

Propaganda techniques

From Institute for Propaganda Analysis, *Propaganda Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. Quoted at <http://carmen.artsci.washington.edu/propaganda/home.htm> and http://www.vcsun.org/~ilene/secured_305text/propa.html

Name calling

Bad names have played a tremendously powerful role in the history of the world and in our own individual development. They have ruined reputations, stirred men and women to outstanding accomplishments, sent others to prison cells, and made men mad enough to enter battle and slaughter their fellowmen. They have been and are applied to other people, groups, gangs, tribes, colleges, political parties, neighborhoods, states, sections of the country, nations, and races.

Glittering generalities

We believe in, fight for, live by virtue words about which we have deep-set ideas. Such words include civilization, Christianity, good, proper, right, democracy, patriotism, motherhood, fatherhood, science, medicine, health, and love.

For our purposes in propaganda analysis, we call these virtue words "Glittering Generalities" in order to focus attention upon this dangerous characteristic that they have: They mean different things to different people; they can be used in different ways.

This is not a criticism of these words as we understand them. Quite the contrary. It is a criticism of the uses to which propagandists put the cherished words and beliefs of unsuspecting people.

When someone talks to us about democracy, we immediately think of our own definite ideas about democracy, the ideas we learned at home, at school, and in church. Our first and natural reaction is to assume that the speaker is using the word in our sense, that he believes as we do on this important subject. This lowers our 'sales resistance' and makes us far less suspicious than we ought to be when the speaker begins telling us the things 'the United States must do to preserve democracy.'

The Glittering Generality is, in short, Name Calling in reverse. While Name Calling seeks to make us form a judgment to reject and condemn without examining the evidence, the Glittering Generality device seeks to make us approve and accept without examining the evidence. In acquainting ourselves with the Glittering Generality Device, therefore, all that has been said regarding Name Calling must be kept in mind. . .

Transfer

Transfer is a device by which the propagandist carries over the authority, sanction, and prestige of something we respect and revere to something he would have us accept. For example, most of us respect and revere our church and our nation. If the propagandist succeeds in getting church or nation to approve a campaign in behalf of some program, he thereby transfers its authority, sanction, and prestige to that program. Thus, we may accept something which otherwise we might reject.

Testimonial

This is the classic misuse of the Testimonial Device that comes to the minds of most of us when we hear the term. We recall it indulgently and tell ourselves how much more sophisticated we are than our grandparents or even our parents.

With our next breath, we begin a sentence, 'The Times said,' 'John L. Lewis said. . .,' 'Herbert Hoover said. . .,' 'The President said. . .,' 'My doctor said. . .,' 'Our minister said. . .' Some of these Testimonials may merely give greater emphasis to a legitimate and accurate idea, a fair use of the device; others, however, may represent the sugar-coating of a distortion, a falsehood, a misunderstood notion, an anti-social suggestion. . .

Plain folks

"Plain Folks" is a device used by politicians, labor leaders, businessmen, and even by ministers and educators to win our confidence by appearing to be people like ourselves—"just plain folks among the neighbors." In election years especially do candidates show their devotion to little children and the common, homey things of life. They have front porch campaigns. For the newspapermen they raid the kitchen cupboard, finding there some of the good wife's apple pie. They go to country picnics; they attend service at the old frame church; they pitch hay and go fishing; they show their belief in home and mother. In short, they would win our votes by showing that they're just as common as the rest of us—"just plain folks"—and, therefore, wise and good. Businessmen often are "plain folks" with the factory hands. Even distillers use the device. "It's our family's whiskey, neighbor; and neighbor, it's your price."

