasties were all ambitious and lacked talent, yet they managed to accomplish great things nevertheless.

It is the people who possess all three of these qualities (one positive, two negative), however, who have never come to any good. Not only is this bad for the individual himself, but it's even worse for the people and society, especially for those who possess little power. On this basis, I no longer place any great hope in the future of China before your death. This isn't because your plans for reform don't have their reason, and it isn't because China is without the social and material conditions for rapid development, but it's because you, a man well into his eighties, are unable to overcome your greatest weaknesses and continue to persecute those who try to put a check on you. It's already too late and, from the look of things, this situation is irreversible. If you feel happy living your days this way, then you're not wise enough to go down in history as either a great sage leader or an infamous despot, but you'll probably end up as one or the other anyway. You couldn't end up mediocre even if you wanted to, I know you're at least up to that level. But which one to choose? Of course you would like to go down in glory, not infamy. But things often depend on your actions, not your choice. Even having good intentions or putting on a good show won't guarantee that your future will turn out as you like!

But Wei What's-His-Name's days are not easy either. I've passed eight years in this prison-within-a-prison. As a result, I've managed to contract a nervous condition, coronary heart disease, stomach problems, and chronic arthritis; I don't know what's going on in the outside world or how my family is. I'm confused and unsure too, but I don't know what

stones to grope or even what river to cross, and besides, from all indications there isn't even hope of there being a riverbank on the other side or an old road for me to pace back and forth on. "Human rights pioneer" and "champion of democracy"—such titles do me little good, and the attacks and smears being flung by those "antidemocracy, antireform heroes" don't give me much comfort either. My weak points don't include the self-comforting spirit of an Ah Q, nor do they include the self-condemning spirit of a "capitalist-roader" like yourself, otherwise I'd be able to set my mind at ease a bit more.

My weakness is that I lack great ambitions, but I am not entirely without talent, and I may in fact not be as small-minded as I should be. I don't have just one positive point, nor only two negative ones—but then again, nobody aspires to be this way either. With no ambition, but a few talents, I'm not one of those who can learn to shamelessly flatter others, jockey for position, or undertake other such trivial maneuvers. I often incur the jealousy of others, and yet I'm unable to perform the tricks that might improve my situation. Whether in prison or out, I will always face endless troubles. If back in 1979 I had been a bit more small-minded and not waited at home for your police to come, but had hidden away instead in a place where you couldn't find me or even run away abroad, I don't think it would have been particularly good for you or, indirectly, for the country, but it wouldn't necessarily have been bad for me! Why should I act on behalf of others and the country? It seems that this too is an incurable weakness that is extremely easy for people like yourself to exploit. Just as Mao Zedong was able to take advantage of your "capitalist-roader spirit."

Of course, my optimism had something to do with it as well. It made me believe that you were actually moving toward reform and democracy and that you would show at least a bit of conscience, since I thought you would remember how you yourself suffered when you were once persecuted! But this was my biggest mistake. Admittedly, you Party elders have fought for democracy and freedom ever since your youth, but it has been for yourselves alone; once power came into your hands, you didn't plan to give the people the right to freedom and democracy. Your perspective is not much different from that of an emperor or king, of a Duvalier or Marcos. When others suffer even worse persecution than you

ever did, you feel confident that you are justified in taking actions that are “proper and necessary.”

During the fascist dictatorship under Mao Zedong, many of you were accused of unwarranted charges. How did you feel then? Did not Mao Zedong and Jiang Qing consider their actions to be “proper and necessary” as well? This is no different from when you feel you have “proper and necessary” grounds to use unwarranted charges to blatantly slander and persecute others. Must we wait until after Deng Xiaoping’s death to clear away another “Gang of X” and for another Hu So-and-So to redress mishandled and mistaken cases? Sometimes history too is ambitious but lacking in talent and must pace back and forth along the old road before crossing to the other side of the river.

