

**AP\* U.S. History**  
**Study Guide and Review**  
**Aligned with Bailey's *American Pageant***  
**- 13<sup>th</sup> edition -**

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### **Notes**

- Don't use this review instead of reading the text. Use this as a *supplement*, not a *substitute*.
- Be sure to practice free-response questions as well as studying the facts in this review.
- Be sure to practice essays and DBQ's.

### **Sources**

- *The American Pageant, 13<sup>th</sup> edition*, by Kennedy, Cohen, and Bailey
- <http://www.hostultra.com/~apusnotes> served as a resource for the outlines.
- <http://www.course-notes.org> served as a resource for the vocabulary.

# Chapter 1

## New World Beginnings

### I. The Shaping of North America

- i. Recorded history began 6,000 years ago. It was 500 years ago that Europeans set foot on the Americas to begin colonization
- ii. The theory of "**Pangaea**" exists suggesting that the continents were once nestled together into one mega-continent. They then spread out as drifting islands.
- iii. Geologic forces of continental plates created the Appalachian and Rocky Mountains.
- iv. The Great Ice Age thrust down over North America & scoured the present day American Midwest.

### II. Peopling the Americas

- i. "Land Bridge"
  1. As the Great Ice Age diminished, so did the glaciers over North America.
  2. The theory holds that a "**Land Bridge**" emerged linking Asia & North America across what's today the Bering Sea. People were said to have walked across the "bridge" before the sea level rose and sealed it off and thus populated the Americas.
  3. The Land Bridge is suggested as occurring an estimated 35,000 years ago.
- ii. Many peoples
  1. Those groups that traversed the bridge spread across North, Central, and South America.
  2. Countless tribes emerged with an estimated 2,000 languages. Notably...
    - i. **Incas** – Peru, with elaborate network of roads and bridges linking their empire.
    - ii. **Mayas** – Yucatan Peninsula, with their step pyramids.
    - iii. **Aztecs** – Mexico, with step pyramids and huge sacrifices of conquered peoples.

### III. The Earliest Americans

- i. Development of corn or "**maize**" around 5,000 B.C. in Mexico was revolutionary in that...
  1. Then, people didn't have to be hunter-gatherers, they could settle down and be farmers.
  2. This fact gave rise to towns and then cities.
  3. Corn arrived in the present day U.S. around 1,200 B.C.
- ii. **Pueblo Indians**
  1. The Pueblos were the 1<sup>st</sup> American corn growers.
  2. They lived in adobe houses (dried mud) and pueblos ("villages" in Spanish). Pueblos are villages of cubicle shaped adobe houses, stacked one on top the other and often beneath cliffs.
  3. They had elaborate irrigation systems to draw water away from rivers to grown corn.
- iii. Mound Builders
  1. These people built huge ceremonial and burial mounds and were located in the Ohio Valley.
  2. Cahokia, near East St. Louis today, held 40,000 people.
- iv. Eastern Indians
  1. Eastern Indians grew corn, beans, and squash in "three sister" farming...
    - a. Corn grew in a stalk providing a trellis for beans, beans grew up the stalk, squash's broad leaves kept the sun off the ground and thus kept the moisture in the soil.
    - b. This group likely had the best (most diverse) diet of all North American Indians and is typified by the **Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw** (South) and **Iroquois** (North).
- v. **Iroquois Confederation**
  1. **Hiawatha** was the legendary leader of the group.
  2. The Iroquois Confederation was a group of 5 tribes in New York state.
  3. They were matrilineal as authority and possessions passed down through the female line.
  4. Each tribe kept their independence, but met occasionally to discuss matters of common interest, like war/defense.

5. This was not the norm. Usually, Indians were scattered and separated (and thus weak).
  - vi. Native Americans had a very different view of things as compared to Europeans.
    1. Native Americans felt no man owned the land, the tribe did. (Europeans liked private property)
    2. Indians felt nature was mixed with many spirits. (Europeans were Christian and monotheistic)
    3. Indians had little or no concept or interest in money. (Europeans loved money or gold)
- IV. Indirect Discoverers of the New World
- i. The 1<sup>st</sup> Europeans to come to America were the Norse (Vikings from Norway).
    1. Around 1000 AD, the Vikings landed, led by **Erik the Red** and **Leif Erikson**.
    2. They landed in "**Newfoundland**" or "Vinland" (because of all the vines).
    3. However, these men left America and left no written record and therefore didn't get the credit.
    4. The only record is found in Viking sagas or songs.
  - ii. The Christian Crusaders of Middle Ages fought in Palestine to regain the Holy Land from Muslims. This mixing of East and West created a sweet-tooth where Europeans wanted the spices of the exotic East.
- V. Europeans Enter Africa
- i. **Marco Polo** traveled to China and stirred up a storm of European interest.
  - ii. Mixed with desire for spices, an East to West (Asia to Europe) trade flourished but had to be overland, at least in part. This initiated new exploration down around Africa in hopes of an easier (all water) route.
  - iii. Portugal literally started a sailing school to find better ways to get to the "Spice Islands," eventually rounding Africa's southern Cape of Good Hope.
  - iv. New developments...
    1. **caravel** – a ship with triangular sail that could better tack (zig-zag) ahead into the wind and thus return to Europe from Africa coast.
    2. compass – to determine direction.
    3. **astrolabe** – a sextant gizmo that could tell a ship's latitude.
  - v. Slave trade begins
    1. The 1<sup>st</sup> slave trade was across the Sahara Desert.
    2. Later, it was along the West African coast. Slave traders purposely busted up tribes and families in order to squelch any possible uprising.
    3. Slaves wound up on sugar plantations the Portuguese had set up on the tropical islands off Africa's coast.
    4. Spain watched Portugal's success with exploration and slaving and wanted a piece of the pie.
- VI. Columbus Comes upon a New World
- i. **Columbus** convinced **Isabella and Ferdinand** to fund his expedition.
  - ii. His goal was to reach the East (East Indies) by sailing west, thus bypassing the around-Africa route that Portugal monopolized.
  - iii. He misjudged the size of the Earth though, thinking it 1/3 the size of what it was.
  - iv. So, after 30 days or so at sea, when he struck land, he assumed he'd made it to the East Indies and therefore mistook the people as "**Indians.**"
  - v. This spawned the following system...
    - a. Europe would provide the market, capital, technology.
    - b. Africa would provide the labor.
    - c. The New World would provide the raw materials (gold, soil, lumber).
- VII. When Worlds Collide
- i. Of huge importance was the biological flip-flop of Old and New Worlds. Simply put, we traded life such as plants, foods, animals, germs.
  - ii. From the New World (America) to the Old
    1. corn, potatoes, tobacco, beans, peppers, manioc, pumpkin, squash, tomato, wild rice, etc.
    2. also, syphilis
  - iii. From Old World to the New
    1. cows, pigs, horses, wheat, sugar cane, apples, cabbage, citrus, carrots, Kentucky bluegrass, etc.
    2. devastating diseases – **smallpox**, yellow fever, malaria as Indians had no immunities.
      - a. The Indians had no immunities in their systems built up over generations.

- b. An estimated 90% of all pre-Columbus Indians died, mostly due to disease.

VIII. The Spanish *Conquistadores*

- i. **Treaty of Tordesillas** 1494 – Portugal and Spain feuded over who got what land. The Pope drew this line as he was respected by both.
  1. The line ran North-South, and chopped off the Brazilian coast of South America
  2. Portugal – got everything east of the line (Brazil and land around/under Africa)
  3. Spain – got everything west of the line (which turned out to be much more, though they didn't know it at the time)
- ii. Conquistadores = "conquerors"
  1. **Vasco Balboa** – "discovered" the Pacific Ocean across isthmus of Panama
  2. **Ferdinand Magellan** – circumnavigates the globe (1<sup>st</sup> to do so)
  3. **Ponce de Leon** – touches and names Florida looking for legendary "Fountain of Youth"
  4. **Hernando Cortes** – enters Florida, travels up into present day Southeastern U.S., dies and is "buried" in Mississippi River
  5. **Francisco Pizarro** – conquers Incan Empire of Peru and begins shipping tons of gold/silver back to Spain. This huge influx of precious metals made European prices skyrocket (inflation).
  6. **Francisco Coronado** – ventured into current Southwest U.S. looking for legendary *El Dorado*, city of gold. He found the Pueblo Indians.
- iii. **Encomienda** system established
  1. Indians were "commended" or given to Spanish landlords
  2. The idea of the *encomienda* was that Indians would work and be converted to Christianity, but it was basically just slavery on a sugar plantation disguised as missionary work.

IX. The Conquest of Mexico

- i. **Hernando Cortez** conquered the Aztecs at Tenochtitlan.
- ii. Cortez went from Cuba to present day Vera Cruz, then marched over mountains to the Aztec capital.
- iii. **Montezuma**, Aztec king, thought Cortez might be the god Quetzalcoatl who was due to reappear the very year. Montezuma welcomed Cortez into Tenochtitlan.
- iv. The Spanish lust for gold led Montezuma to attack on the *noche triste*, sad night. Cortez and men fought their way out, but it was smallpox that eventually beat the Indians.
- v. The Spanish then destroyed Tenochtitlan, building the Spanish capital (Mexico City) exactly on top of the Aztec city.
- vi. A new race of people emerged, *mestizos*, a mix of Spanish and Indian blood.

X. The Spread of Spanish America

- i. Spanish society quickly spread through Peru and Mexico
- ii. A threat came from neighbors...
  1. English – **John Cabot** (an Italian who sailed for England) touched the coast of the current day U.S.
  2. Italy – **Giovanni de Verrazano** also touched on the North American seaboard.
  3. France – **Jacques Cartier** went into mouth of St. Lawrence River (Canada).
- iii. To oppose this, Spain set up forts (*presidios*) all over the California coast. Also cities, like St. Augustine in Florida.
- iv. **Don Juan de Onate** followed Coronado's old path into present day New Mexico. He conquered the Indians ruthlessly, maiming them by cutting off one foot of survivors just so they'd remember.
- v. Despite mission efforts, the Pueblo Indians revolted in Pope's Rebellion.
- vi. **Robert de LaSalle** sailed down the Mississippi River for France claiming the whole region for their King Louis and naming the area "**Louisiana**" after his king. This started a slew of place-names for that area, from LaSalle, Illinois to "Louisville" and then on down to New Orleans (the American counter of Joan of Arc's famous victory at Orleans).
- vii. "**Black Legend**" – The Black Legend was the notion that Spaniards only brought bad things (murder, disease, slavery); though true, they also brought good things such as law systems, architecture, Christianity, language, civilization, so that the Black Legend is partly, but not entirely, accurate.

## Chapter 1 Vocabulary

**Marco Polo** - Italian explorer who spent many years in China or near it. His return to Europe in 1295 sparked a European interest in finding a quicker route to Asia.

**Francisco Pizarro** - New World conqueror or Spanish conquistador who crushed the Incan civilization in Peru, took their gold and silver, and enslaved the Incas in 1532.

**Ponce de León** - Spanish explorer who sailed to the New World in 1513 and in 1521. He explored Florida, thinking it was an island, while looking for gold and the perhaps the fabled "fountain of youth." He failed in his search for the fountain of youth but established Florida as territory for the Spanish, before being killed by a Native American arrow.

**Hernando de Soto** - A Spanish conquistador. He explored in 1540's from Florida west to the Mississippi with six hundred men in search of gold. He discovered the Mississippi River, before being killed by Indians and buried in the river.

**Montezuma** - Aztec chieftain who encountered Cortes and the Spanish and seeing that they rode horses, Montezuma assumed that the Spanish were gods. He welcomed them hospitably, but the explorers soon turned on the natives, crushed them, and ruled them for three centuries.

**Christopher Columbus** - An Italian navigator who was funded by the Spanish government to find a passage to the Far East. He is given credit for discovering the "New World," even though at his death he believed he had made it to India. He made four voyages to the "New World." The first sighting of land was on October 12, 1492, and three other journeys until the time of his death in 1503.

**Treaty of Tordesillas** - In 1494, Spain and Portugal were disputing the lands of the New World, so the Spanish went to the Pope, and he divided the land of South America for them. Spain got the vast majority, the west, and Portugal got the east.

**Mestizos** - The mestizos were the mixed race of people created when the Spanish intermarried with the surviving Indians in Mexico.

**Renaissance** - After the Middle Ages there was a rebirth of culture in Europe where art and science were developed. It was during this time of enrichment that America was discovered.

**Canadian Shield** - The geological shape of North America estimated at 10 million years ago. It held the northeast corner of North America in place and was the first part of North America theorized to come above sea level

**Mound Builders** - The mound builders of the Ohio River Valley and the Mississippian culture of the lower Midwest did sustain some large settlements after the incorporation of corn planting into their way of life during the first millennium A.D. The Mississippian settlement at Cahokia, near present-day East St. Louis, Ill., was perhaps home to 40,000 people in about A.D. 1100. But mysteriously, around the year 1,300, both the Mound Builder and the Mississippian cultures had fallen to decline.

**Spanish Armada** - "Invincible" group of ships sent by King Philip II of Spain to invade England in 1588. The Armada was defeated by smaller, more maneuverable English "sea dogs" in the English Channel. This event marked the beginning of English naval dominance and fall of Spanish dominance.

**"black legend"** - The idea developed during North American colonial times that the Spanish utterly destroyed the Indians through slavery and disease and left nothing of value. In truth, there was good along with the bad (architecture, religion, government, etc.)

**Conquistadores** - Spanish explorers that invaded Central and South America for its riches during the 1500s. In doing so, they conquered the Incas, Aztecs, and other Native Americans of the area. Eventually, they intermarried with these tribes.

**Aztecs** - The Aztecs were a powerful Native American empire who lived in Mexico. Their capital was Tenochtitlan. They worshipped everything around them, especially the sun. Cortes conquered them in 1521.

**Pueblo Indians** - The Pueblo Indians lived in the Southwestern United States. They built extensive irrigation systems to water their primary crop, which was corn. Their houses were multi-storied buildings made of adobe (dried mud).

**Joint stock companies** - These were developed to gather the savings from the middle class to support finance colonies. Examples were the London Company and Plymouth Company. They're the forerunner of modern day corporations.

**Hiawatha** - He was legendary leader who inspired the Iroquois, a powerful group of Native Americans in the northeastern woodlands of the U.S.

**Vasco Nuñez Balboa** - European discoverer of the Pacific Ocean in 1513.

**Ferdinand Magellan** - In 1519, his crew began a voyage and eventually ended up becoming the first to circumnavigate the world, even though he died in the Philippines. The sole surviving ship returned to Europe in 1522.

**Francisco Coronado** - From 1540 to 1542, he explored the pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico looking for the legendary city of gold *El Dorado*, penetrating as far east as Kansas. He also discovered the Grand Canyon and enormous herds of bison.

**Hernando de Soto** - From 1539 to 1542, he explored Florida and crossed the Mississippi River. He brutally abused Indians and died of fever and battle wounds.

**Francisco Pizarro** - In 1532, he crushed the Incas of Peru and obtained loads of bounty in gold and silver.

**Encomienda system** -- Plantation systems where Indians were essentially enslaved under the disguise of being converted to Christianity.

**Bartolomé de Las Casas** - A Spanish missionary who was appalled by the method of *encomienda* systems, calling it "a moral pestilence invented by Satan."

**Hernando Cortés** - Annihilator of the Aztecs in 1519.

**Malinche** - A female Indian slave who became Cortes' translator.

**John Cabot** - AKA Giovanni Caboto, Italian who explored the northeastern coast of North America for England in 1497-98.

**Giovanni da Verranzo** - Another Italian explorer, he was dispatched by the French king in 1524 to probe the eastern seaboard of what is today's U.S.

**Don Juan de Oñate** - Leader of a Spanish group that ranged parts of Mexico, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas in 1598. He brutally crushed the Pueblo Indians he met and proclaimed the province of New Mexico in 1609. He also founded its capital, Santa Fe.

**Robert de La Salle** - Sent by the French, he went on an expedition through the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi in the 1680s.

# Chapter 2

## The Planting of English America

### I. England's Imperial Stirrings

- i. *North America* in 1600 was largely unclaimed, though the Spanish had much control in *Central and South America*.
- ii. Spain had only set up Santa Fe, while France had founded Quebec and Britain had founded Jamestown.
- iii. In the 1500s, Britain failed to effectively colonize due to internal conflicts.
  1. King Henry VIII broke with the Roman Catholic Church in the 1530s and launched the English Protestant Reformation.
  2. After **Elizabeth I** became queen, Britain became basically Protestant, and a rivalry with Catholic Spain intensified.
  3. In Ireland, the Catholics sought Spain's help in revolting against England, but the English crushed the uprising with brutal atrocity, and developed an attitude of sneering contempt for natives.