Card stacking

"Card Stacking" is a device in which the propagandist employs all the arts of deception to win our support for himself, his group, nation, race, policy, practice, belief, or ideal. He stacks the cards against the truth. He uses under-emphasis and over-emphasis to dodge issues and evade facts. He resorts to lies, censorship and distortion. He omits facts. He offers false testimony. He creates a smoke screen of clamor by raising a new issue when he wants an embarrassing matter forgotten. He draws a red herring across the trail to confuse and divert those in quest of facts he does not want revealed. He makes the unreal appear real and the real appear unreal. He lets half-truth masquerade as truth. By the Card Stacking device, a mediocre candidate, through the "build-up," is made to appear an intellectual titan; an ordinary prize fighter, a probable world champion; a worthless patent medicine, a beneficent cure. By means of this device propagandists would convince us that a ruthless war of aggression is a crusade for righteousness. Some member nations of the Non-Intervention Committee send their troops to intervene in Spain. Card Stacking employs sham, hypocrisy, effrontery.

Bandwagon

The propagandist hires a hall, rents radio stations, fills a great stadium, marches a million or at least a lot of men in a parade. He employs symbols, colors, music, movement, all the dramatic arts. He gets us to write letters, to send telegrams, to contribute to his cause. He appeals to the desire, common to most of us, to follow the crowd. Because he wants us to follow the crowd in masses, he directs his appeal to groups held together already by common ties, ties of nationality, religion, race, sex, vocation. Thus propagandists campaigning for or against a program will appeal to us as Catholics, Protestants, or Jews...as farmers or as school teachers; as housewives or as miners.

With the aid of all the other propaganda devices, all of the artifices of flattery are used to harness the fears and hatreds, prejudices and biases, convictions and ideals common to a group. Thus is emotion made to push and pull us as members of a group onto a Band Wagon.

Action of Second Continental Congress, July 4, 1776

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation.

WE hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness – That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shewn, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the Necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The History of the present King of Great- Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World.

HE has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public Good.

HE has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing Importance, unless suspended in their Operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

HE has refused to pass other Laws for the Accommodation of large Districts of People, unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the Legislature, a Right inestimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

HE has called together Legislative Bodies at Places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the Depository of their public Records, for the sole Purpose of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Measures.

HE has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the Rights of the People.

HE has refused for a long Time, after such Dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of the Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the Dangers of Invasion from without, and the Convulsions within.

HE has endeavoured to prevent the Population of these States; for that Purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

HE has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

HE has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

HE has erected a Multitude of new Offices, and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harrass our People, and eat out their Substance.

HE has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

HE has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

HE has combined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

FOR quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us;

FOR protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

FOR cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World:

FOR imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

FOR depriving us, in many Cases, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury:

FOR transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences:

FOR abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to render it at once an Example and fit Instrument for introducing the same absolute Rules into these Colonies:

FOR taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

FOR suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever.

HE has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

HE has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of our People.

HE is, at this Time, transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the Works of Death, Desolation, and Tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

HE has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

HE has excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions.

IN every stage of these Oppressions we have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated Injury. A Prince, whose Character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People.

NOR have we been wanting in Attentions to our British Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable Jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Justice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to disavow these Usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our Connections and Correspondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and of Consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the Necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends.

WE, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do, in the Name, and by 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.

John Hancock.

GEORGIA, Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, Geo. Walton.

NORTH-CAROLINA, Wm. Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

SOUTH-CAROLINA, Edward Rutledge, Thos Heyward, junr., Thomas Lynch, junr., Arthur Middleton.

MARYLAND, Samuel Chase, Wm. Paca, Thos. Stone, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA, George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Ths. Jefferson, Benja. Harrison, Thos. Nelson, jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

PENNSYLVANIA, Robt. Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benja. Franklin, John Morton, Geo. Clymer, Jas. Smith, Geo. Taylor, James Wilson, Geo. Ross.

DELAWARE, Caesar Rodney, Geo. Read.

NEW-YORK, Wm. Floyd, Phil. Livingston, Frank Lewis, Lewis Morris.

NEW-JERSEY, Richd. Stockton, Jno. Witherspoon, Fras. Hopkinson, John Hart, Abra. Clark.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE, Josiah Bartlett, Wm. Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, Saml. Adams, John Adams, Robt. Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE-ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE, C. Step. Hopkins, William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT, Roger Sherman, Saml. Huntington, Wm. Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

IN CONGRESS, JANUARY 18, 1777.