Of course, just as you yourselves boast, things are no longer the same as they once were. As political prisoners in the past, you generally enjoyed special treatment in prison. If I had been treated in such a way from the beginning, I wouldn’t be in my present condition. In passing, please let me remind you: the medical checkup carried out in your prison hospital in late 1979 proves that my health was excellent at the time—there’s a record of it in your files. But my current state of health is much worse than most of yours when you were released from prison. If I remember correctly, most of you were either rehabilitated or released on “medical parole.” This includes Peng Zhen, Bo Yibo, Wang Guangmei, the late Ding Ling, and many others. Why, then, when I am so ill, is it only appropriate for me to receive “treatment” in prison? I guess this is just another example of how things are different today from the time of the Gang of Four!

Is it possible for one to “recuperate” in prison? What a joke! A few of you probably heard this illogical sort of reasoning before as well! How did you feel then? But now you seem to think it is very reasonable. Not only am I denied the special treatment that you once had, but even if I received it, there would be no way for me to “recuperate” in prison. My health is so poor that I need a great deal of sleep. Actually, all outsiders who come to the Qinghai highlands need more sleep—this is medical fact, not something I made up. I’ve been saying this for years, but it’s ignored, and I still can’t sleep well. It’s extremely cold here in this region, and people in poor health have even greater trouble bearing it. I’ve been wasting ink writing

about the lack of coal every year since I've been in Qinghai, but the problem still persists. I won't even bother raising any other matters again. My health continues to deteriorate at almost the same rate that the inflation caused by your reforms grows.

I'm complaining and being somewhat disrespectful and you're probably grumbling about how this Wei-What's-His-Name is always criticizing the reforms, and so on and so on. But this is just a habit of mine; I don't pose any real threat. For a long time now I've been learning to be more small-minded and to keep my mouth shut and stay out of national affairs or other people's business. After all, what I do to help others might be bad for me! Why should I harm myself for the sake of others? If you really change, or just pretend to, for better or for worse, it's no concern of mine, I'll stay out of it. I ask only that you actually keep the promises you have made many times and show more respect for human rights. Now that my condition is serious, I should be permitted to recuperate in more suitable conditions in accordance with the law—that is, I should be released on medical parole. As for a review of my case and a dismissal of the mistaken verdict against me, I'm still asking for this, but I've given up hope!

Wei Jingsheng

Questions for Discussion

1. Why does Wei Jingsheng write to Deng Xiaoping?
2. Why does Wei begin his letter by suggesting that his situation is similar to Deng Xiaoping's, saying "life isn't easy for either of us"? (14)
3. Why does Wei refer to himself as "Wei What's-His-Name"?
4. Why does Wei call his inclination to act on behalf of others and the country "an incurable weakness"? (16)
5. Why does Wei admit that he "no longer place[s] any great hope in the future of China" before Deng's death? How much control over China's fate does Wei believe Deng has? (15)

6. What does Wei mean when he says that “sometimes history too is ambitious but lacking in talent”? (17)
7. Why does Wei take such a personal, “disrespectful” tone? (18)
8. Why does Wei assure Deng that his complaints are “just a habit” and that he doesn’t “pose any real threat”? (18)
9. At the end of his letter, why does Wei say that he’s given up hope that the verdict against him will be dismissed?

Questions for Further Reflection

1. Wei asks, “Why should I harm myself for the sake of others?” In your opinion, under what circumstances should one do so?
2. Are acts of resistance to oppression always heroic, no matter how unlikely they are to have an effect?

Questions for Research

1. Research Deng Xiaoping and his rule. How did his statements and actions change over time? How many people were arrested and imprisoned for their political beliefs during his rule, and how were they treated?
2. Research the life of Wei Jingsheng, including the other letters collected in *The Courage to Stand Alone*. What effect did he have on the struggle for democracy?
3. Research how the Chinese government currently deals with political dissidents.