### II. Elizabeth Energizes England

- i. After **Francis Drake** pirated Spanish ships for gold then circumnavigated the globe, Elizabeth I knighted him on his ship. Obviously, this reward angered the Spanish who sought revenge.
- ii. Meanwhile, English attempts at colonization in the New World failed embarrassingly. Notable of these failures was **Sir Walter Raleigh** and the **Roanoke Island Colony**, better known as "**The Lost Colony**."
- iii. Seeking to get their revenge, Spain attacked Britain but lost in the **Spanish Armada's** defeat of 1588. This opened the door for Britain to cross the Atlantic. They swarmed to America and took over the lead in colonization and power.
  1. Victory also fueled England to new heights due to...
    - a. Strong government/popular monarch, more religious unity, a sense of nationalism
    - b. Golden age of literature (**Shakespeare**)
    - c. Beginning of British dominance at sea (which lasts until U.S. tops them, around 1900)
- iv. Britain and Spain finally signed a peace treaty in 1604.

### III. England on the Eve of the Empire

- i. In the 1500s, Britain's population was mushrooming.
- ii. New policy of **enclosure** (fencing in land) for farming. This meant there was less or no land for the poor.
- iii. The woolen districts fell upon hard times economically. This meant the workers lost jobs.
- iv. Tradition of **primogeniture** = 1<sup>st</sup> born son inherits ALL father's land. Therefore, younger sons of rich folk (who couldn't inherit money) tried their luck with fortunes elsewhere, like America.
- v. By the 1600s, the **joint-stock company** was perfected (investors put money into the company with hopes for a good return), being a forerunner of today's corporations.

### IV. England Plants the **Jamestown** Seedling

- i. In 1606, the **Virginia Company** received a charter from King James I to make a settlement in the New World.

1. Such **joint-stock companies** usually did not exist long, as stockholders invested hopes to form the company, turn a profit, and then quickly sell for profit a few years later.
  - ii. The charter of the Virginia Company guaranteed settlers the same rights as Englishmen in Britain.
  - iii. On May 24, 1607, about 100 English settlers disembarked from their ship and founded Jamestown.
    1. Forty colonists had perished during the voyage.
    2. Problems emerged including (a) the swampy site of Jamestown meant poor drinking water and mosquitoes causing malaria and yellow fever. (b) men wasted time looking for gold rather than doing useful tasks (digging wells, building shelter, planting crops), (c) there were zero women on the initial ship.
    3. It didn't help that a supply ship shipwrecked in the Bahamas in 1609 either.
  - iv. Luckily, in 1608, a Captain **John Smith** took over control and whipped the colonists into shape.
    1. At one point, he was kidnapped by local Indians and forced into a mock execution by the chief Powhatan and had been "saved" by Powhatan's daughter, Pocahontas.
    2. The act was meant to show that **Powhatan** wanted peaceful relations with the colonists.
    3. John Smith's main contribution was that he gave order and discipline, highlighted by his "no work, no food" policy.
  - v. Colonists had to eat cats, dogs, rats, even other people. One fellow wrote of eating "powdered wife."
  - vi. Finally, in 1610, a relief party headed by **Lord De La Warr** arrived to alleviate the suffering.
  - vii. By 1625, out of an original overall total of 8,000 would-be settlers, only 1,200 had survived.
- V. Cultural Clash in the Chesapeake
- i. At first, Powhatan possibly considered the new colonists potential allies and tried to be friendly with them, but as time passed and colonists raided Indian food supplies, relations deteriorated and eventually, war occurred.
  - ii. The **First Anglo-Powhatan War** ended in 1614 with a peace settlement sealed by the marriage of **Pocahontas** to colonist **John Rolfe**. Rolfe & Pocahontas nurtured a favorable flavor of sweet tobacco.
  - iii. Eight years later, in 1622, the Indians struck again with a series of attacks that left 347 settlers, including John Rolfe, dead.
  - iv. The **Second Anglo-Powhatan War** began in 1644, ended in 1646, and effectively banished the Chesapeake Indians from their ancestral lands.
  - v. After the settlers began to grow their own food, the Indians were useless, and were therefore banished.
- VI. The Indians' New World
- i. The arrival of Europeans set a series of vast changes into motion for the Native Americans.
    1. Horses were brought by the Spaniards to transform Indian lifestyles—especially the Sioux who'd become expert at buffalo hunting while horseback.
    2. Disease was the largest change to come to the New World.
      - a. Indians were biological pathogens to fight white diseases.
      - b. Tribes were shattered; for example, the Catawba nation emerged in the Carolina piedmont as remnants of broken tribes from all along the east coast.
    3. Native Americans lusted for firearms, obtained them, and violence increased against whites and other Indians.
  - ii. All told, European arrival rocked the institutions of Indian life and sent their lives reeling.
- VII. Virginia: Child of Tobacco
- i. Jamestown's gold is found → **tobacco**
    1. Rolfe's sweet tobacco was sought as a cash crop by Europe. Jamestown had found its gold.
    2. Tobacco created a greed for land, since it heavily depleted the soil and ruined the land.
  - ii. Representative self-government was born in Virginia, when in 1619, settlers created the **House of Burgesses**, a committee to work out local issues. This set America on a self-rule pathway.
  - iii. The first **African Americans** to arrive in America also came in 1619. It's unclear if they were slaves or indentured servants.
- VIII. Maryland: Catholic Haven
- i. Religious Diversity
    1. Founded in 1634 by **Lord Baltimore**, Maryland was the second plantation colony and the fourth overall colony to be formed.
    2. It was founded to be a place for persecuted Catholics to find refuge, a safe haven.
    3. Lord Baltimore gave huge estates to his Catholic relatives, but the poorer people who settled there were mostly Protestant, creating friction.
  - ii. However, Maryland prospered with tobacco.



- iii. It had a lot of indentured servants.
    - 1. Only in the later years of the 1600s (in Maryland and Virginia) did Black slavery begin to become popular.
  - iv. Maryland's statute, the **Act of Toleration**, guaranteed religious toleration to all Christians, but decreed the death penalty to Jews and atheists and others who didn't believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ.
- IX. The West Indies: Way Station to Mainland America
- i. As the British were colonizing Virginia, they were also settling into the West Indies (Spain's declining power opened the door).
  - ii. By mid-1600s, England had secured claim to several West Indies islands, including Jamaica in 1655.
  - iii. They grew lots of sugar on brutal plantations there.
  - iv. Thousands of African slaves were needed to operate sugar plantations. At first, Indians were intended to be used, but disease killed an estimated 90% of all Native Americans. So, Africans were brought in.
  - v. To control so many slaves, "codes" were set up that defined the legal status of slaves and the rights of the masters. They were typically strict and exacted severe punishments for offenders.
- X. Colonizing the Carolinas
- i. In England, King Charles I had been beheaded. Oliver Cromwell had ruled for ten very strict years before tired Englishmen restored **Charles II** to the throne in "**The Restoration**." (After all the turmoil Civil War, they just went back to a king.)
  - ii. The bloody period had interrupted colonization.
  - iii. Carolina was named after Charles II, and was formally created in 1670.
  - iv. Carolina flourished by developing close economic ties with the West Indies, due to the port of Charleston.
  - v. Many original Carolina settlers had come from Barbados and brought in the strict "**Slave Codes**" for ruling slaves.
  - vi. Interestingly, Indians as slaves in Carolina was protested, but to no avail. Slaves were sent to the West Indies to work, as well as New England.
  - vii. Rice emerged as the principle crop in Carolina.
    - 1. African slaves were hired to work on rice plantations, due to (a) their resistance to malaria and just as importantly, (b) their familiarity with rice.
  - viii. Despite violence with Spanish and Indians, Carolina proved to be too strong to be wiped out.
- XI. The Emergence of North Carolina
- i. Many newcomers to Carolina were "squatters," people who owned no land, usually down from Virginia.
  - ii. North Carolinians developed a strong resistance to authority, due to geographic isolation from neighbors.
  - iii. Two "flavors" of Carolinians developed: (a) aristocratic and wealthier down south around Charleston and rice & indigo plantations, and (b) strong-willed and independent-minded up north on small tobacco farms
  - iv. In 1712, North and South Carolina were officially separated.
  - v. In 1711, when Tuscarora Indians attacked North Carolina, the Carolinians responded by crushing the opposition, selling hundreds to slavery and leaving the rest to wander north, eventually becoming the Sixth Nation of the Iroquois.
- XII. Late-Coming Georgia: The Buffer Colony
- i. Georgia was intended to be a buffer between the British colonies and the hostile Spanish settlements in Florida (Spanish, Indians, runaway slaves) and the enemy French in Louisiana.
  - ii. It was founded last, in 1733, by a high-minded group of philanthropists, mainly **James Oglethorpe**.
  - iii. Named after King George II, it was also meant to be a second chance site for wretched souls in debt.
  - iv. James Oglethorpe, the ablest of the founders and a dynamic soldier-statesman, repelled Spanish attacks.
    - 1. He saved "the Charity Colony" by his energetic leadership and by using his own fortune to help with the colony.
  - v. All Christians, except Catholics, enjoyed religious toleration, and many missionaries came to try to convert the Indians.
    - 1. **John Wesley** was one of them, and he later returned to England and founded Methodism.
  - vi. Georgia grew very slowly.
- XIII. The Plantation Colonies
- i. Slavery was found in all the plantation colonies.
  - ii. The growth of cities was often stunted by forests.

- iii. The establishment of schools and churches was difficult due to people being spread out.
  - iv. In the South, the crops were tobacco and rice, and some indigo in the tidewater region of SC.
  - v. All the plantation colonies permitted some religious toleration.
  - vi. Confrontations with Native Americans were often.
- XIV. Makers of America: The Iroquois
- i. In what is now New York State, the **Iroquois League** or **Confederation** was once a great power.
  - ii. They were made up of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas.
  - iii. They vied with neighboring Indians and later French, English, and Dutch for supremacy.
  - iv. The longhouse was the building block of Iroquois society.
    1. Only 25 feet wide, but over 200 feet long, longhouses were typically occupied by a few blood-related families (on the mother's side).
  - v. The Mohawks were middlemen with European traders.
  - vi. The Senecas were fur suppliers.
  - vii. The Five Nations of the Iroquois' rivals, the neighboring Hurons, Eries, and Petuns, were vanquished.
  - viii. Throughout the 1600s and 1700s, the Iroquois allied with the British and French (whichever was more beneficial).
  - ix. When the American Revolution broke out, the question of with whom to side was split. Most sided with the British, but not all.
  - x. Afterwards, the Iroquois were forced to reservations, which proved to be unbearable to these proud people.
  - xi. An Iroquois named Handsome Lake arose to warn his tribe's people to mend their ways.
  - xii. His teachings live today in the form of the longhouse religion.

## Chapter 2 Vocabulary

**Lord De la Warr** - An Englishman who came to America in 1610. He brought the Indians in the Jamestown area a declaration of war from the Virginia Company. This began the four year Anglo-Powhatan War. He brought in brutal "Irish tactics" to use in battle.

**Pocahontas** - A native Indian of America, daughter of Chief Powhatan, who was one of the first to marry an Englishman, John Rolfe, and return to England with him; about 1595-1617; Pocahontas' brave actions in saving an Englishman paved the way for many positive English and Native relations.

**Powhatan** - Chief of the Powhatan Confederacy and father to Pocahontas. At the time of the English settlement of Jamestown in 1607, he was a friend to John Smith and John Rolfe. When Smith was captured by Indians, Powhatan left Smith's fate in the hands of his warriors. His daughter saved John Smith, and the Jamestown colony. Pocahontas and John Rolfe were wed, and there was a time of peace between the Indians and English until Powhatan's death.

**John Rolfe** - Rolfe was an Englishman who became a colonist in the early settlement of Virginia. He is best known as the man who married the Native American, Pocahontas and took her to his homeland of England. Rolfe was also the savior of the Virginia colony by perfecting the tobacco industry in North America. Rolfe died in 1622, during one of many Indian attacks on the colony.

**Lord Baltimore** - 1694 - He was the founder of Maryland, a colony which offered religious freedom, and a refuge for the persecuted Roman Catholics.

**Sir Walter Raleigh** - An English adventurer and writer, who was prominent at the court of Queen Elizabeth I, and became an explorer of the Americas. In 1585, Raleigh sponsored the first English colony in America on Roanoke Island in present-day North Carolina. It failed and is known as "The Lost Colony."

**Oliver Cromwell** - Englishman, led the army to overthrow King Charles I and was successful in 1646. Cromwell ruled England in an almost dictatorial style until his death. His uprising drew English attention away from Jamestown and the other American colonies.

**James Oglethorpe** - founder of Georgia in 1733; soldier, statesman, philanthropist. Started Georgia (a) as a buffer to Spanish Florida and (b) as a haven for people in debt because of his interest in prison reform. Almost single-handedly kept Georgia afloat.

**John Smith** - John Smith took over the leadership role of the English Jamestown settlement in 1608. Most people in the settlement at the time were only there for personal gain and did not want to help strengthen the settlement. Smith therefore told them, "people who do not work, do not eat." His leadership saved the Jamestown settlement from collapsing.

**nation-state** - A unified country under a ruler which share common goals and pride in a nation. The rise of the nation-state began after England's defeat of the Spanish Armada. This event sparked nationalistic goals in exploration which were not thought possible with the commanding influence of the Spanish who may have crushed their chances of building new colonies.

**Slavery** - the process of buying people (generally Africans) who come under the complete authority of their owners for life, and intended to be worked heavily; became prominent in colonial times around the mid to late 1600's (but also to a lesser degree,

concerning natives during the early 1500's) because of the labor intensive nature of the crops being grown, and the desire for a profit; mainly used on southern plantations, but also a little bit in the north.

**Enclosure** - caused by the desire of land-owning lords to raise sheep instead of crops, lowering the needed workforce and unemploying thousands of poor, former farmers; the lords fenced off their great quantities of land from the mid to late 1500's forcing many farmers out and into the cities, leading many of them to hire themselves as indentured servants for payment of passage into the New World, and therefore, supporting many of the needs of the labor-thirsty plantation owners of the New World

**House of Burgesses** - The House of Burgesses was the first representative assembly in the New World. The London Company authorized the settlers to summon this assembly. A momentous precedent was thus feebly established, for this assemblage was the first of many miniature parliaments to sprout from the soil of America → the beginnings of self-rule in America.

**Royal Charter** - A document given to the founders of a colony by the monarch that allows for special privileges and establishes a general relationship of one of three types: (1) Royal- direct rule of colony by monarch, (2) Corporate- Colony is run by a joint-stock company, (3) Proprietary- colony is under rule of someone chosen by the monarch. Royal Charters guaranteed that colonists would have "rights as all Englishmen"

**"Slave Codes"** - In 1661 a set of "codes" was made. It denied slaves basic fundamental rights, and gave their owners permission to treat them as they saw fit.

**Yeoman** - An owner and cultivator of a small farm.

**Proprietor** - a person who was granted charters of ownership by the king: proprietary colonies were Maryland, Pennsylvania and Delaware: proprietors founded colonies from 1634 until 1681: a famous proprietor is William Penn

**Longhouse** - The chief dwelling place of the Iroquois Indians; c. 1500s-1600s; longhouses served as a meeting place as well as the homes for many of the Native Americans. They also provided unity between tribes of Iroquois Confederacy.

**Squatter** - A person who settles on land without title or right, AKA a "homesteader." Early settlers in North Carolina became squatters when they put their small farms on the new land. They raised tobacco on the land that they claimed, and tobacco later became a major cash crop for North Carolina. Squatters then followed the frontier westward all the way to the Pacific.

**Primogeniture** - A system of inheritance in which the eldest son in a family received all of his father's land. As a result the 2nd and 3rd sons, etc., were forced to seek fortune elsewhere. Many of them turned to the New World for their financial purposes and individual wealth.

**Indentured Servitude** - Indentured servants were Englishmen who were outcasts of their country, would work in the Americas for a certain amount of time as servants, usually seven years before being free to go.

**"Starving Time"** - The winter of 1609 to 1610 was known as the "starving time" to the colonists of Virginia. Only sixty members of the original four hundred colonists survived. The rest died of starvation because they did not possess the skills that were necessary to obtain food in the New World.

**Act of Toleration** - A legal document that allowed all Christian religions in Maryland. Protestants intruded on the Catholics in 1649 around Maryland. The act protected the Catholics from Protestant rage of sharing the land. Maryland became the #1 colony to shelter Catholics in the New World.

**Virginia Company** - A joint-stock company, based in Virginia in 1607, founded to find gold and a water way to the Indies. Confirmed to all Englishmen that they would have the same life in the New World, as they had in England, with the same rights. 3 of their ships transported the people that would found Jamestown in 1607.

**Iroquois Confederacy** - The Iroquois Confederacy was a military power consisting of Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Senecas. It was founded in the late 1500s. The leaders were Degana Widah and Hiawatha. The Indians lived in log houses with relatives. Men dominated, but a person's background was determined by the woman's family. Different groups banded together but were separate fur traders and fur suppliers. Other groups joined, they would ally with either the French or the English depending on which would be the most to their advantage. During the American Revolution, the Confederacy mostly sided with the British. When the British were defeated, most of the Iroquois had to move to reservations in Canada. The morale of the people sank and they began dying out. In 1799, a leader named Handsome Lake, tried to revive the Iroquois and helped them to become proud and hard-working again.