Washington Post / 11 Apr 1999, p. A01 / **Serbs' Offensive Was Meticulously Planned** / By R. Jeffrey Smith; William Drozdiak, Washington Post Foreign Service

After lingering beneath a Rembrandt painting in the Belgrade presidential palace, Yugoslav Gen. Momcilo Perisic quietly pulled aside NATO's two top generals, Wesley K. Clark of the United States and Klaus Naumann of Germany. Ducking into an office, he dismissed his security detail and turned up the volume on a television set to defeat any eavesdropping devices. He had something urgent to say.

It was Oct. 25 of last year at the end of a long, strained day. Clark and Naumann had come to Belgrade to negotiate the terms of Yugoslav troop deployments in Kosovo. But the NATO generals had found President Slobodan Milosevic and his military high command – led by Perisic – brusque and almost carefree in their defiance of the West.

Now Perisic sounded grave, worried: "He said the army was the last democratic institution in the country, and that it would be a disaster if his forces were ever destroyed in a conflict with NATO," Naumann recalled. "He gave the impression that for purely patriotic reasons, he wanted to save the army at all costs." But just weeks later, Perisic was gone – fired by Milosevic in a purge of independent-minded officers. And soon after, Milosevic's new military leaders and his security police would jointly begin laying the groundwork for a secret plan – "Operation Horseshoe" – designed to eradicate a rebel threat in Kosovo and, as it would turn out, radically change the ethnic landscape of the province, even at the cost of certain war with NATO.

In retrospect, many Western analysts see Perisic's firing 4 1/2 months ago as a key turning point on the road to war – and an early, missed clue to Milosevic's intentions. Naumann believes that Perisic was trying to send a signal about the planned Yugoslav operation in Kosovo on that night in October. If so, it would not have been the last such signal – nor the last that NATO failed to interpret accurately. Since NATO bombing began on March 24, more than 40,000 Yugoslav army troops, special police units and uniformed paramilitaries have carried out one of the most ambitiously ruthless military campaigns in Europe in half a century. While virtually ignoring the NATO forces attacking their country, the troops have devastated the ethnic Albanian rebels and civilians whose desire for self rule in Kosovo threatens the internal integrity of Yugoslavia and its dominant republic, Serbia.

New York Times / 11 Apr 1999, p. 1; Foreign desk / **Crisis in the Balkans: The overview; Allies expecting 'many more weeks' of air campaign** / By Craig R. Whitney

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Mr. Milosevic's plan to redraw the ethnic map of the province by driving out most of the people of Albanian ancestry who lived there was put in place in October, according to German Defense Ministry officials.

The operation – code-named "horseshoe," or "potkova" in the Serbian language – was being planned even as Mr. Milosevic was promising to withdraw the police and military forces that had already begun driving Albanians out of their homes, the German Defense Minister, Rudolf Scharping, said in Bonn this week.

"Our analysis of 'Operation Horseshoe' sadly confirms what we had inferred during the negotiations, which is that Milosevic wanted to win time to prepare a systematic deportation," Mr. Scharping said. Already under threat of NATO bombing last fall, Mr. Milosevic agreed in talks in October with Richard C. Holbrooke, the American special envoy to the Balkans, to withdraw the attacking

Serbian forces. But he would not accept an international peacekeeping force, so Mr. Holbrooke settled for 2,500 unarmed observers from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Those observers were never able to stop continued fighting or to compel Serbian forces to conform to Mr. Milosevic's promises. "The operation began in November of 1998 in Kosovo," Mr. Scharping said. "It shows that, in a certain part of Kosovo, the Yugoslav Army and police planned and then began, between November of 1998 and the beginning of the negotiations in Rambouillet, to expel people." German diplomats said NATO intelligence had observed the military buildup north of Kosovo and inside the province, but had wrongly concluded that it was aimed only at the Kosovo Liberation Army. That group had been fighting for independence but last month accepted proposals for autonomy under Serbian rule, with a NATO peacekeeping force to guarantee it, in the peace plan worked out in talks at Rambouillet castle near Paris.