Sample Unit from

The Civically Engaged Reader
A Diverse Collection of Short Provocative
Readings on Civic Activity

Contents of *The Civically Engaged Reader*

PART I: ASSOCIATING

Politics* *Aristotle*

Waiting for the Barbarians
Constantine Cavafy

I Shall Not Beg for My Rights
Henry MacNeal Turner

The Boy Without a Flag
Abraham Rodriguez Jr.

They'll Say, "She Must Be from
Another Country"
Imtiaz Dharker

Fellowship *Franz Kafka*

Earliest Impressions
Jane Addams

He Sits Down on the Floor of a
School for the Retarded
Alden Nowlan

The Theory of Moral Sentiments*
Adam Smith

Democracy in America*
Alexis de Tocqueville

The Souls of Black Folk*
W. E. B. Du Bois

Theme for English B

Langston Hughes

Recitatif *Toni Morrison*

Mending Wall *Robert Frost*

PART II: SERVING

Luella Miller

Mary E. Wilkins Freeman

Dry Dock *Margaret Sutherland*

Saving the Crippled Boy *Fan Beatty*

The Eleventh *Henri Barbusse*

The Moral Equivalent of War
William James

The Subjective Necessity of Social
Settlements *Jane Addams*

The Drum Major Instinct
Martin Luther King Jr.

The Book of Ruth

Specimen Days* *Walt Whitman*

The Lovers of the Poor
Gwendolyn Brooks

What We Don't Talk About When
We Don't Talk About Service
Adam Davis

* Indicates a selection taken from a longer work.

PART III: GIVING

Where Were We *Dave Eggers*

Reveries of the Solitary

Walker* *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*

The Sweetness of Charity

Maya Angelou

The Lamb and the Pinecone

Pablo Neruda

The Gospel of Wealth,

Part I *Andrew Carnegie*

Self-Reliance* *Ralph Waldo
Emerson*

Compassion: The Wish-Fulfilling

Jewel *Sogyal Rinpoche*

A Bed for the Night *Bertolt Brecht*

Four Traditions of Philanthropy

Elizabeth Lynn and D. Susan Wisely

Mishneh Torah* *Moses Maimonides*

If All Who Have Begged Help

Anna Akhmatova

PART IV: LEADING

The Wife of His Youth

Charles Waddell Chesnut

II Samuel, Chapters 11–12

The Destroyers *Graham Greene*

The Helmsman *Franz Kafka*

The Lesson *Toni Cade Bambara*

The Use of Force *William Carlos
Williams*

The Autobiography of Benjamin
Franklin* *Benjamin Franklin*

The Ones Who Walk Away from
Omelas *Ursula K. Le Guin*

The History Teacher
Billy Collins

Second Inaugural Address
Abraham Lincoln

The Minister's Black Veil
Nathaniel Hawthorne

* Indicates a selection taken from a longer work.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778)

The son of a Genevan watchmaker, Jean-Jacques Rousseau became a central figure of the French Enlightenment and inspired political revolutionaries on two continents. He wrote what has come to be classified as political theory and anthropology, as well as a wildly successful novel, a resonant treatise on education, and one of the first distinctively modern autobiographies. As a young man, Rousseau roamed around Europe, attempting various unsuccessful routes to fame and fortune (including the invention of a new system of musical notation). As an older man, in addition to publishing several influential books, Rousseau copied music and devoted much of his energy to botany. This selection comes from the Sixth Walk of his last work, *Reveries of the Solitary Walker*, published four years after his death.

Reveries of the Solitary Walker

At a corner of the boulevard near the Enfer tollgate exit, there is a woman who sets up a stand every day in the summer to sell fruit, herb tea, and rolls. This woman has a very nice, but lame, little boy who, hobbling along on his crutches, goes about quite graciously asking passersby for alms. I had become slightly acquainted with this little fellow; each time I passed, he did not fail to come pay his little compliment, always followed by my little offering. At first I was charmed to see him; I gave to him very goodheartedly and for some time continued to do so with the same pleasure, quite frequently even prompting and listening to his little prattle, which I found enjoyable. This pleasure, having gradually become a habit, was inexplicably transformed into a kind of duty I soon felt to be annoying, especially because of the preliminary harangue to which I had to listen and in which he never failed to call me Monsieur Rousseau many times, to show that he knew me well. But to the contrary, that only taught me that he knew me no more than those who had instructed him. From that time on I passed by there less willingly, and finally I automatically got in the habit of making a detour when I came close to this crossing.