# Chapter 3

## Settling the Northern Colonies

- I. The Protestant Reformation Produces Puritanism
  - i. 1517, **Martin Luther** nailed his 95 Theses to the door of the Wittenberg Cathedral. Luther had several explosive ideas including...
    1. The Bible alone was the source of God's word (not the Bible and the church or pope).

2. People are saved simply by faith in Christ alone (not by faith and good works).
  3. His actions ignited the Protestant Reformation.
  - ii. **John Calvin** preached Calvinism which stressed "**predestination**" (those going to Heaven or hell has already been determined by God).
    1. Basic doctrines were stated in the 1536 document entitled Institutes of the Christian Religion.
    2. Stated that all humans were weak and wicked.
    3. Only the predestined could go to heaven, no matter what.
    4. Calvinists were expected to seek "conversions," signs that they were one of the predestined, and afterwards, lead "sanctified lives."
    5. Calvinists are famous for working hard, dusk to dawn, to "prove" their worthiness.
    6. The impact of Calvinism has been vividly stamped on the psyche of Americans, and been called the "**Protestant Work Ethic**"
  - iii. In England, King Henry VIII was breaking his ties with the Holy Roman Catholic Church in the 1530s.
  - iv. Some people, called **Puritans**, were influenced to totally reform ("purify") the Church of England.
  - v. The Puritans
    1. Believed that only "**visible saints**" should be admitted to church membership.
    2. **Separatists** vowed to break away from the **Church of England** (AKA, the **Anglican Church**) because the "saints" would have to sit with the "damned." These folks became the Pilgrims.
    3. **King James I**, father of the beheaded Charles I, harassed the Separatists out of England because he thought that if people could defy him as their spiritual leader, they might defy him as their political ruler.
- II. The **Pilgrims** End Their Pilgrimage at Plymouth
- i. The Pilgrims or Separatists, came from Holland, where they had fled to after they had left England.
    1. They were concerned that their children were getting to "Dutchified."
    2. They wanted a place where they were free to worship their own religion and could live and die as good Pilgrims.
  - ii. After negotiating with the Virginia Company, the Separatists left Holland and sailed for 65 days at sea on the *Mayflower* until they arrived off the rocky coast of New England in 1620, a trip in which only one person died and one person was born.
    1. Less than half of the pilgrims on the *Mayflower* were actually Separatists.
    2. Contrary to myth, the Pilgrims undertook a few surveys before deciding to settle at Plymouth, an area far from Virginia.
    3. The Pilgrims became squatters, people without legal right to land and without specific authority to establish government.
  - iii. **Captain Myles Standish** (AKA, "Captain Shrimp") proved to be a great Indian fighter and negotiator.
  - iv. Before leaving the ship, the Pilgrims signed the **Mayflower Compact**, a set of rules by which to obey.
    1. Though it wasn't a constitution, it did set the standard for later constitutions. It also set the first step toward self-rule in the Northern colonies.
  - v. In the winter of 1620-21, only 44 of the 102 survived.
  - vi. 1621 brought bountiful harvests, though, and the first Thanksgiving was celebrated that year.
  - vii. **William Bradford**, chosen governor of Plymouth 30 times in the annual elections, was a great leader, and helped Plymouth to survive and trade fur, fish, and lumber.
  - viii. In 1691, Plymouth finally merged with the Massachusetts Bay Colony.
- III. The Bay Colony **Bible Commonwealth**
- i. In 1629, some non-Separatist Puritans got a royal charter from England to settle in the New World. Secretly, they took the charter with them and later used it as a type of constitution.
  - ii. It was a well-equipped group of which about 11,000 people came to Massachusetts.
  - iii. **John Winthrop** was elected governor or deputy governor for 19 years, helping Massachusetts prosper in fur trading, fishing, and shipbuilding.
- IV. Building the **Bay Colony**
- i. Soon after the establishment of the colony, the **franchise** (right to vote) was extended to all "freemen," adult males who belonged to the Puritan congregations (later called the **Congregational Church**), making people who could enjoy the franchise about two fifths of the male population.
    1. Un-churched men and women weren't allowed into matters of government.
  - ii. The provincial government was not a democracy.

1. Governor Winthrop feared and distrusted the common people, calling democracy the "meanest and worst" of all forms of government.
  - iii. Religious leaders wielded powerful influence over the admission to church membership.
  - iv. **John Cotton**, a prominent clergy member, was educated at Cambridge and had immigrated to Massachusetts to avoid persecution for his criticism of the Church of England.
  - v. However, congregations could hire and fire their ministers at will.
  - vi. Still, there were laws to limit Earthly pleasures, such as a fine of twenty shillings for couples caught kissing in public.
  - vii. The Puritan concept of Hell was very serious, frightening, and very real.
    1. Michael Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom," written in 1662, sold one copy for every twenty people.
- V. Trouble in the Bible Commonwealth
- i. Tensions arose in Massachusetts.
  - ii. Quakers were fined, flogged, and/or banished.
  - iii. **Anne Hutchinson** was a very intelligent, strong-willed, talkative woman who claimed that a holy life was no sure sign of salvation and that the truly saved need not bother to obey the law of either God or man. A notion known as "**antinomianism**".
    1. Brought to trial in 1638, Anne boasted that her beliefs were directly from God.
    2. She was banished from the colony and eventually made her way to Rhode Island.
    3. She died in New York after an attack by Indians.
  - iv. **Roger Williams** was a radical idealist hounded his fellow clergymen to make a clean and complete break with the Church of England.
    1. He went on to deny that civil government could and should govern religious behavior.
    2. He was banished in 1635, and led the way for the Rhode Island colony.
- VI. The Rhode Island "Sewer"
- i. People who went to Rhode Island weren't necessarily similar; they were just unwanted everywhere else.
  - ii. They were against special privilege.
  - iii. "Little Rhody" was later known as "the traditional home of the otherwise minded."
  - iv. It finally secured a charter in 1644.
- VII. New England Spreads Out
- i. In 1635, Hartford, Connecticut was founded.
  - ii. **Reverend Thomas Hooker** led an energetic group of Puritans west into Connecticut.
  - iii. In 1639, settlers of the new Connecticut River colony drafted in open meeting a trailblazing document called the **Fundamental Orders**.
    1. It was basically a modern constitution.
  - iv. In 1638, New Haven was founded and eventually merged into Connecticut.
  - v. In 1623, Maine was absorbed by Massachusetts and remained so for nearly a century and a half.
  - vi. In 1641, the granite-ribbed New Hampshire was absorbed into Massachusetts.
    1. In 1679, the king separated the two and made New Hampshire a royal colony.
- VIII. Puritans Versus Indians
- a. Violence
    - i. Before the Puritans had arrived in 1620, an epidemic had swept through the Indians, killing over three quarters of them.
    - ii. At first, Indians tried to befriend the Whites.
      1. **Squanto**, a Wampanoag, helped keep relative peace.
    - iii. In 1637, though, after mounting tensions exploded, English settlers and the powerful Pequot tribe fought in the **Pequot War**, in which the English set fire to a Pequot village on Connecticut's Mystic River, annihilating the Indians and bringing about forty years of tentative peace.
      1. In an attempt to save face, the Puritans did try to convert some of the Indians, though with less zeal than that of the Spanish and French.
    - iv. In 1675, **Metacom** (called **King Philip** by the English) united neighboring Indians in a last-ditched attack that failed.
      1. The **King Philip's War** slowed the colonial western march, but Metacom was beheaded and quartered and his head was stuck on a sharp pike for all to see, his wife and son sold to slavery.
- IX. Seeds of Colonial Unity and Independence
- i. In 1643, four colonies banded together to form the **New England Confederation**.
    1. It was almost all Puritan.
    2. It was weak, but still a notable milestone toward American unity.

- ii. The colonies were basically allowed to be semiautonomous commonwealths.
  - iii. After Charles II was restored to the British throne, he hoped to control his colonies more firmly, but was shocked to find how much his orders were ignored by Massachusetts.
    - 1. As punishment, a sea-to-sea charter was given to rival Connecticut (1662), and a charter was given to Rhode Island (1663).
    - 2. Finally, in 1684, Massachusetts' charter was revoked.
- X. Andros Promotes the First American Revolution
- i. In 1686, the **Dominion of New England** was created to bolster the colonial defense against Indians and tying the colonies closer to Britain by enforcing the hated **Navigation Acts**.
    - 1. The acts forbade American trade with countries other than Britain.
    - 2. As a result, smuggling became common.
    - 3. Head of the Dominion was **Sir Edmund Andros**.
      - a. Establishing headquarters in Boston, he openly showed his association with the locally hated Church of England.
      - b. His soldiers were vile-mouthed and despised by Americans.
  - ii. Andros responded to opposition by curbing town meetings, restricting the courts and the press, and revoking all land titles.
  - iii. He taxed the people without their consent.
  - iv. At the same time, the people of England staged the **Glorious Revolution**, instating **William and Mary** to the crown.
    - 1. Resultant, the Dominion of New England collapsed.
    - 2. Massachusetts got a new charter in 1691, but this charter allowed all landowners to vote, as opposed to the previous law of voting belonging only to the church members.
- XI. Old Netherlanders at **New Netherland**
- i. In the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, the Netherlands revolted against Spain, and with the help of Britain, gained their independence.
  - ii. The Dutch East India Company was established, with an army of 10,000 men and a fleet of 190 ships (including 40 men-of-war).
  - iii. The Dutch West India Company often raided rather than traded.
  - iv. In 1609, **Henry Hudson** ventured into Delaware and New York Bay and claimed the area for the Netherlands.
  - v. It was the Dutch West India Company that bought Manhattan Island for some worthless trinkets (22,000 acres of the most valuable land in the world today).
  - vi. New Amsterdam was a company town, run by and for the Dutch company and in the interests of stockholders.
  - vii. The Dutch gave **patroonships** (large areas of land) to promoters who agreed to settle at least 50 people on them.
  - viii. New Amsterdam attracted people of all types and races.
    - 1. One French Jesuit missionary counted 18 different languages being spoken on the street.
- XII. Friction with English and Swedish Neighbors
- i. Indian's attacked the Dutch for their cruelties.
  - ii. New England was hostile against Dutch growth.
  - iii. The Swedes trespassed Dutch reserves from 1638 to 1655 by planting the anemic colony of **New Sweden** on the Delaware River.
  - iv. Things got so bad that the Dutch erected a wall in New Amsterdam, for which Wall Street is named today.
  - v. In 1655, the Dutch sent one-legged **Peter Stuyvesant** to besiege the main Swedish fort, and he won, ending Swedish colonial rule and leaving only Swedish log cabins and place names as evidence that the Swedes were ever in Delaware.
- XIII. Dutch Residues in New York
- i. In 1664, Charles II granted the area of modern-day New York to his brother, the **Duke of York**, and that year, British troops landed and defeated the Dutch, kicking them out, without much violence.
  - ii. **New Amsterdam** was renamed New York.
  - iii. The Dutch Legacy
    - 1. The people of New York retained their autocratic spirit.
    - 2. Dutch names of cities remained, like Harlem, Brooklyn, and Hell Gate.
    - 3. Even their architecture left its mark on buildings.
    - 4. The Dutch also gave us Easter eggs, Santa Claus, waffles, sauerkraut, bowling, sleighing, skating, and golf.
- XIV. Penn's Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania

- i. The **Quakers** (characteristics)
    1. They "quaked" under deep religious emotion.
    2. They were offensive to religious and civil rule.
    3. They addressed everyone with simple "thee"s and "thou"s and didn't swear oaths because Jesus had said "Swear not at all," this last part creating a problem, since you had to swear a test oath to prove that you weren't Roman Catholic.
    4. Though stubborn and unreasonable, they were simple, devoted, democratic people against war and violence.
  - ii. **William Penn**, a well-born Englishman, embraced the Quaker faith.
  - iii. In 1681, he managed to secure an immense grant of fertile land from the king.
    1. It was called Pennsylvania, in honor of Penn, who, being the modest person that he was, had insisted that it be called Sylvania.
    2. It was the best advertised of all the colonies.
- XV. Quaker Pennsylvania and Its Neighbors
- i. Thousands of squatters already lived in Pennsylvania.
  - ii. Philadelphia was more carefully planned than most cities, with beautiful, wide streets.
  - iii. Penn bought land from the Indians, like Chief Tammany, later patron saint of New York's political Tammany Hall.
  - iv. His treatment of the Indians was so gentle that Quakers could walk through Indian territory unarmed without fear of being hurt.
  - v. However, as more and more non-Quakers came to Pennsylvania, they mistreated the Indians more and more.
  - vi. Freedom of worship was available to everyone except for Jews and Catholics (only because of pressure from London), and the death penalty was only for murder and treason.
  - vii. No restrictions were placed on immigration, and naturalization was made easy.
  - viii. The Quakers also developed a dislike toward slavery.
  - ix. Pennsylvania attracted a great variety of people from all races, class, and religion.
  - x. By 1700, only Virginia was more populous and richer.
  - xi. Penn, unfortunately, was not well-liked because of his friendliness towards James II, the deposed Catholic king, and he was jailed at times, and also suffered a paralytic stroke, dying full of sorrows.
  - xii. New Jersey and Delaware prospered as well.
- XVI. The Middle Way in the Middle Colonies
- a. New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania
    - i. All had fertile soil and broad expanse of land.
    - ii. All except for Delaware exported lots of grain.
    - iii. The Susquehanna River tapped the fur trade of the interior, and the rivers were gentle, with little cascading waterfalls.
    - iv. The middle colonies were the middle way between New England and the southern plantation states.
    - v. Landholdings were generally intermediate in size.
    - vi. The middle colonies were more ethnically mixed than other colonies.
    - vii. A considerable amount of economic and social democracy prevailed.
    - viii. **Benjamin Franklin**, born in Boston, entered Philadelphia as a seventeen-year-old in 1720 with a loaf of bread under each arm and immediately found a congenial home in the urbane, open atmosphere of the city.
    - ix. Americans began to realize that not only were they surviving, but that they were also thriving.
- XVII. Makers of America: The English
- i. In the 1600s, England was undergoing a massive population boom.
  - ii. About 75% of English immigrants were indentured servants.
  - iii. Most of them were young men from the "middling classes."
  - iv. Some had fled during the cloth trade slump in the early 1600s while others had been forced off their land due to enclosure.
  - v. Some 40% of indentured servants died before their seven years were over.
  - vi. Late in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as the supply of indentured servants slowly ran out, the southerners resolved to employ black slaves.
  - vii. From 1629 to 1642, 11,000 Puritans swarmed to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.
  - viii. In contrast to the indentured servants, Puritans migrated in family groups, not alone.
  - ix. Puritans brought the way of life from England with them to America.
    1. i.e. Marblehead, Mass. had mostly fishermen because most of the immigrants had been fisherman in England.
    2. i.e. Rowley, Mass. brought from Yorkshire, England their distinctive way of life.

3. In Ipswich, Massachusetts, settled by East Anglican Puritans, the rulers had long terms and ruled with an iron hand.
4. However, in Newbury, people rarely won reelection.

## Chapter 3 Vocabulary

**John Calvin** - John Calvin was responsible for founding Calvinism, which was reformed Catholicism. He writes about it in "Institutes of a Christian Religion" published in 1536. He believed God was all-knowing and everyone was predestined for heaven or hell.

**Anne Hutchinson** - A religious dissenter whose ideas provoked an intense religious and political crisis in the Massachusetts Bay Colony between 1636 and 1638. She challenged the principles of Massachusetts' religious and political system. Her ideas became known as the heresy of antinomianism, a belief that Christians are not bound by moral law. She was later expelled, with her family and followers, and went and settled at Pocasset (now Portsmouth, R.I.)

**Roger Williams** - He was banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony for challenging Puritan ideas. He later established Rhode Island and helped it to foster religious toleration.

**Henry Hudson** - Discovered what today is known as the Hudson River. Sailed for the Dutch even though he was originally from England. He was looking for a northwest passage through North America.

**William Bradford** - A pilgrim that lived in the northern colony called Plymouth. He was chosen governor 30 times. He also conducted experiments of living in the wilderness and wrote about them; well known for "Of Plymouth Plantation."

**Peter Stuyvesant** - A Dutch General; He led a small military expedition in 1664. He was known as "Father Wooden Leg." Lost the New Netherlands to the English. He was governor of New Netherlands.

**Thomas Hooker** - 1635; a Boston Puritan, brought a group of fellow Boston Puritans to newly founded Hartford, Connecticut.

**William Penn** - English Quaker; started the "Holy Experiment" of Pennsylvania; persecuted because he was a Quaker; 1681 he got a grant to go over to the New World; "first American advertising man"; freedom of worship there

**John Winthrop** - John Winthrop immigrated to the Mass. Bay Colony in the 1630's to become the first governor and to lead a religious experiment. He once said, "We shall be a city on a hill," highlighting the special nature of Massachusetts.