Mr. Milosevic's refusal to accept that plan or even discuss an international peacekeeping plan was what started NATO bombing on March 24.

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Los Angeles Times / 8 Aug 1999 / p. A1 / **Sunday Report; Evidence details systematic plan of killings in Kosovo; As more graves are discovered daily, a Times investigation finds that the terror against ethnic Albanians was premeditated and worse than suspected** / by John Daniszewski

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As NATO rained bombs on Yugoslavia, evidence now being collected is showing, a great killing machine was at work here, a premeditated Serbian military-and-police juggernaut that swooped down on almost every city and hamlet in the province, leaving in its wake burned homes, charred bones and mass graves for the ethnic Albanian majority to cry over.

While the Serbian onslaught was happening—amid a war between NATO and Yugoslavia, and amid Belgrade's armed conflict with Kosovo separatists—the overall extent of the massacres could only be speculated on. Now, eight weeks later, the worst fears are being verified. More graves and decomposed remains are being found daily despite the efforts of the killers to conceal corpses by burning and scattering remains. More family members are admitting to themselves that their missing can only have died. More village leaders are approaching war crimes investigators with the simple plea: Come look at our massacre. Slowly, inexorably, the death count mounts.

By putting together physical information from grave sites and testimony of survivors, as well as through visits by the Los Angeles Times to more than 30 locations where killings occurred, the horror of those 2 1/2 months is revealed. It becomes clear that a great convulsion of organized, geographically pinpointed killing began with simultaneous attacks across Kosovo hours after NATO airstrikes began, and rarely ebbed until June 12, when the first North Atlantic Treaty Organization peacekeepers arrived.

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Indeed, the German government believes that it has in hand the written blueprint for the whole campaign, put together late last year under the code name "Operation Horseshoe."

It turned over a copy – which it says was obtained from an unidentified country neighboring Yugoslavia – to Arbour in April.

This plan, the Germans believe, was drafted by generals in Belgrade, the Yugoslav and Serbian capital, with the final green light coming directly from Milosevic even before the failed last-minute peace negotiations in February at Rambouillet, France.

Michael Steiner, the chief foreign policy advisor to German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, noted a stunning conformity of the expulsions and killings inflicted by Serbs amid the NATO bombardment with the detailed orders in the plan.

"This document proved that these 'ethnic cleansing' measures had been planned during 1998," he asserted.

The CIA declines to discuss the Operation Horseshoe plan, but a senior White House official said that the U.S. government became aware as early as February that Belgrade was getting ready for a major crackdown.

"It became clear to us at Rambouillet that the Serbs were preparing for some form of large-scale offensive," the official said. "The indications were that the VJ Yugoslav army and MUP Interior Ministry police were working close together on this," the official said. "We saw forces being moved into the area, and there were growing indicators they were preparing for some kind of action. I mean, they were going beyond the planning phases. They were mobilizing resources."

Adding to those ominous signs, Milosevic never seemed to take the Rambouillet talks seriously. He sent only low-ranking delegates, with no apparent instructions, who acted like they were on a holiday. "One of their first requests was for manicures," the White House official said. And the delegation consumed well over 100 bottles of wine during the first two weeks of talks, according to a French news agency report.

Times (London) / 2 Apr 2000 / **Serbian ethnic cleansing scare was a fake, says general** /
By John Goetz in Berlin and Tom Walker

A REPORT purporting to show that Belgrade planned the systematic ethnic cleansing of Kosovo's entire Albanian population was faked, a German general has claimed.

The plan, known as Operation Horseshoe, was revealed by Joschka Fischer, the German foreign minister, on April 6 last year, almost two weeks after Nato started bombing Serbia. German public opinion about the Luftwaffe's participation in the airstrikes was divided at the time. Horseshoe - or "Potkova", as the Germans said it was known in Belgrade - became a staple of Nato briefings. It was presented as proof that President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia had long planned the expulsion of Albanians. James Rubin, the American state department spokesman, cited it only last week to justify Nato's bombardment. However, Heinz Loquai, a retired brigadier general, has claimed in a new book on the war that the plan was fabricated from run-of-the-mill Bulgarian intelligence reports.