That is what I discovered by reflecting on it; for until then, none of this had clearly entered my thoughts. This observation recalled to me a multitude of others, one after the other, which entirely convinced me that the true and primary motives of most of my actions are not as clear even to me as I had long imagined. I know and feel that to do good is the truest happiness the human heart can savor; but it is a long time now since this happiness has been put out of my reach, and it is not in such a wretched lot as mine that one can hope to perform wisely and fruitfully a single really good action. The greatest care of those who rule my fate having been to make everything appear only false and deceptive to me, an occasion for virtue is never anything but a lure they hold out to draw me

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into the snare they want to enlance me in. I know that; I know that the only good that might henceforth be within my power is to abstain from acting from fear of doing evil without wanting to and without knowing it.

... I have often felt the burden of my own good deeds by the chain of duties they later entailed. Then the pleasure disappeared, and the continuation of the very attentiveness that had charmed me at first no longer struck me as anything but an almost unbearable annoyance. During my brief moments of prosperity, many people appealed to me; and despite the multitude of favors they asked of me, none of them was ever turned away. But from these first good deeds, which my heart poured out effusively, were forged chains of subsequent liabilities I had not foreseen and whose yoke I could no longer shake off. In the eyes of those who received them, my first favors were only a pledge for those that were supposed to follow; and as soon as some unfortunate man had hooked me with my own good deed, that was it from then on. This first free and voluntary good deed became an unlimited right to all those he might need afterward, without even my lack of power being enough to release me from his claim. That is how very delightful enjoyments were transformed into onerous subjections for me ever afterward.



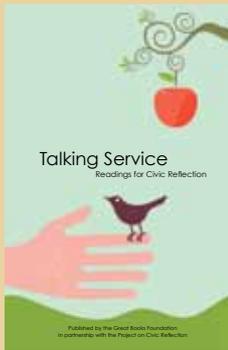
I know that there is a kind of contract, and even the holiest of all, between the benefactor and the beneficiary. They form a sort of society with each other, more restricted than the one that unites men in general. And if the beneficiary tacitly pledges himself to gratitude, the benefactor likewise pledges himself to preserve for the other, as long as he does not make himself unworthy of it, the same goodwill he has just shown him and to renew its acts for him whenever he is able to and whenever it is required. Those are not stated conditions, but they are natural effects of the relationship that has just been set up between them. He who refuses a spontaneous favor the first time it is asked of him gives the one he has refused no right to complain. But he who, in a similar case, refuses the same person the same kindness he heretofore accorded him, frustrates a hope he has authorized him to conceive. He deceives and belies an expectation he has engendered. In this refusal, we feel an inexplicable injustice and greater harshness than in the other; but it is no less the effect of an inde-

pendence the heart loves and renounces only with effort. When I pay a debt, it is a duty I fulfill; when I give a gift, it is a pleasure I give myself. Now, the pleasure of fulfilling our duties is one of those that only the habit of virtue engenders; those that come to us immediately from nature do not rise so high.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why does Rousseau give money to the crippled boy? Why does doing so give Rousseau pleasure?
2. Why is Rousseau disturbed by the boy's familiar attitude in addressing him as Monsieur Rousseau? Why does this lead Rousseau to avoid the boy?
3. How can the initial pleasure of giving become unpleasant and onerous?
4. According to Rousseau, how is the contract between benefactor and beneficiary "the holiest of all"?
5. What does Rousseau mean when he says that the pleasures that "come to us immediately from nature do not rise so high" as those that come from fulfilling our duties?
6. Having been a benefactor, do we have a responsibility to continue giving to our beneficiary? When is it right to cease giving to a beneficiary?

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