**King Philip II** - He was king of Spain during 1588. During this year he sent out his Spanish Armada against England. He lost the invasion of England. Philip II was also the leader against the Protestant Reformation.

**John Cotton** - John Cotton, a Puritan who was a fiery early clergy educated at Cambridge University, emigrated to Massachusetts to avoid persecution by the church of England. He defended the government's duty to enforce religious rules. He preached and prayed up to six hours in a single day.

**Sir Edmond Andros** - Head of the Dominion of New England in 1686, militaristic, disliked by the colonists because of his affiliation with the Church of England, changed many colonial laws and traditions without the consent of the representatives, tried to flee America after England's Glorious Revolution, but was caught and shipped to England

**The "elect"** - John Calvin and the predestined Puritan souls who had been destined for eternal bliss in Heaven since the beginning of time ; it was discussed by John Calvin in "Institutes of the Christian Religion"

**Patroonship** - Patroonship was vast Dutch feudal estates fronting the Hudson River in the early 1600's. They were granted to promoters who agreed to settle fifty people on them.

**Predestination** - Primary idea behind Calvinism; states that salvation or damnation are foreordained and unalterable; first put forth by John Calvin in 1531; was the core belief of the Puritans who settled New England in the seventeenth century.

**Freemen** - a colonial period term used to describe indentured servants who had finished their terms of indenture and could live freely on their own land.

**"visible saints"** - A religious belief developed by John Calvin held that a certain number of people were predestined to go to Heaven by God. A visible saint was a person who'd gone through some emotional religious revival or awakening, an experience that was noted by the community as being legit. This belief in the elect, or "visible saints," figured a major part in the doctrine of the Puritans who settled in New England during the 1600's.

**covenant** - A binding agreement made by the Puritans whose doctrine said the whole purpose of the government was to enforce God's laws. This applied to believers and non-believers.

**Protestant Reformation** - The Protestant Revolution was a religious revolution, during the 16th century. It ended the supremacy of the Catholic Church and resulted in the establishment of the Protestant Churches. Martin Luther and John Calvin were influential in the Protestant Revolution.

**Pilgrims** - Separatists; worried by "Dutchification" of their children they left Holland on the Mayflower in 1620; they landed at Plymouth Rock in Massachusetts.

**New England Confederation** - New England Confederation was a union of four colonies consisting of the two Massachusetts colonies (The Bay colony and Plymouth colony) and the two Connecticut colonies (New Haven and scattered valley settlements) in 1643. The purpose of the confederation was to defend against enemies such as the Indians, French, Dutch, and prevent inter-colonial problems that affected all four colonies.



**Calvinism** - Set of beliefs that the Puritans followed. In the 1500's John Calvin, the founder of Calvinism, preached virtues of simple worship, strict morals, pre-destination and hard work. This resulted in Calvinist followers wanting to practice religion, and it brought about wars between Huguenots (French Calvinists) and Catholics, that tore the French kingdom apart.

**Massachusetts Bay Colony** - One of the first settlements in New England; established in 1630 and became a major Puritan colony. Became the state of Massachusetts, originally where Boston is located. It was a major trading center, and absorbed the Plymouth community.

**Dominion of New England** - In 1686, New England, in conjunction with New York and New Jersey, consolidated under the royal authority -- James II. Charters and self-rule were revoked, and the king enforced mercantile laws. The new setup also made for more efficient administration of English Navigation Laws, as well as a better defense system. The Dominion ended in 1688 when James II was removed from the throne.

**Navigation Laws** - In the 1660's England restricted colonial trade, saying Americans couldn't trade with other countries. The colonies were only allowed to trade with England.

**The Puritans** They were a group of religious reformists who wanted to "purify" the Anglican Church. Their ideas started with John Calvin in the 16th century and they first began to leave England in 1608. Later voyages brought thousands to America in 1630s into the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

**General Court** - a Puritan representative assembly elected by the freemen; they assisted the governor; this was the early form of Puritan democracy in the 1600's

**Separatists** - Pilgrims that started out in Holland in the 1620's who traveled over the Atlantic Ocean on the Mayflower. These were the purest, most extreme Pilgrims existing, claiming that they were too strong to be discouraged by minor problems as others were.

**Quakers** - Members of the Religious Society of Friends; most know them as the Quakers. They believe in equality of all peoples and resist the military. They also believe that the religious authority is the decision of the individual (no outside influence.) Settled in Pennsylvania. Were "nice" to the Indians, and were anti-slavery.

**Protestant Ethic** - mid 1600's; a commitment made by the Puritans in which they seriously dwelled on working and pursuing worldly affairs. Sometimes called the "Protestant Work Ethic."

**Mayflower Compact** - 1620- A contract made by the voyagers on the Mayflower agreeing that they would form a simple government where majority ruled. Step one in self-government in the Northern colonies.

**Fundamental Orders** - In 1639 the Connecticut River colony settlers had an open meeting and they established a constitution called the Fundamental Orders. It made a democratic government. It was the first constitution in the colonies and was a beginning for the other states' charters and constitutions.

# Chapter 4

## American Life in the Seventeenth Century

### I. The Unhealthy Chesapeake

- i. Life in the American wilderness was harsh.
- ii. Diseases like malaria, dysentery, and typhoid killed many.
- iii. Few people lived to 40 or 50 years.
- iv. In the early days of colonies, women were so scarce that men fought over all of them. The Chesapeake region had fewer women and a 6:1 male to female ratio is a good guide.
- v. Few people knew any grandparents.
- vi. A third of all brides in one Maryland county were already pregnant before the wedding (scandalous).
- vii. Virginia, with 59,000 people, became the most populous colony.

### II. The Tobacco Economy

- i. The Chesapeake was very good for tobacco cultivation.
- ii. Chesapeake Bay exported 1.5 million pounds of tobacco yearly in the 1630s, and by 1700, that number had risen to 40 million pounds a year.
  1. More availability led to falling prices, and farmers still grew more.
  2. The **headright system** encouraged growth of the Chesapeake. Under this system, if an aristocrat sponsored an indentured servant's passage to America, the aristocrat earned the right to purchase 50 acres land, undoubtedly at a cheap price. This meant land was being gobbled by the rich, and running out for the poor.
  3. Early on, most of the laborers were indentured servants.

- a. Life for them was hard, but there was hope at the end of seven years for freedom.
- b. Conditions were brutal, and in the later years, owners unwilling to free their servants extended their contracts by years for small mistakes.

### III. Frustrated Freemen and **Bacon's Rebellion**

- i. By the late 1600s, there were lots of free, poor, landless, single men frustrated by the lack of money, land, work, and women.
- ii. In 1676, **Nathaniel Bacon** led a few thousand of these men in a rebellion against the hostile conditions.
  1. These people wanted land and were resentful of Virginia governor William Berkeley's friendly policies toward the Indians.
  2. Bacon's men murderously attacked Indian settlements after Berkeley refused to retaliate for a series of savage Indian attacks on the frontier.
- iii. Then, in the middle of his rebellion, Bacon suddenly died of disease, and Berkeley went on to crush the uprising.
  1. Still, Bacon's legacy lived on, giving frustrated poor folks ideas to rebel, and so a bit of paranoia went on for some time afterwards.

### IV. Colonial Slavery

- i. In the 300 years following Columbus' discovery of America, only about 400,000 of a total of 10 million African slaves were brought over to the United States.
- ii. By 1680, though, many landowners were afraid of possibly mutinous white servants, by the mid 1680s, for the first time, black slaves outnumbered white servants among the plantation colonies' new arrivals.
- iii. After 1700, more and more slaves were imported, and in 1750, blacks accounted for nearly half of the Virginian population.
  1. Most of the slaves were from West Africa, from places like Senegal and Angola.
- iv. Some of the earliest black slaves gained their freedom and some became slaveholders themselves.
- v. Eventually, to clear up issues on slave ownership, the **slave codes** made it so that slaves *and their children* would remain slaves to their masters for life (chattels), unless they were voluntarily freed.
  1. Some laws made teaching slaves to read a crime, and not even conversion to Christianity might qualify a slave for freedom.

### V. Africans in America

- i. Slave life in the Deep South was very tough, as rice growing was much harder than tobacco growing.
  1. Many blacks in America evolved their own languages, blending their native tongues with English.
  2. Blacks also contributed to music with instruments like the banjo and bongo drum.
- ii. A few of the slaves became skilled artisans (i.e. carpenters, bricklayers and tanners), but most were relegated to sweaty work like clearing swamps and grubbing out trees.
- iii. Revolts did occur.
  1. In 1712, a slave revolt in New York City cost the lives of a dozen whites and 21 Blacks were executed.
  2. In 1739, South Carolina blacks along the Stono River revolted and tried to march to Spanish Florida, but failed.

### VI. Southern Society

- i. A social gap appeared and began to widen.
  1. In Virginia, a clutch of extended clans (i.e. the Fitzhughs, the Lees, and the Washingtons) owned tracts and tracts of real estate and just about dominated the House of Burgesses.
    - a. They came to be known as the First Families of Virginia (FFV).
- ii. In Virginia, there was often a problem with drunkenness.
- iii. The largest social group was the farmers.
- iv. Few cities sprouted in the South, so schools and churches were slow to develop.

### VII. The New England Family

- i. In New England, there was clean water and cool temperatures, so disease was not as predominant as in the South.
- ii. The first New England Puritans had an average life expectancy of 70 years.
- iii. In contrast to the Chesapeake, the New Englanders tended to migrate as a family, instead of individually.
  1. Women usually married in their early twenties and gave birth every two years until menopause.
  2. A typical woman could expect to have ten babies and raise about eight of them.

3. Death in childbirth was not uncommon.
  - iv. In the South, women usually had more power, since the Southern men typically died young and women could inherit the money, but in New England, the opposite was true.
    1. In New England, men didn't have absolute power over their wives (as evidenced by the punishments of unruly husbands), but they did have much power over women.
  - v. New England law was very severe and strict.
    1. For example, adulterous women had to wear the letter "A" on their bosoms if they were caught (as with *The Scarlet Letter* by Nathaniel Hawthorne).
- VIII. Life in the New England Towns
- i. Life in New England was organized.
    1. New towns were legally chartered by colonial authorities.
    2. A town usually had a meetinghouse surrounded by houses and a village green.
    3. Towns of more than 50 families had to provide primary education.
    4. Towns of more than 100 had to provide secondary education.
  - ii. In 1636, Massachusetts Puritans established Harvard College to train men to become ministers.
    1. (Note: in 1693, Virginia established their first college, William and Mary.)
  - iii. Puritans ran their own churches, and democracy in Congregational church government led logically to democracy in political government.
- IX. The Half-Way Covenant and the Salem Witch Trials
- i. As Puritans began to worry about their children and whether or not they would be as loyal and faithful, a new type of sermon came about called "**jeremiads**."
    1. In jeremiads, earnest preachers scolded parishioners for their waning piety in hope to improve faith.
  - ii. Paradoxically, troubled ministers announced a new formula for church membership in 1662, calling it the "**Half-Way Covenant**."
    1. In the Half-Way Covenant, all people could come and participate in the church, even if they fell short of the "visible-saint" status and were somehow only half converted (with the exception of a few extremely hated groups).
  - iii. In the early 1690s, a group of **Salem** girls claimed to have been bewitched by certain older women.
    1. What followed was a hysterical witch-hunt that led to the executions of 20 people (19 of which were hanged, 1 pressed to death) and two dogs.
    2. Back in Europe, larger scale witch-hunts were already occurring.
    3. Witchcraft hysteria eventually ended in 1693.
- X. The New England Way of Life
- i. Due to the hard New England soil (or lack thereof), New Englanders became great traders.
  - ii. New England was also less ethnically mixed than its neighbors.
  - iii. The climate of New England encouraged diversified agriculture and industry.
    1. Black slavery was attempted, but didn't work. It was unnecessary since New England was made of small farms rather than plantations as down South.
  - iv. Rivers were short and rapid.
  - v. The Europeans in New England chastised the Indians for "wasting" the land, and felt a need to clear as much land for use as possible.
  - vi. Fishing became a very popular industry. It is said New England was built on "God and cod."
- XI. The Early Settlers' Days and Ways
- i. Early farmers usually rose at dawn and went to bed at dusk.
  - ii. Few events were done during the night unless they were "worth the candle."
  - iii. Life was humble but comfortable, at least in accordance to the surroundings.
  - iv. The people who emigrated from Europe to America were most usually lower middle class citizens looking to have a better future in the New World.
  - v. Because of the general sameness of class in America, laws against extravagances were sometimes passed, but as time passed, America grew.
- XII. Makers of America: From African to African-American
- i. Africans' arrival into the New World brought new languages, music, and cuisines to America.
    1. Africans worked in the rice fields of South Carolina due to (a) their knowledge of the crop and (b) their resistance to disease (as compared to Indians).
  - ii. The first slaves were men; some eventually gained freedom.
  - iii. By 1740, large groups of African slaves lived together on plantations, where female slaves were expected to perform backbreaking labor and spin, weave, and sew.
  - iv. Most slaves became Christians, though many adopted elements from their native religions.
    1. Many African dances led to modern dances (i.e. the Charleston).

2. Christian songs could also be code for the announcement of the arrival of a guide to freedom.
3. Jazz is the most famous example of slave music entering mainstream culture.

## Chapter 4 Vocabulary

**William Berkeley** - He was a British colonial governor of Virginia from 1642-52. He showed that he had favorites in his second term which led to the Bacon's rebellion in 1676, which he ruthlessly suppressed. He had poor frontier defense.

**Headright system** - way to attract immigrants; gave 50 acres of land to anyone who paid their way and/or any plantation owner that paid an immigrant's way; mainly a system in the southern colonies.

**Jeremiads** - In the 1600's, Puritan preachers noticed a decline in the religious devotion of second-generation settlers. To combat this decreasing piety, they preached a type of sermon called the jeremiad. The jeremiads focused on the teachings of Jeremiah, a Biblical prophet who warned of doom.

**Middle Passage** - middle segment of the forced journey that slaves made from Africa to America throughout the 1600's; it consisted of the dangerous trip across the Atlantic Ocean; many slaves perished on this segment of the journey

**Bacon's Rebellion** - In 1676, Bacon, a young planter led a rebellion against people who were friendly to the Indians. In the process he torched Jamestown, Virginia and was murdered by Indians.

**Leisler's Rebellion** - 1689-1691, an ill-fated bloody insurgency in New York City took place between landholders and merchants.

**Halfway Covenant** - A Puritan church policy; In 1662, the Halfway Covenant allowed partial membership rights to persons not yet converted into the Puritan church; It lessened the difference between the "elect" members of the church from the regular members; Women soon made up a larger portion of Puritan congregations.

# Chapter 5

## Colonial Society on the Eve of Revolution

### I. Conquest by the Cradle

- i. By 1775, Great Britain ruled 32 colonies in North America.
  1. Only 13 of them revolted (the ones in what's today the U.S.).
  2. Canada and Jamaica were wealthier than the "original 13."
  3. All of them were growing by leaps and bounds.
- ii. By 1775, the population numbered 2.5 million people.
- iii. The average age was 16 years old (due mainly to having several children).
- iv. Most of the population (95%) was densely cooped up east of the Alleghenies, though by 1775, some had slowly trickled into Tennessee and Kentucky.
- v. About 90% of the people lived in rural areas and were therefore farmers.

### II. A Mingling of the Races

- i. Colonial America, though mostly English, had other races as well.
  1. **Germans** accounted for about 6% of the population, or about 150,000 people by 1775.
    - i. Most were Protestant (primarily Lutheran) and were called the "Pennsylvania Dutch" (a corruption of *Deutsch* which means German).
  - ii. The **Scots-Irish** were about 7% of the population, with 175,000 people.
    1. Over many decades, they had been transplanted to Northern Ireland, but they had not found a home there (the already existing Irish Catholics resented the intruders).
    2. Many of the Scots-Irish reached America and became squatters, quarreling with both Indians and white landowners.
    3. They seemed to try to move as far from Britain as possible, trickling down to Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas.
    4. In 1764, the Scots-Irish led the armed march of the Paxton Boys. The Paxtons led a march on Philadelphia to protest the Quaker' peaceful treatment of the Indians. They later started the North Carolina Regulator movement in the hills and mountains of the colony, aimed against domination by eastern powers in the colony.
    5. They were known to be very hot-headed and independent minded.