Loquai, who now works for the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), has accused Rudolf Scharping, the German defence minister, of obscuring the origins of Operation Horseshoe.

"The facts to support its existence are at best terribly meagre," he told The Sunday Times. "I have come to the conclusion that no such operation ever existed. The criticism of the war, which had grown into a fire that was almost out of control, was completely extinguished by Operation Horseshoe."

Scharping reported in his wartime diary that he had received the intelligence report on Horseshoe from Fischer. But according to Die Woche, the German news weekly, the report was a general analysis by a Bulgarian intelligence agency of Serbian behaviour in the war. Loquai has claimed that the German defence ministry turned a vague report from Sofia into a "plan", and even coined

the name Horseshoe. Die Woche has reported that maps broadcast around the world as proof of Nato's information were drawn up at the German defence headquarters in Hardthohe.

The Bulgarian report concluded that the goal of the Serbian military was to destroy the Kosovo Liberation Army, and not to expel the entire Albanian population, as was later argued by Scharping and the Nato leadership. Loquai also pointed to a fundamental flaw in the German account: it named the operation Potkova, which is the Croatian word for horseshoe. The Serbian for horseshoe is Potkovicica. "A state prosecutor would never think of going to trial with the amount of evidence available to the German defence ministry," said Loquai. Nato sources rejected Loquai's claims, but admitted it was impossible to prove the origins of the Horseshoe story. "There's never any absolute certainty about these things," said one source. "But the idea that there was nothing pre-arranged is counter-intuitive.

"Look at the speed with which the Serbs moved. It was systematic. Until we get into Belgrade and start tearing the files apart, we will never be certain - and that's never going to happen."

In Belgrade, government sources said several Yugoslav army officers had dismissed Operation Horseshoe as part of Nato's propaganda war.

Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (1776), Book IV, Chapter 8

But the cruellest of our revenue laws, I will venture to affirm, are mild and gentle in comparison of some of those which the clamour of our merchants and manufacturers has extorted from the legislature for the support of their own absurd and oppressive monopolies. Like the laws of Draco, these laws may be said to be all written in blood.

...

It cannot be very difficult to determine who have been the contrivers of this whole mercantile system; not the consumers, we may believe, whose interest has been entirely neglected; but the producers, whose interest has been so carefully attended to; and among this latter class our merchants and manufacturers have been by far the principal architects. In the mercantile regulations, which have been taken notice of in this chapter, the interest of our manufacturers has been most peculiarly attended to; and the interest, not so much of the consumers, as that of some other sets of producers, has been sacrificed to it.

Alexander Hamilton, *Report on Manufactures* (1791), advocated:

1. Duties (tariffs)
 2. Embargoes
 3. Prohibiting exports of raw material (wood, etc.)
 4. Funding domestic industry
 5. Importing foreign inventions, funding local inventions
 6. Health and safety regulations
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Copyright Act (31 May 1790)

Sec. 5. ... nothing in this act shall be construed to extend to prohibit the importation or vending, reprinting or publishing within the United States, of any map, chart, book or books, written, printed, or published by any person not a citizen of the United States, in foreign parts or places without the jurisdiction of the United States.

Patent Act (21 Feb 1793)

Section 1... when any person or persons, being a citizen or citizens of the United States, shall allege that he or they have invented any new and useful art, machine, manufacture or composition of matter, or any new and useful improvement on any art, machine, or manufacture or composition of matter, not known or used before the application, [then describes how a patent may be obtained]...

Patent Act (4 July 1836)

Sec. 9. ... before any application for a patent shall be considered by the commissioner as aforesaid, the applicant shall pay ... if he be a citizen of the United States ... the sum of thirty dollars; if a subject of the King of Great Britain, the sum of five hundred dollars; and all other persons the sum of three hundred dollars;

Patent Act (3 March 1839)

Sec. 6. ... no person shall be debarred from receiving a patent for any invention or discovery... by reason of the same having been patented in a foreign country more than six months prior to his application: Provided, that the same shall not have been introduced into public and common use in the United States...