6. Many eventually became American revolutionists.
  - iii. About 5% of the multicolored population consisted of other European groups, like French Huguenots, Welsh, Dutch, Swedes, Jews, Irish, Swiss, and Scots-Highlanders.
  - iv. Americans were of all races and mixed bloods, so it was no wonder that other races from other countries had a hard time classifying them.
- III. The Structure of the Colonial Society
- i. In contrast to contemporary Europe, America was a land of opportunity.
    1. Anyone who was willing to work hard could possibly go from rags to riches, and poverty was scorned.
    2. Class differences did emerge, as a small group of aristocrats (made up of the rich farmers, merchants, officials, clergymen) had much of the power.
  - ii. Also, armed conflicts in the 1690s and 1700s enriched a number of merchants in the New England and middle colonies.
  - iii. War also created many widows and orphans who eventually had to turn to charity.
  - iv. In the South, a firm social pyramid emerged containing...
    1. The immensely rich plantation owners ("planters") had many slaves (though these were few).
    2. "Yeoman" farmers, or small farmers. They owned their land and, maybe, a few slaves.
    3. Landless whites who owned no land and either worked for a landowner or rented land to farm.
    4. Indentured servants of America were the paupers and the criminals sent to the New World. Some of them were actually unfortunate victims of Britain's unfair laws and did become respectable citizens. This group was dwindling though by the 1700s, thanks to Bacon's Rebellion and the move away from indentured servant labor and toward slavery.
    5. Black slaves were at the bottom of the social ladder with no rights or hopes up moving up or even gaining freedom. Slavery became a divisive issue because some colonies didn't want slaves while others needed them, and therefore vetoed any bill banning the importation of slaves.
- IV. Clerics, Physicians, and Jurists
- i. The most honored profession in the colonial times was the clergy (priests), which in 1775, had less power than before during the height of the "Bible Commonwealth," but still wielded a great amount of authority.
  - ii. Physicians were not highly esteemed and many of them were bad as medical practices were archaic.
    1. Bleeding was often a favorite, and deadly, solution to illnesses.
    2. Plagues were a nightmare.
      - a. Smallpox (afflicting 1 of 5 persons, including George Washington) was rampant, though a crude form of inoculation for it was introduced in 1721.
      - b. Some of the clergy and doctors didn't like the inoculation though, preferring not to tamper with the will of God.
  - iii. At first, lawyers weren't liked, being regarded as noisy scumbags.
    1. Criminals often represented themselves in court.
    2. By 1750, lawyers were recognized as useful, and many defended high-profile cases, were great orators and played important roles in the history of America.
- V. Workaday America
- i. Agriculture was the leading industry (by a huge margin), since farmers could seem to grow anything.
    1. In Maryland and Virginia, tobacco was the staple crop, and by 1759, New York was exporting 80,000 barrels of flour a year.
  - ii. Fishing could be rewarding, though not as much as farming, and it was pursued in all the American colonies especially in New England.
  - iii. Trading was also a popular and prevalent industry, as commerce occurred all around the colonies.
    1. The "**triangular trade**" was common: a ship, for example, would leave (1) New England with rum and go to the (2) Gold Coast of Africa and trade it for African slaves. Then, it would go to the (3) West Indies and exchange the slaves for molasses (for rum), which it'd sell to New England once it returned there.
  - iv. Manufacturing was not as important, though many small enterprises existed.
  - v. Strong-backed laborers and skilled craftspeople were scarce and highly prized.
  - vi. Perhaps the single most important manufacturing activity was lumbering.
    1. Britain sometimes marked the tallest trees for its navy's masts, and colonists resented that, even though there were countless other good trees in the area and the marked tree was going toward a common defense (it was the principle of Britain-first that was detested).

- vii. In 1733, Parliament passed the **Molasses Act**, which, if successful, would have struck a crippling blow to American international trade by hindering its trade with the French West Indies.
  - 1. The result was disagreement, and colonists got around the act through smuggling.

#### VI. Horsepower and Sailpower

- i. Roads in 1700s America were very bad, and not until the 19<sup>th</sup> century did they even connect large cities.
  - 1. It took a young Benjamin Franklin 9 days to get from Boston to Philadelphia.
- ii. Roads were so bad that they were dangerous.
  - 1. People who would venture these roads would often sign wills and pray with family members before embarking.
  - 2. As a result, towns seemed to cluster around slow, navigable water sources, like gentle rivers, or by the ocean.
- iii. Taverns and bars sprang up to serve weary travelers and were great places of gossip and news.
- iv. An inter-colonial mail system was set up in the mid-1700s, but mailmen often passed time by reading private letters, since there was nothing else to do.

#### VII. Dominant Denominations

- i. Two "**established churches**" (tax-supported) by 1775 were the Anglican and the Congregational.
- ii. A great majority of people didn't worship in churches.
- iii. The **Church of England (Anglican)** was official in Georgia, both Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, and a part of New York.
  - 1. Anglican sermons were shorter, its descriptions of hell were less frightening, and amusements were less scorned.
  - 2. For Anglicans, *not* having a resident bishop proved to be a problem for unordained young ministers.
  - 3. So, William and Mary was founded in 1693 to train young clergy members.
- iv. The **Congregational** church had grown from the Puritan church, and it was established in all the New England colonies except for Rhode Island.
  - 1. There was worry by the late 1600s that people weren't devout enough.

#### VIII. The Great Awakening

- i. Due to less religious fervor than before, and worry that so many people would not be saved, the stage was set for a revival, which occurred, and became the **First Great Awakening**.
- ii. **Jonathan Edwards** was a preacher with fiery preaching methods, emotionally moving many listeners to tears while talking of the eternal damnation that nonbelievers would face after death.
  - 1. He began preaching in 1734, and his methods sparked debate among his peers.
  - 2. Most famous sermon was "*Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*," describing a man dangling a spider over a blazing fire, able to drop the spider in at any time – just as God could do to man.
  - 3. His famous metaphor: "The road to hell is paved with the skulls of unbaptized children."
- iii. **George Whitefield** was even better than Edwards when he started four years later.
  - 1. An orator of rare gifts, he even made Jonathan Edwards weep and persuaded always skeptical Ben Franklin to empty his pockets into the collection plate.
  - 2. Imitators copied his emotional shaking sermons and his heaping of blame on sinners.
- iv. These new preachers were met with skepticism by the "old lights," or the orthodox clergymen.
- v. However, the Great Awakening led to the founding of "new light" centers like Princeton, Brown, Rutgers, and Dartmouth.
- vi. The Great Awakening was the first religious experience shared by all Americans as a group.

#### IX. Schools and Colleges

- i. Education was most important in New England, where it was used to train young future clergymen.
  - 1. In other parts of America, farm labor used up most of the time that would have been spent in school. However, there were fairly adequate primary and secondary schools in areas other than New England. The only problem was that only well-to-do children could afford to attend.
- ii. In a gloomy and grim atmosphere, colonial schools put most of the emphasis on religion and on the classical languages, as well as doctrine and orthodoxy.
  - 1. Discipline was quite severe, such as a child being cut by a limb from a birch tree.
- iii. Also, at least in New England, college education was regarded more important than the ABC's.
- iv. Eventually, some change was made with emphasis of curriculum change from dead languages to live ones, and Ben Franklin helped by launching the school that would become the University of Pennsylvania.

#### X. A Provincial Culture

- i. Though there was little time for recreation (due to farm work, fear of Indians, etc...), the little free time that was there was used on religion, not art.
- ii. Painters were frowned upon as pursuing a worthless pastime.
  1. **John Trumbull** of Connecticut was discouraged, as a youth, by his father.
  2. **Charles Willson Peale**, best know for his portraits of George Washington, also ran a museum, stuffed birds, and practiced dentistry in addition to his art.
  3. **Benjamin West** and **John Singleton Copley** had to go to England to complete their ambitious careers.
- iii. Architecture was largely imported from the Old World and modified to meet American needs.
  1. The log cabin was borrowed from Sweden.
  2. The classical, red-bricked **Georgian style of architecture** was introduced about 1720.
- iv. Colonial literature was also generally undistinguished.
  1. However, a slave girl, **Phillis Wheatley**, who had never been formally educated, did go to Britain and publish a book of verse and subsequently wrote other polished poems that revealed the influence of Alexander Pope.
  2. **Ben Franklin's Poor Richard's Almanac** was very influential, containing many common sayings and phrases, and was more widely read in America and Europe than anything but for the Bible.
    - a. Ben Franklin's experiments with science, and his sheer power of observation, also helped advance science.

#### XI. Pioneer Presses

- i. Few libraries were found in early America, and few Americans were rich enough to buy books.
- ii. On the eve of the revolution, many hand-operated presses cranked out leaflets, pamphlets, and journals signed with pseudonyms.
- iii. In one famous case, **John Peter Zenger**, a New York newspaper printer, was taken to court and charged with seditious libel (writing in a malicious manner against someone).
  1. The judge urged the jury to consider that the mere fact of publishing was a crime, no matter whether the content was derogatory or not.
  2. Zenger won after his lawyer, Andrew Hamilton, excellently defended his case.
  3. The importance—freedom of the press scored a huge early victory in this case.

#### XII. The Great Game of Politics

- i. By 1775, eight of the colonies had royal governors who were appointed by the king.
- ii. Three had governors chosen by proprietors.
- iii. Practically every colony utilized a two-house legislative body.
  1. The upper house was appointed by royal officials or proprietors.
  2. The lower house was elected by the people.
- iv. Self-taxation with representation came to be a cherished privilege that Americans came to value above most other rights.
- v. Most governors did a good job, but some were just plain corrupt.
  1. I.e., Lord Cornbury, first cousin of Queen Anne, was made governor of New York and New Jersey in 1702, but proved to be a drunkard, a spendthrift, a grafter, and embezzler, a religious bigot, a cross-dresser, and a vain fool.
- vi. The right to vote was not available to just anyone, just white male landowners only.
  1. However, the ease of acquiring land to hard workers made voting a privilege easily attainable to many people in this group.

#### XIII. Colonial Folkways

- i. Americans had many hardships, as many basic amenities that we have today were not available.
  1. Churches weren't heated at all.
  2. Running water or plumbing in houses was nonexistent.
  3. Garbage disposal was primitive at best.
- ii. Yet, amusement was permitted, and people often worked/partied during house-raising, barn-raising, apple-parings, quilting bees, husking bees, and other merrymaking.
- iii. In the South, card playing, horse racing, cockfighting, and fox hunting were fun.
- iv. Lotteries were universally approved, even by the clergy because they helped raise money for churches and colleges.
- v. Stage plays were popular in the South, but not really in the North.
- vi. Holidays were celebrated everywhere in the colonies (New England didn't like Christmas, though).
- vii. America in 1775 was like a quilt, each part different and individual in its own way, but all coming together to form one single, unified piece.

#### XIV. Makers of America: The Scots-Irish

- i. Life for the Scots was miserable in England, as many were extremely poor, and Britain still taxed them, squeezing the last cent out of them.
- ii. Migrating to Ulster, in Ireland, the Scots still felt unwelcome, and eventually came to America.
- iii. They constantly tried to further themselves away from Britain.
  1. Most went to Pennsylvania, where tolerance was high.
- iv. The Scots-Irish were many of America's pioneers, clearing the trails for others to follow.
- v. Otherwise independent, religion was the only thing that bonded these people (Presbyterian).
- vi. Their hatred of England made them great allies and supporters of the United States during the Revolutionary War.

## Chapter 5 Vocabulary

**Jonathan Edwards** - Jonathan Edwards was an American theologian and Congregational clergyman whose sermons stirred the religious revival, called the Great Awakening. He is best known for his *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God* sermon.

**Benjamin Franklin** - He was born January 17, 1706 in Boston, Massachusetts. Franklin taught himself math, history, science, English, and five other languages. He owned a successful printing and publishing company in Philadelphia. He conducted studies of electricity, invented bifocal glasses, the lightning rod, and the stove. He was an important diplomat and statesman and eventually signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

**Michel-Guillaume de Crèvecoeur** - French settler of America in the 1770s, he posed the question, "What then, is this American?" after seeing people in America like he had never seen before. An American had really become a mixture of many nationalities.

**George Whitefield** - Whitefield came into the picture in 1738 during the 1<sup>st</sup> Great Awakening, which was a religious revival that spread through all of the colonies. He was a great preacher who had recently been an alehouse attendant. Everyone in the colonies loved to hear him preach of love and forgiveness because he had a passionate style of preaching. This led to new missionary work in the Americas in converting Indians and Africans to Christianity, as well as lessening the importance of the old clergy.

**John Peter Zenger** - Zenger was a newspaper printer in the eighteenth century. Using the power of the press, he protested the royal governor in 1734-35. He was put on trial for this "act of treason." The jury went against the royal governor and ruled Zenger innocent, since what he'd written was true. This set the standards for democracy and, most importantly, for the freedom of the press.

**Phillis Wheatley** - Born around 1753, Wheatley was a slave girl who became a poet. At age eight, she was brought to Boston. Although she had no formal education, Wheatley was taken to England at age twenty and published a book of poetry.

**John S. Copley** - Copley was a famous Revolution era painter. Copley had to travel to England to finish his study of the arts. Only in the Old World could Copley find subjects with the leisure time required to be painted, and the money needed to pay him for it. Although he was an American citizen, he was loyal to England during the Revolution.

**Paxton Boys** - They were a group of Scots-Irish men living in the Appalachian hills that wanted protection from Indian attacks (similar to Nathaniel Bacon of 1676). They made an armed march on Philadelphia in 1764. They protested the lenient way that the Quakers treated the Indians. Their ideas started the Regulator Movement in North Carolina.

**Regulator Movement** - It was a movement during the 1760's by western North Carolinians, mainly Scots-Irish, that resented the way that the Eastern part of the state dominated political affairs. They believed that the tax money was being unevenly distributed. Many of its members joined the American Revolutionists.

**Great Awakening** - The Great Awakening was a religious revival occurring in the 1730's and 1740's to motivate the souls of colonial America. Motivational speakers such as Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield helped to bring Americans together.

**Catawba Nation** - A group of the remains of several different Indian tribes that joined together in the late 1700's. The Catawba Nation was in the Southern Piedmont region of the Carolinas. Forced migration made the Indians join in this group.

**Old and New Lights** - In the early 1700's, old lights were simply orthodox members of the clergy who believed that the new ways of revivals and emotional preaching were unnecessary. New lights were the more modern-preaching members of the clergy who strongly believed in the Great Awakening. These conflicting opinions changed certain denominations, helped popularize missionary work and assisted in founding many universities now known as Ivy League schools

**Triangular trade** - The triangular trade was a small, profitable trading route started by people in (1) New England who would barter a product to get slaves in (2) Africa, and then sell them to the (3) West Indies in order to get molasses to make rum which would be shipped north to New England. This form of trading was used by New Englanders in conjunction with other countries in the 1750's.

**Molasses Act** - A British law passed in 1773 to change a trade pattern in the American colonies by taxing molasses imported into colonies not ruled by Britain. Along with the Navigation Acts, the Molasses Act was part of Britain's policy of mercantilism. Americans responded to this attempt to damage their international trade through bribery and smuggling. Their protest of this and other laws helped lead to revolution.

**Scots-Irish** - A group of restless people who fled their home in Scotland in the 1600s to escape poverty and religious oppression. They first relocated to Ireland and then to America in the 1700s. They left their mark on the backcountry of



Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. These areas are home to many Presbyterian churches established by the Scots-Irish. Many people in these areas are still very independent like their ancestors.

# Chapter 6

## The Duel for North America

- I. France Finds a Foothold in Canada
  - i. Like England and Holland, France was a latecomer in the race for colonies.
    - a. It was convulsed in the 1500s by foreign wars and domestic strife.
    - b. In 1598, the Edict of Nantes was issued, allowing limited toleration to the French Huguenots.
  - ii. When King Louis XIV became king, he took an interest in overseas colonies.
    - a. In 1608, France established Quebec, overlooking the St. Lawrence River.
  - iii. **Samuel de Champlain**, an intrepid soldier and explorer, became known as the "Father of New France."
    - a. He entered into friendly relations with the neighboring Huron Indians and helped them defeat the Iroquois.
    - b. The Iroquois, however, did hamper French efforts into the Ohio Valley later.
  - iv. Unlike English colonists, French colonists didn't immigrate to North America by hordes. The peasants were too poor, and the Huguenots weren't allowed to leave.
- II. New France Fans Out
  - i. **New France's** (Canada) one valuable resource was the beaver.
  - ii. Beaver hunters were known as the *coureurs de bois* (runners of the woods) and littered the land with place names, including Baton Rouge (red stick), Terre Haute (high land), Des Moines (some monks) and Grand Teton (big breasts).
  - iii. The French *voyageurs* also recruited Indians to hunt for beaver as well, but Indians were decimated by the white man's diseases, and the beaver population was heavily extinguished.
  - iv. French Catholic missionaries zealously tried to convert Indians.
  - v. To thwart English settlers from pushing into the Ohio Valley, **Antoine Cadillac** founded Detroit ("city of straits") in 1701.
  - vi. Louisiana was founded, in 1682, by **Robert de LaSalle**, to halt Spanish expansion into the area near the Gulf of Mexico.
    - a. Three years later, he tried to fulfill his dreams by returning, but instead landed in Spanish Texas and was murdered by his mutinous men in 1687.
  - vii. The fertile Illinois country, where the French established forts and trading posts at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, became the garden of France's North American empire.
- III. The Clash of Empires
  - i. **King William's War** and **Queen Anne's War**
    - a. The English colonists fought the French *coureurs de bois* and their Indian allies.
      - i. Neither side considered America important enough to waste real troops on.
    - b. The French-inspired Indians ravaged Schenectady, New York, and Deerfield, Mass.
    - c. The British did try to capture Quebec and Montreal, failed, but did temporarily have Port Royal.
    - d. The peace deal in Utrecht in 1713 gave Acadia (renamed Nova Scotia), Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay to England, pinching the French settlements by the St. Lawrence. It also gave Britain limited trading rights with Spanish America.
  - ii. **The War of Jenkins's Ear**
    - a. An English Captain named Jenkins had his ear cut off by a Spanish commander, who had essentially sneered at him to go home crying.
    - b. This war was confined to the Caribbean Sea and Georgia.

- c. This war soon merged with the **War of Austrian Succession** and came to be called **King George's War** in America.
  - d. France allied itself with Spain, but England's troops captured the reputed impregnable fortress of Cape Breton Island (Fort Louisbourg).
  - e. However, peace terms of this war gave strategically located Louisbourg, which the New Englanders had captured, back to France, outraging the colonists, who feared the fort.
- IV. George Washington Inaugurates War with France
- i. The Ohio Valley became a battleground among the Spanish, British, and French.
    - a. It was lush, fertile, and very good land.
  - ii. In 1754, the governor of Virginia sent 21 year-old **George Washington** to the Ohio country as a lieutenant colonel in command of about 150 Virginia minutemen.
    - a. Encountering some Frenchmen in the forest about 40 miles from **Fort Duquesne**, the troops opened fire, killing the French leader.
    - b. Later, the French returned and surrounded Washington's hastily constructed **Fort Necessity**, fought "Indian style" (hiding and guerilla fighting), and after a 10-hour siege, made him surrender.
    - c. He was permitted to march his men away with the full honors of war.
- V. Global War and Colonial Disunity
- i. The fourth of these wars between empires started in America, unlike the first three.
  - ii. The **French and Indian War** (AKA Seven Years' War) began with Washington's battle with the French.
  - iii. It was England and Prussia vs. France, Spain, Austria, and Russia.
  - iv. In Germany (Prussia), Fredrick the Great won his title of "Great" by repelling French, Austrian, and Russian armies, even though he was badly outnumbered.
  - v. Many Americans sought for the American colonies to unite, for strength lay in numbers.
  - vi. In 1754, 7 of the 13 colonies met for an inter-colonial congress held in Albany, New York, known simply as **The Albany Congress**.
    - 1. A month before the congress, Ben Franklin had published his famous "*Join or Die*" cartoon featuring a snake in pieces, symbolizing the colonies.
    - 2. Franklin helped unite the colonists in Albany, but the Albany plan failed because the states were reluctant to give up their sovereignty or power. Still, it was a first step toward unity.
- VI. Braddock's Blundering and Its Aftermath
- i. In the beginning, the British sent haughty 60 year-old **General Edward Braddock** to lead a bunch of inexperienced soldiers with slow, heavy artillery.
  - ii. In a battle with the French, the British were ambushed routed by French using "Indian-tactics."
    - a. In this battle, Washington reportedly had two horses shot from under him and four bullets go through his coat, but never through him.
  - iii. Afterwards, the frontier from Pennsylvania to North Carolina felt the Indian wrath, as scalping occurred everywhere.
  - iv. As the British tried to attack a bunch of strategic wilderness posts, defeat after defeat piled up.
- VII. Pitt's Palms of Victory
- i. In this hour of British trouble, **William Pitt**, the "Great Commoner," took the lead.
  - ii. In 1757, he became a foremost leader in the London government and later earned the title of "Organizer of Victory"
  - iii. Changes Pitt made...
    - 1. He soft-pedaled assaults on the French West Indies, assaults which sapped British strength, and concentrated on Quebec-Montreal (since they controlled the supply routes to New France).
    - 2. He replaced old, cautious officers with younger, daring officers
  - iv. In 1758, **Louisbourg** fell. This root of a fort began to wither the New France vine since supplies dwindled.
  - v. 32 year-old **James Wolfe**, dashing and attentive to detail, commanded an army that boldly scaled the cliff walls of a part protecting Quebec, met French troops near the Plains of Abraham, and in a battle in which he and French commander Marquis de Montcalm both died, the French were defeated and the city of Quebec surrendered.
    - a. The 1759 **Battle of Quebec** ranks as one of the most significant engagements in British and American history, and when Montreal fell in 1760, that was the last time French flags would fly on American soil.
  - vi. In the **Peace Treaty at Paris in 1763**...

1. France was totally kicked out of North America. This meant the British got Canada and the land all the way to the Mississippi River.
  2. The French were allowed to retain several small but valuable sugar islands in the West Indies and two never-to-be-fortified islets in the Gulf of St. Lawrence for fishing stations.
  - vii. France's final blow came when they gave Louisiana to Spain to compensate for Spain's losses in the war.
    - a. Great Britain took its place as the leading naval power in the world, and a great power in North America.
- VIII. Restless Colonists
- i. The colonists, having experienced war firsthand and come out victors, were very confident.
    - a. However, the myth of British invincibility had been shattered.
  - ii. Ominously, friction developed between the British officers and the colonial "boors."
    - a. I.e., the British refused to recognize any American officers above the rank of captain.
    - b. However, the hardworking Americans believed that they were equals with the Redcoats, and trouble began to brew.
  - iii. Brits were concerned about American secret trade with enemy traders during the war; in fact, in the last year of the war, the British forbade the export of all supplies from New England to the middle colonies.
  - iv. Also, many American colonials refused to help fight the French until Pitt offered to reimburse them.
  - v. During the French and Indian War, though, Americans from different parts of the colonies found, surprisingly to them, that they had a lot in common (language, tradition, ideals) and barriers of disunity began to melt.
- IX. War's Fateful Aftermath
- i. Now that the French had been beaten, the colonists could now roam freely, and were less dependent upon Great Britain.
  - ii. The French consoled themselves with the thought that if they could lose such a great empire, maybe the British would one day lose theirs too.
  - iii. Spain was eliminated from Florida, and the Indians could no longer play the European powers against each other, since it was only Great Britain in control now.
  - iv. In 1763, Ottawa **Chief Pontiac** led a few French-allied tribes in a brief but bloody campaign through the Ohio Valley, but the whites quickly and cruelly retaliated after being caught off guard.
    - a. One commander ordered blankets infected with smallpox to be distributed.
    - b. The violence convinced whites to station troops along the frontier.
  - v. Now, land-hungry Americans could now settle west of the Appalachians, but in 1763, Parliament issued its **Proclamation of 1763**, prohibiting any settlement in the area beyond the Appalachians.
    - a. Actually, this document was meant to work out the Indian problem by drawing the "out-of-bounds" line. But, colonists saw it as another form of oppression from a far away country. Americans asked, "Didn't we just fight a war to win that land?"
    - b. In 1765, an estimated one thousand wagons rolled through the town of Salisbury, North Carolina, on their way "up west" in defiance of the Proclamation.
  - vi. The British, proud and haughty, were in no way to accept this blatant disobedience by the lowly Americans, and the stage was set for the Revolutionary War.
- X. Makers of America: The French
- i. Louis XIV envisioned a French empire in North America, but defeats in 1713 and 1763 snuffed that out.
  - ii. The first French to leave Canada were the **Acadians**.
    - a. The British who had won that area had demanded that all residents either swear allegiance to Britain or leave.
    - b. In 1755, they were forcefully expelled from the region.
  - iii. The Acadians fled far south to the French colony of Louisiana, where they settled among sleepy bayous, planted sugar cane and sweet potatoes, and practiced Roman Catholicism.
    - a. They also spoke a French dialect that came to be called Cajun.
    - b. Cajuns married the Spanish, French, and Germans.
    - c. They were largely isolated in large families until the 1930s, when a bridge-building spree engineered by Governor Huey Long, broke the isolation of these bayou communities.
  - iv. In 1763, a second group of French settlers in Quebec began to leave, heading toward New England because poor harvests led to lack of food in Quebec because...
    - a. The people hoped to return to Canada someday.

- b. They notably preserved their Roman Catholicism and their language.
- c. Yet today, almost all Cajuns and New England French-Canadians speak English.
- v. Today, Quebec is the only sign of French existence that once ruled.
  - a. French culture is strong there in the form of road signs, classrooms, courts, and markets, eloquently testifying to the continued vitality of French culture in North America.

## Chapter 6 Vocabulary

**Samuel de Champlain** -- French explorer who sailed to the West Indies, Mexico, and Panama. He wrote many books telling of his trips to Mexico City and Niagara Falls. His greatest accomplishment was his exploration of the St. Lawrence River and his latter settlement of Quebec.

**William Pitt** -- British leader between 1757-1758. He was a leader in the London government earning himself the name, "Organizer of Victory" for his leadership in changing the direction and organization of the French & Indian War. Pittsburg was named after him.

**Robert de La Salle** -- French explorer who named Louisiana. He was the first European to float down the Mississippi River to the tip from Canada and upon seeing the beautiful river valley, named Louisiana after his king, Louis XIV, in 1682.

**James Wolfe** -- British general whose success in the Battle of Quebec won Canada for the British Empire. Even though the battle was only fifteen minutes, Wolfe was killed in the line of duty. This was a decisive battle in the French and Indian War.

**Edward Braddock** -- British commander during the French and Indian War. He attempted to capture Fort Duquesne in 1755. He was defeated by the French and the Indians who fought "Indian Style of Warfare" (guerilla warfare hiding behind trees and rocks) At this battle, Braddock was mortally wounded.

**Pontiac** -- Indian Chief who led a post-war flare-up in the Ohio River Valley and Great Lakes Region in 1763. His actions led to the Proclamation of 1763 which forbade American settlements across the Appalachians and infuriated Americans who felt they'd just fought a war to win that land.

**Huguenots** -- French Protestants that lived from about 1560 to 1629. Protestantism was introduced into France between 1520 and 1523, and the principles were accepted by many members of the nobility, the intellectual classes, and the middle class. At first the new religious group was royally protected, but toward the end of the reign of King Francis I they were persecuted. Nevertheless, they continued to grow, were persecuted, then fled to the New World.

**French and Indian War** -- A war that generally saw the French and Indians team up against English and Americans. It took place on American soil over control of the Ohio River Valley. The English defeated the French in 1763. Historical significance lay in the facts that (1) it established England as the number one world power, (2) France was totally kicked out of North America, (3) England/America gained the land all the way to the Mississippi River, and (4) subsequent events began to gradually change the attitudes of the colonists toward England for the worse.

**Albany Congress** -- A conference in the United States colonies from June 19 through July 11, 1754 in Albany New York. It advocated a union of the British colonies for their security and defense against French. Ben Franklin was the famous proponent of the idea with his "Join or Die" disjointed snake cartoon. Eventually, unity was NOT achieved though, as the colonies didn't want to give up their independence and sovereignty to a national group.

**Proclamation of 1763** -- An English law enacted after gaining territory from the French at the end of the French and Indian War. It forbade the colonists from settling beyond the Appalachian Mountains. The colonists felt betrayed by the act thinking they'd just fought the war for the land then were not allowed to settle there. The Proclamation of 1763 caused the first major revolt against the British.

## Chapter 7

### The Road to Revolution

- I. The Deep Roots of Revolution
  1. In a broad sense, the American Revolution began when the first colonists set foot on America.
  2. The war may have lasted for eight years, but a sense of independence had already begun to develop because London was over 3,000 miles away.
    - a. Sailing across the Atlantic in a ship often took 6 to 8 weeks.
    - b. Survivors felt physically and spiritually separated from Europe.

- c. Colonists in America, without influence from superiors, felt that they were fundamentally different from England, and more independent.
  - d. Many began to think of themselves as Americans, and that they were on the cutting edge of the British empire.
- II. Mercantilism and Colonial Grievances
1. Of the 13 original colonies, only Georgia was formally planted by the British government. The rest were started by companies, religious groups, land speculators, etc...
  2. The British embraced a theory that justified their control of the colonies called **mercantilism**:
    - a. A country's economic wealth could be measured by the amount of gold or silver in its treasury.
    - b. To amass gold and silver, a country had to export more than it imported (it had to obtain a *favorable balance of trade*).
    - c. Countries with colonies were at an advantage, because the colonies could supply the mother country with raw materials, wealth, supplies, a market for selling manufactured goods etc...
    - d. For America, that meant giving Britain all the ships, ships' stores, sailors, and trade that they needed and wanted.
    - e. Also, they had to grow tobacco and sugar for England that Brits would otherwise have to buy from other countries.
  3. England's policy of mercantilism severely handcuffed American trade.
    - a. The **Navigation Laws** were the most infamous of the laws to enforce mercantilism.
      - a. The first of these was enacted in 1650, and was aimed at rival Dutch shippers who were elbowing their way into the American shipping.
      - b. The Navigation Laws restricted commerce from the colonies to England (and back) to only English ships, and none other.
      - c. Other laws stated that European goods consigned to America had to land first in England, where custom duties could be collected.
      - d. Also, some products, "**enumerated goods**," could only be shipped to England.
    - b. Settlers were even restricted in what they could manufacture at home; they couldn't make woolen cloth and beaver hats to export (though, they could make them for themselves).
    - c. Americans had no currency, but they were constantly buying things from Britain, so that gold and silver was constantly draining out of America, forcing some to even trade and barter. Eventually, the colonists were forced to print paper money, which depreciated.
    - d. Colonial laws could be voided by the **Privy Council**, though this privilege was used sparingly (469 times out of 8,563 laws). Still, colonists were infuriated by its use.
- III. The Merits and Menace of Mercantilism
- a. Merits of mercantilism:
    1. The Navigation Laws were hated, but until 1763, they were not really enforced much, resulting in widespread smuggling. This lack of enforcement is called "**salutary neglect**."
      - a. In fact, **John Hancock** amassed a fortune through smuggling.
    2. Tobacco planters, though they couldn't ship it to anywhere except Britain, still had a monopoly within the British market.
    3. Americans had unusual opportunities for self-government.
    4. Americans also had the mightiest army in the world in Britain, and didn't have to pay for it.
      - a. After independence, the U.S. had to pay for a tiny army and navy.
    5. Basically, the Americans had it made: even repressive laws weren't enforced much, and the average American benefited much more than the average Englishman.
      - a. The mistakes that occurred didn't occur out of malice, at least until the revolution.
      - b. Also, France and Spain embraced mercantilism, and enforced it heavily.
  - b. Menace of mercantilism:
    1. After Britain began to enforce mercantilism in 1763, the fuse for the American Revolution was lit.
    2. Disadvantages of mercantilism included:
      - a. Americans couldn't buy, sell, ship, or manufacture under their most favorable conditions.
      - b. The South, which produced crops that weren't grown in England, was preferred over the North.
        - i. Virginia, which grew just tobacco, was at the mercy of the British buyers, who often paid very poorly and were responsible for putting many planters into debt.
      - c. Many colonists felt that Britain was just milking her colonies for all they were worth.

- d. Theodore Roosevelt later said, "Revolution broke out because England failed to recognize an emerging nation when it saw one."

#### IV. The Stamp Tax Uproar

1. After the Seven Years' War (French & Indian War), Britain had huge debt, and though it fairly had no intention of making the Americans pay off all of it for Britain, it did feel that Americans should pay off one-third of the cost, since Redcoats had been used for the protection of the Americans.
2. **Prime Minister George Grenville**, an honest and able financier but not noted for tact, ordered that the Navigation Laws be enforced, arousing resentment of settlers.
  - a. He also secured the "**Sugar Act**" of 1764, which increased duty on foreign sugar imported from the West Indies; after numerous protests from spoiled Americans, the duties were reduced.
3. The **Quartering Act** of 1765 required certain colonies to provide food and quarters for British troops.
4. In 1765, he also imposed a stamp tax to raise money for the new military force.
  - a. The **Stamp Act** mandated the use of stamped paper or the affixing of stamps, certifying payment of tax.
  - b. Stamps were required on bills of sale for about 50 trade items as well as on certain types of commercial and legal documents.
  - c. Both the Stamp Act and the Sugar Act provided for offenders to be tried in the admiralty courts, where defenders were guilty until proven innocent.
  - d. Grenville felt that these taxes were fair, as he was simply asking the colonists to pay their share of the deal; plus, Englishmen paid a much heavier stamp tax.
5. Americans felt that they were unfairly taxed for an unnecessary army (hadn't the French army and Pontiac's warriors been defeated?), and they lashed out violently, especially against the stamp tax.
  - a. Americans formed the battle cry, "No taxation without representation!"
  - b. Americans were angered, mostly, to the principle of the matter at hand.
  - c. Americans denied the right of Parliament to tax Americans, since no Americans were seated in Parliament.
6. Grenville replied that these statements were absurd, and pushed the idea of "**virtual representation**," in which every Parliament member represented *all* British subjects (so Americans *were* represented).
7. Americans rejected "virtual representation" as hogwash.

#### V. Forced Repeal the Stamp Act

1. In 1765, representatives from 9 of the 13 colonies met in New York City to discuss the Stamp Tax.
  - a. The **Stamp Act Congress** was largely ignored in Britain, but was a step toward inter-colonial unity (similar to the Albany Congress of French & Indian War days).
2. Some colonists agreed to boycott supplies, instead, making their own and refusing to buy British goods.
3. *Sons and Daughters of Liberty* took the law into their own hands, tarring and feathering violators among people who had agreed to boycott the goods.
  - a. They also stormed the houses of important officials and took their money.
  - b. Stunned, demands appeared in Parliament for repeal of the stamp tax, though many wanted to know why 7.5 million Brits had to pay heavy taxes to protect the colonies, but 2 million colonials refused to pay only one-third of the cost of their own defense.
  - c. In 1766, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act but passed the **Declaratory Act**, proclaiming that Parliament had the right "to bind" the colonies "in all cases whatsoever."

#### VI. The Townshend Tea Tax and the Boston "Massacre"

1. Charles "Champaign Charley" Townshend (a man who could deliver brilliant speeches in Parliament even while drunk) persuaded Parliament to pass the **Townshend Acts** in 1767.
  - a. They put light taxes on lead, paper, paint, and tea, which were later repealed, except tea.
2. In 1767, New York's legislature was suspended for failure to comply with the **Quartering Act**.
3. Tea became smuggled, though, and to enforce the law, Brits had to send troops to America.
4. On the evening of March 5, 1770, a crowd of about 60 townspeople in Boston were harassing some ten Redcoats.
  - a. One fellow got hit in the head, another got hit by a club.
  - b. Without orders but heavily provoked, the troops opened fire, wounding or killing eleven "innocent" citizens, including **Crispus Attucks**, a black former-slave and the "leader" of

the mob in the **Boston Massacre**. Attucks became a symbol of freedom (from slave, to freeman, to martyr who stood up to Britain for liberty).

c. Only two Redcoats were prosecuted.

VII. The Seditious Committees of Correspondence

1. King George III was 32 years old, a good person, but a poor ruler who surrounded himself with sycophants like **Lord North**.
2. The Townshend Taxes didn't really do much, so they were repealed, except for the tea tax.
3. The colonies, in order to spread propaganda and keep the rebellious moods, set up **Committees of Correspondence** which was a network of letter-writers and forerunner of the Continental Congress; the first committee was started by Samuel Adams. They were key to keeping the revolution spirit rolling.

VIII. Tea Brewing in Boston

1. In 1773, the powerful **British East India Company**, overburdened with 17 million pounds of unsold tea, was facing bankruptcy.
2. The British decided to sell it to the Americans, who were suspicious and felt that it was a shabby attempt to trick the Americans with the bait of cheaper tea and paying tax.
3. On December 16, 1773, some Whites, led by patriot Samuel Adams, disguised themselves as Indians, opened 342 chests and dumped the tea into the ocean in this "**Boston Tea Party**."
  - a. People in Annapolis did the same and burnt the ships to water level.
  - b. Reaction was varied, from approval to outrage to disapproval.
  - c. Edmund Burke declared, "To tax and to please, no more than to love and be wise, is not given to men."

IX. Parliament Passes the "**Intolerable Acts**"

1. In 1774, by huge majorities, Parliament passed a series of "**Repressive Acts**" to punish the colonies, namely Massachusetts. These were called the Intolerable Acts by Americans.
  - a. The **Boston Port Act** closed the harbor in Boston.
  - b. Self-government was limited by forbidding town hall meetings without approval.
  - c. The charter to Massachusetts was revoked.
2. The **Quebec Act**
  - a. A good law in bad company, it guaranteed Catholicism to the French-Canadians, permitted them to retain their old customs, and extended the old boundaries of Quebec all the way to the Ohio River.
  - b. Americans saw their territory threatened and aroused anti-Catholics were shocked at the enlargement that would make a Catholic area as large as the original 13 colonies. Plus, Americans were banned from this region through the Proclamation Line of 1763.

X. Bloodshed

1. The **First Continental Congress**
  - a. In Philadelphia, from September 5<sup>th</sup> to October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1774, the First Continental Congress met to discuss problems.
  - b. While not wanting independence yet, it did come up with a list of grievances, which were ignored in Parliament.
  - c. 12 of the 13 colonies met, only Georgia didn't have a representative there.
  - d. Also, they came up with a **Declaration of Rights**.
2. They agreed to meet again in 1775 (the next year) if nothing happened.
3. The "**Shot Heard 'Round the World**"
  - a. In April 1775, the British commander in Boston sent a detachment of troops to nearby **Lexington** and **Concord** to seize supplies and to capture Sam Adams and John Hancock.
  - b. Minutemen, after having eight of their own killed at Lexington, fought back at Concord, pushing the Redcoats back, shooting them from behind rocks and trees, Indian style.

XI. Imperial Strength and Weaknesses

1. With war broken open, Britain had the heavy advantage: (1) 7.5 million people to America's 2 million, (2) superior naval power, (3) great wealth.
2. Some 30,000 **Hessians** (German mercenaries) were also hired by George III, in addition to a professional army of about 50,000 men, plus about 50,000 American loyalists and many Native Americans.
3. However, Britain still had Ireland (which required troops) and France was just waiting to stab Britain in the back; plus, there was no William Pitt.

- a. Many Brits had no desire to kill their American cousins, as shown by William Pitt's withdrawal of his son from the army.
  - b. English Whigs at first supported America, as opposed to **Lord North's** Tory Whigs, and they felt that if George III won, then his rule of England might become tyrannical.
  - c. Britain's generals were second-rate, and its men were brutally treated.
  - d. Provisions were often scarce, plus Britain was fighting a war some 3,000 miles away from home.
  - e. America was also expansive, and there was no single capital to capture and therefore cripple the country.
- XII. American Pluses and Minuses
- a. Advantages
    1. Americans had great leaders like George Washington (giant general), and Ben Franklin (smooth diplomat).
    2. They also had French aid (indirect and secretly), as the French provided the Americans with guns, supplies, gunpowder, etc...
    3. **Marquis de Lafayette**, at age 19, was made a major general in the colonial army and was a great asset.
    4. The colonials were fighting in a defensive manner, and they were self-sustaining.
    5. They were better marksmen. A competent American rifleman could hit a man's head at 200 yards.
    6. The Americans enjoyed the moral advantage in fighting for a just cause, and the historical odds weren't unfavorable either.
  - b. Disadvantages
    1. Americans were terribly lacking in unity, though.
    2. Jealousy was prevalent, as colonies resented the Continental Congress' attempt at exercising power. Sectional jealousy boiled up over the appointment of military leaders; some New Englanders almost preferred British officers to Americans from other colonies.
    3. Americans had little money. Inflation also hit families of soldiers hard, and made many people poor.
    4. Americans had nothing of a navy.
- XIII. A Thin Line of Heroes
1. The American army was desperately in need of clothing, wool, wagons to ship food, and other supplies.
  2. Many soldiers had also only received rudimentary training.
  3. German **Baron von Steuben**, who spoke no English, whipped the soldiers into shape.
  4. Blacks also fought and died in service, though in the beginning, many colonies barred them from service.
    - a. By war's end, more than 5,000 blacks had enlisted in the American armed forces.
    - b. African-Americans also served on the British side.
    - c. In November 1775, Lord Dunmore, royal governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation declaring freedom for any enslaved black in Virginia who joined the British Army.
    - d. By war's end, at least 1,400 Blacks were evacuated to Nova Scotia, Jamaica, and England.
  5. Many people also sold items to the British, because they paid in gold.
  6. Many people just didn't care about the revolution, and therefore, raising a large number of troops was difficult, if not impossible.
  7. Only because a select few threw themselves into the cause with passion, did the Americans win.

## Chapter 7 Vocabulary

**John Hancock** -- Nicknamed "King of the Smugglers," he was a wealthy Massachusetts merchant in 1776 who was important in persuading the American colonies to declare their independence from England. He was the ringleader in storing gunpowder which resulted in the battles in Lexington and Concord. These battles began the American Revolution.

**Lord North** -- 1770's-1782, King George III's stout prime minister (governor during Boston Tea Party) in the 1770's. Lord North's rule fell in March of 1782, which therefore ended the rule of George III for a short while.

**George Grenville** -- The British Prime Minister from 1763-1765. To obtain funds for Britain after the costly Seven Years' War, in 1763 he ordered the Navy to enforce the unpopular Navigation Laws, and in 1764 he got Parliament to pass the Sugar Act, which increased duties on sugar imported from the West Indies. He also, in 1765, brought about the Quartering Act, which



forced colonists to provide food and shelter to British soldiers, who many colonists believed were only present to keep the colonists in line. In 1765, he imposed the Stamp Act, which put taxes on everything from newspapers to marriage licenses. These measures disgruntled the colonists, created anger towards the mother country, unified them, and helped provide the beginnings of the American Revolution.

**Samuel Adams** -- Often called the "Penman of the Revolution," he was a master propagandist and an engineer of rebellion. Though very weak and feeble in appearance, he was a strong politician and leader who was very aware and sensitive to the rights of the colonists. He organized the local Committees of Correspondence in Massachusetts, starting with Boston in 1772. These committees were designed to oppose British policy forced on the colonists by spreading propaganda.

**Charles Townshend** -- He was in control of the British ministry and was nicknamed "Champagne Charley" for his brilliant speeches in Parliament while drunk. He persuaded Parliament in 1767 to pass the Townshend Acts. These new regulations imposed a light import duty on glass, white lead, paper, and tea. It was a tax that the colonists were very much against and was a near start for rebellions to take place.

**John Adams** -- Patriot of the American Revolution and second president of the U.S. from 1796-1800. He attended the Continental Congress in 1774 as a delegate from Georgia. He swayed his countrymen to take revolutionary action against England which later gained American independence from the English.

**King George III** -- He was king of England in the 1770's. Though he was a good man, he was not a good ruler. He lost all of the 13 American colonies and caused America to start to gain its freedom.

**Baron Von Steuben** -- A stern, Prussian drillmaster that taught American soldiers during the Revolutionary War how to successfully fight the British.

**Mercantilism** -- Economic theory that simply states a nation's power is determined by its wealth in gold. According to this doctrine, the colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country; they should add to its wealth, prosperity, and self-sufficiency. The settlers were regarded more or less as tenants. They were expected to produce tobacco and other products needed in England and not to bother their heads with dangerous experiments in agriculture or self-government.

**"No Taxation without Representation"** -- This is a theory of popular government that developed in England. This doctrine was used by the colonists to protest the Stamp Act of 1765. The colonists declared that they had no one representing them in Parliament, so Parliament had no right to tax them. England continued to tax the colonists causing them to deny Parliament's authority completely. Thus, the colonists began to consider their own political independence. This eventually led to revolutionary consequences.

**Royal Veto** -- A royal veto was when legislation passed by the colonial assemblies conflicted with British regulations. It was then declared void by the Privy Council. It was resented by the colonists even though it was only used 469 times out of 8563 laws.

**Internal/External Taxation** -- Internal taxation were taxes on goods within the colonies and acted much like a sales tax. The Stamp Act of 1765 is an example of internal taxation. External taxation applied to imports into the colonies. The merchant importing the good paid the tax on it, much like the Sugar Act of 1764. Colonists were more accepting of external taxation and more opposed to internal taxation.

**"Virtual" representation** -- Theory that claimed that every member of Parliament represented all British subjects, even those Americans in Boston or Charleston who had never voted for a member of the London Parliament.

**Boycott** -- To abstain from using, buying, or dealing with; labor unions, consumer groups, countries boycott products to force a company or government to change its politics. Also called "non-importation." Was the top weapon of "The Association."

**The Boards of Trade** -- An English legislative body, based in London, that was instituted for the governing and economic control of the American colonies. It lacked many powers, but kept the colonies functioning under the mercantile system while its influence lasted. The height of the Boards' power was in the late 1690's

**Sons of Liberty** -- An organization established in 1765, these members (usually in the middle or upper class) resisted the Stamp Act of 1765. Even though the Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, the Sons of Liberty combined with the Daughters of Liberty remained active in resistance movements.

**Quebec Act** -- After the French and Indian War, the English had claim to the Quebec Region, a French-speaking area. Because of the cultural difference, England had a dilemma on what to do with the region. The Quebec Act, passed in 1774, allowed the French colonists to go back freely to their own customs. The colonists had the right to worship the Catholic faith freely. Also, it extended to the Quebec region south into the Ohio River Valley. It also said the area did not have to have a trial by jury (which was the French traditional norm). The American colonists felt betrayed because (1) Catholic lands grew, (2) the Proclamation Line of 1763 forbade English/American settlement (and wasn't that why they'd fought the French and Indian War anyway?), and (3) the Americans felt the right to trial by jury was under attack. The Quebec Act created more tension between the colonists and the British and helped lead to the American Revolution.

**Navigation Acts** -- Starting in 1650 and into the early 1700s, the British passed a series of laws to put pressure on the colonists known as the Navigation Acts. For example, an early act said that all goods must be shipped in colonial or English ships, and all imports to colonies must be on colonial or English ships or the ships of the producer. A 1660 version enumerated articles, such as sugar, tobacco, and cotton, saying they could only be exported to England from the colonies. A 1663 version of the Navigation Acts known as the "Staple Act of 1663" said all imports to the colonies must go through England. A 1673 add-on to the Staple Act collected tax from imports to the colonies for England. In 1696 the last act of the Navigation Acts, at least in

theory, enforced all of the Navigation Acts, and established penalties for violators. Also, it established *admiralty courts* in the colonies for prosecuting violations.

**Molasses Act of 1733** – This act placed a tax on molasses which was a major commodity from the West Indies. It coincides with the Navigation Acts in that they were both manifestations of the British policies of mercantilism. It was the first of many taxes that came later on.

**Sugar Act** -- In 1764, this act was put in place for raising revenue in the colonies for the crown. It increased the duties on foreign sugar, mainly from the West Indies. After protests from the colonists, the duties were lowered.

**Quartering Act** -- Law passed by Britain to force colonists to pay taxes to house and feed British soldiers. Passed in the same few years as the Navigation Laws of 1763, the Sugar Act of 1764, and the Stamp Act of 1765, it stirred up even more resentment for the British. The legislature of New York was suspended in 1767 for failing to comply with the Quartering Act.

**Stamp Act** – In 1765, Parliament passed the Stamp Act, requiring the colonists to pay for a stamp to go on many of the documents essential to their lives. These documents included deeds, mortgages, liquor licenses, playing cards, and almanacs. The colonists heartily objected to this direct tax and in protest petitioned the king, formed the Stamp Act Congress, and boycotted English imports. In 1766 Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, a major victory for colonists.

**Stamp Act Congress** – Meeting which met in New York City with twenty-seven delegates from nine colonies in 1765. It had little effect at the time but broke barriers and helped move toward colonial unity. The act was repealed in 1766.

**Declaratory Act** -- In 1766, the English Parliament repealed the Stamp Act and at the same time signed the Declaratory Act. This document stated that Parliament had the right "to bind" the colonies "in all cases whatsoever." It is important in history because it stopped the violence and rebellions against the tax on stamps. Also, it restarted trade with England, which had temporarily stopped as a defiant reaction to the Stamp Act. However, it stated that Britain still had the right to tax (which it would continue to use).

**Townshend Acts** -- In 1767, "Champagne Charley" Townshend persuaded Parliament to pass the Townshend Acts. These acts put a light import duty on such things as glass, lead, paper, and tea. The acts met slight protest from the colonists, who found ways around the taxes such as buying smuggled tea. Due to its minute profits, the Townshend Acts were repealed in 1770, except for the tax on tea. The tax on tea was kept to keep alive the principle of Parliamentary taxation.

**Admiralty courts** -- Offenders of the Sugar Act of 1764 and the Stamp Act of 1765 were tried in courts with no juries where the defendant was presumed guilty until proven innocent. Americans felt their basic rights as Englishmen were being violated, and the animosity created fuel for independence from England.

**Committees of Correspondence** – A letter-writing network. Samuel Adams started the first committee in Boston in 1772 to spread propaganda and secret information by way of letters. They were used to sustain opposition to British policy. The committees were extremely effective and critical in building and creating a revolutionary spirit amongst the Americans. Also, the Committees of Correspondence were a predecessor of the Continental Congress. It was the men on the Committee who later were in the Congress.

**First Continental Congress** – The Congress was a convention and a consultative body that met for seven weeks, from September 5 to October 26, 1774, in Philadelphia. It was the Americans' response to the Intolerable Acts and considered ways of redressing colonial grievances. All the colonies except Georgia sent 55 distinguished men in all. John Adams persuaded his colleagues to move closer to revolution and they wrote a **Declaration of Rights** and appeals to the British American colonies, the king, and British people. The Congress created The Association which called for a complete boycott of English goods. The Association was the closest thing to a written constitution until the Constitution. As time wore on, the peaceful petitions were rejected which created a pathway to revolution.

**"The Association"** -- A document produced by the Continental Congress in 1775 that called for a complete boycott of British goods. This included non-importation (boycotts), non-exportation and non-consumption. It was the closest approach to a written constitution yet from the colonies. It was hoped to bring back the days before Parliamentary taxation. Those who violated The Association in America were tarred and feathered.

**Boston Tea Party** -- A "revolt" on the Tea Act passed by Parliament where the Sons of Liberty, led by Samuel Adams, dressed up like Indians and raided English ships in Boston Harbor. They dumped thousands of pounds of tea into the harbor. As a result, the Massachusetts charter was taken away.

**Intolerable Acts** -- Passed in 1774 after the Boston Tea Party, that were considered unfair because they were designed to chastise Boston in particular, yet affected all the colonies by the Boston Port Act which closed Boston Harbor until damages were paid.

**Loyalists (Tories)** – Colonials loyal to the king during the American Revolution.

**Continental** -- The name Continental is associated to two congresses. The first is in 1774 and the second is in 1775. They both took place in Philadelphia. The Continental Congress brought the leaders of the thirteen colonies together. This was the beginning of our national union.

# Chapter 8

## America Secedes from the Empire

- I. Congress Drafts George Washington
  - i. After the bloodshed at Lexington and Concord in April of 1775, about 20,000 Minutemen swarmed around Boston, where they outnumbered the British.
  - ii. The **Second Continental Congress** met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775, with no real intention of independence, but merely a desire to continue fighting in the hope that the king and Parliament would consent to a redress of grievances.
    1. It sent another list of grievances to Parliament.
    2. It also adopted measures to raise money for an army and a navy.
    3. It also selected **George Washington** to command the army.
      - a. Washington had never risen above the rank of colonel, and his largest command had only been of 1,200 men, but he was a tall figure who looked like a leader, and thus, was a morale boost to troops.
      - b. He radiated patience, courage, self-discipline, and a sense of justice, and though he insisted on working without pay, he did keep a careful expense account amounting to more than \$100,000.
- II. Bunker Hill and Hessian Hirelings
  - i. In the first year, the war was one of consistency, as the colonists maintained their loyalty while still shooting at the king's men.
  - ii. In May 1775, a tiny American force called the **Green Mountain Boys**, led by **Ethan Allen** and **Benedict Arnold**, surprised and captured the British garrisons at Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point
    1. The importance of this raid lay in the fact that they captured much-needed cannons and gunpowder.
  - iii. In June 1775, the colonials seized **Bunker Hill** (prior known as Breed's Hill).
    1. Instead of flanking them, the Redcoats launched a frontal attack, and the heavily entrenched colonial sharpshooters mowed them down until meager gunpowder supplies ran out and they were forced to retreat.
  - iv. After Bunker Hill, George III slammed the door for all hope of reconciliation and declared the colonies to be in open rebellion, a treasonous affair.
  - v. The king also hired many German mercenaries, called **Hessians**, who, because they were lured by booty and not duty, had large numbers desert and remained in America to become respectful citizens.
- III. The Abortive Conquest of Canada
  - i. In October 1775, the British burned Falmouth (Portland), Maine.
  - ii. The colonists decided that invading Canada would add a 14<sup>th</sup> colony and deprive Britain of a valuable base for striking at the colonies in revolt.
    1. Also, the French-Canadians would support the Americans because they supposedly were bitter about Britain's taking over of their land.
    2. **General Richard Montgomery** captured Montreal.
    3. At Quebec, he was joined by the bedraggled army of **Gen. Benedict Arnold**.
    4. On the last day of 1775, in the assault of Quebec, Montgomery was killed and Arnold was wounded in one leg, and the whole campaign collapsed as the men retreated up the St. Lawrence River, reversing the way Montgomery had come.
    5. Besides, the French-Canadians, who had welcomed the Quebec Act, didn't really like the anti-Catholic invaders.
  - iii. In January 1776, the British set fire to Norfolk, Virginia, but in March, they were finally forced to evacuate Boston.
  - iv. In the South, the rebels won a victory against some 1,500 Loyalists at **Moore's Creek Bridge**, in North Carolina, and against an invading British fleet at Charleston Harbor.
- IV. Thomas Paine Preaches Common Sense
  - i. In 1776, **Thomas Paine** published the pamphlet *Common Sense*, which urged colonials to stop this war of inconsistency, stop pretending loyalty, and just fight.
  - ii. Nowhere in the universe did a smaller body control a larger one, so Paine argued, saying it was unnatural for tiny Britain to control gigantic America.

- iii. He called **King George III** "the Royal Brute of Great Britain."
- V. Paine and the Idea of "Republicanism"
  - i. Paine argued his idea that there should be a "**republic**" where representative senators, governors, and judges should have their power from the consent of the people.
  - ii. He laced his ideas with Biblical imagery, familiar to common folk.
  - iii. His ideas about rejecting monarchy and empire and embrace an independent republic fell on receptive ears in America, though it should be noted that these ideas already existed.
    1. The New Englanders already practiced this type of government in their town meetings.
  - iv. Some patriots, though, favored a republic ruled by a "natural aristocracy."
- VI. Jefferson's "Explanation" of Independence
  - i. Members of the Philadelphia 2<sup>nd</sup> Continental Congress, instructed by their colonies, gradually moved toward a clean break with Britain.
  - ii. On June 7, 1776, fiery **Richard Henry Lee** urged for complete independence, an idea that was finally adopted on July 2, 1776.
  - iii. To write such a statement, Congress appointed **Thomas Jefferson**, already renown as a great writer, to concoct a **Declaration of Independence**.
    1. He did so eloquently, coming up with a list of grievances against King George III and persuasively explaining why the colonies had the right to revolt.
    2. His "explanation" of independence also upheld the "natural rights" of humankind (life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness).
  - iv. When Congress approved it on July 2<sup>nd</sup>, John Adams proclaimed that date to be celebrated from then on with fireworks, but because of editing and final approval, it was not completely approved until July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1776.
- VII. Patriots and Loyalists
  - i. The War of Independence was a war within a war, as not all colonials were united.
    1. There were **Patriots**, who supported rebellion and were called "**Whigs**."
    2. There were **Loyalists**, who supported the king and who often went to battle against fellow Americans. The Loyalists were also called "**Tories**."
    3. There were **Moderates** in the middle and those who didn't care either way. These people were constantly being asked to join one side or another.
  - ii. During the war, the British proved that they could only control Tory areas, because when Redcoats packed up and left other areas, the rebels would regain control.
  - iii. Typical Loyalist (Tory)
    1. Loyalists were generally conservatives, but the war divided families. For example, Benjamin Franklin was against his illegitimate son, William, the last royal governor of New Jersey.
    2. Loyalists were most numerous where the Anglican Church was strongest (the South).
    3. Loyalists were less numerous in New England, where Presbyterianism and Congregationalism flourished. Loyalists were more numerous in the aristocratic areas such as Charleston, SC.
  - iv. Typical Patriot
    1. The Patriots were generally the younger generation, like Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry.
    2. The Patriot militias constantly harassed small British detachments.
    3. Patriots typically didn't belong to the Anglican Church (Church of England) but were Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist.
  - v. There were also those known as "**profiteers**" who sold to the highest bidder, selling to the British and ignoring starving, freezing soldiers (i.e. George Washington at Valley Forge).
- VIII. The Loyalist Exodus
  - i. After the Declaration of Independence, Loyalists and Patriots were more sharply divided, and Patriots often confiscated Loyalist property to resell it (an easy way to raise money).
  - ii. Some 50,000 Loyalists served the British in one way or another (fighting, spying, etc...), and it was an oddity that the Brits didn't make more use of them during the war.
- IX. General Washington at Bay
  - i. After the evacuation of Boston, the British focused on New York as a base for operations.
    1. An awe-inspiring fleet appeared off the coast in July 1776, consisting of some 500 ships and 35,000 men—the largest armed force seen in America ever until the Civil War.
    2. Washington could only muster 18,000 ill-trained men to fight, and they were routed at the Battle of Long Island.

- a. Washington escaped to Manhattan Island, crossed the Hudson River to New Jersey, reaching the Delaware River with taunting, fox-hunt calling Brits on his heels.
  3. He crossed the Delaware River at Trenton on a cold December 26, 1776, and surprised and captured a thousand Hessians who were sleeping off their Christmas Day celebration (drinking).
  4. He then left his campfires burning as a ruse, slipped away, and inflicted a sharp defeat on a smaller British detachment at Princeton, showing his military genius at its best.
  5. It was odd that **Gen. William Howe**, the British general, didn't crush Washington when he was at the Delaware, but he well remembered Bunker Hill, and was cautious.
- X. Burgoyne's Blundering Invasion
- i. London officials adopted a complicated scheme for capturing the vital Hudson River valley in 1777, which, if successful, would sever New England from the rest of the colonies. The plan was such that...
    1. **General Burgoyne** would push down the Lake Champlain route from Canada.
    2. General Howe's troops in New York, if needed, could advance up the Hudson and meet Burgoyne in Albany.
    3. A third and much smaller British force commanded by **Col. Barry St. Ledger** would come in from the west by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk Valley.
  - ii. However, **Benedict Arnold**, after failure at Quebec, retreated slowly along the St. Lawrence back to Lake Champlain, where the British would have to win control (of the lake) before proceeding.
    1. The Brits stopped to build a huge force, while Arnold assembled a tattered flotilla from whatever boats he could find.
    2. His "navy" was destroyed, but he had gained valuable time, because winter set in and the British settled in Canada, thus, they would have to begin anew the next spring.
      - a. Had Arnold not contributed his daring and skill, the Brits most likely would have recaptured Ticonderoga and Burgoyne could have started from there and succeeded in his venture.
  - iii. Burgoyne began his mission with 7,000 troops and a heavy baggage train consisting of a great number of the officers' wives.
    1. Meanwhile, sneaky rebels, sensing the kill, were gathering along his flanks.
  - iv. General Howe, at a time when he should be starting up the Hudson, deliberately embarked for an attack on Philadelphia.
    1. He wanted to force an encounter with Washington and leave the path wide open for Burgoyne's thrust. He thought he had enough time to help Burgoyne if needed.
    2. Washington transferred his troops to Philadelphia, but was defeated at Brandywine Creek and Germantown.
    3. Then, the fun-loving Howe settled down in Philadelphia, leaving Burgoyne "to the dogs."
    4. Ben Franklin, in Paris, joked that Howe hadn't captured Philadelphia, but that "Philadelphia had captured Howe."
  - v. Washington finally retired for the winter at **Valley Forge**, where his troops froze in the cold, but a recently arrived Prussian drillmaster, **Baron von Steuben**, whipped the cold troops into shape.
  - vi. Burgoyne's doomed troops were bogged down, and the rebels swarmed in with a series of sharp engagements, pushing St. Legers force back at Oriskany while Burgoyne, unable to advance or retreat, surrendered his entire force at **The Battle of Saratoga**, on October 17, 1777.
    1. This was perhaps one of the most decisive battles in British and American history.
    2. The importance of Saratoga lay in the fact that afterwards, France sensed America might actually win and came out to officially help America.
- XI. Revolution or Diplomacy?
- i. France was eager to get revenge on Britain, and secretly supplied the Americans throughout much of the war.
  - ii. The Continental Congress sent delegates to France. The delegates were guided by a "Model Treaty" which sought no political or military connections, but only commercial ones.
    1. Ben Franklin played the diplomacy game by wearing simple gray clothes and a coonskin cap to supposedly exemplify a raw new America
  - iii. After the humiliation at Saratoga, the British offered the Americans a measure that gave them home rule—everything they wanted except independence.
  - iv. After Saratoga, France finally was persuaded to enter the war against Britain.

1. Louis XVI's ministers argued that this was the perfect time to act, because if Britain regained control, she might then try to capture the French West Indies for compensation for the war.
  2. Now was the time to strike, rather than risk a stronger Britain with its reunited colonies.
  - v. France, in 1778, offered a treaty of alliance, offering America everything that Britain had offered, plus recognition of independence.
    1. The Americans accepted the agreement with caution, since France was pro-Catholic, but since the Americans needed help, they'd take it.
- XII. The Colonial War Becomes a World War
- i. In 1779, Spain and Holland entered the war against Britain.
  - ii. In 1780, Catherine the Great of Russia took the lead in organizing the Armed Neutrality (she later called it the Armed Nullity) that lined up all of Europe's neutrals in passive hostility against England.
  - iii. America, though it kept the war going until 1778, didn't win until France, Spain, and Holland joined in and Britain couldn't handle them all.
  - iv. Britain, with the French now in the seas, decided to finally evacuate Philadelphia and concentrate their forces in New York, and even though Washington attacked them at Monmouth on a blisteringly hot day in which scores of men died of sunstroke, the British escaped to New York.
- XIII. Blow and Counterblow
- i. French reinforcements, commanded by **Comte de Rochambeau**, arrived in Newport, Rhode Island in 1780, but flares sometimes erupted between the Americans and the French.
  - ii. In 1780, feeling unappreciated and lured by British gold, **Gen. Benedict Arnold** turned traitor by plotting with the British to sell out West Point.
    1. When the plot was discovered, he fled with the British.
    2. "Whom can we trust now?" cried George Washington in anguish.
  - iii. The British devised a plan to roll up the colonies from the South.
    1. Georgia was ruthlessly overrun in 1778-1779.
    2. Charleston, South Carolina, fell in 1780.
    3. In the Carolinas, Patriots bitterly fought their Loyalist neighbors.
    4. However, in 1781, American riflemen wiped out a British detachment at King's Mountain, and then defeated a smaller force at Cowpens.
    5. At the Carolina campaign of 1781, Quaker-reared tactician **Gen. Nathanael Greene** distinguished himself with his strategy of delay.
      - a. By slowly retreating and losing battles but winning campaigns, he helped clear the British out of most of Georgia and South Carolina.
- XIV. The Land Frontier and the Sea Frontier
- i. 1777 was known as the "bloody year" on the frontier, as Indians went on a scalping spree.
  - ii. Most of the Indians supported Britain and believed that if they won, it would stop American expansion into the West, and save Indian land.
  - iii. Mohawk chief Joseph Brant, recently converted to Anglicanism, and his men ravaged the backcountry of Pennsylvania and New York until checked by the Americans in 1779.
  - iv. In 1784, the pro-British Iroquois (the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras had sided with the Americans, the other four with the British) signed the **Treaty of Fort Stanwix**, the first treaty between the U.S. and an Indian nation.
    1. Under its terms, the Indians ceded most of their land.
  - v. Even in wartime, pioneers moved west, showing their gratitude to the French with such town names as Louisville while remembering the revolution with Lexington, Kentucky.
  - vi. **George Rogers Clark**, an audacious frontiersman, floated down the Ohio River with about 175 men in 1778-1779 and captured forts Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes in quick succession.
  - vii. The tiny American navy never really hurt the British warships, but it did destroy British merchant shipping and carried the war into the waters around the British Isles.
  - viii. Swift **privateers** preyed on enemy shipping, capturing many ships and forcing them to sail in convoys.
- XV. Yorktown and the Final Curtain.
- i. Before the last decisive victory, inflation continued to soar, and the government was virtually bankrupt. It announced that it could only repay many of its debts at a rate of 2.5 cents on the dollar.
  - ii. However, **Cornwallis** was blundering into a trap.
    1. Retreating to Chesapeake Bay and assuming that British control of the seas would give him much needed backup, Cornwallis instead was trapped by Washington's army, which had

come 300 miles from NY, **Rochambeau's** French army, and the navy of French **Admiral de Grasse**.

- iii. After hearing the news of Cornwallis' defeat, Lord North cried, "Oh God! It's all over!"
- iv. Stubborn King George wanted to continue the war, since he still had 54,000 troops in North America and 32,000 in the U.S., and fighting did continue for about a year after Yorktown, especially in the South, but America had won.

XVI. Peace at Paris

- i. Many Brits were weary of the war, since they had suffered heavily in India and the West Indies, the island of Minorca in the Mediterranean which had fallen, and the Rock of Gibraltar was tottering.
- ii. **Ben Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay** met in Paris for a peace deal.
  1. Jay suspected that France would try to keep the U.S. cooped up east of the Alleghenies and keep America weak.
  2. Instead, Jay, thinking that France would betray American ambition to satisfy those of Spain, secretly made separate overtures to London (against instructions from Congress) and came to terms quickly with the British, who were eager to entice one of their enemies from the alliance.
- iii. **The Treaty of Paris of 1783**
  1. Britain formally recognized U.S. independence and granted generous boundaries, stretching majestically to the Mississippi River to the west, the Great Lakes on the north, and to Spanish Florida on the South.
  2. The Yankees also retained a share in the priceless fisheries of Newfoundland.
  3. Americans couldn't persecute Loyalists, though, and Congress could only *recommend* legislature that would return or pay for confiscated Loyalist land.

XVII. A New Nation Legitimized

- i. Britain ceded so much land because it was trying to entice America from its French alliance.
  1. Remember, George Rogers Clark had only conquered a small part of that western land.
- ii. Also, during the time, the American-friendly Whigs were in control of the Parliament, which was not to be the case in later years.
- iii. France approved the treaty, though with cautious eyes.
- iv. In truth, America came out the big winner, and seldom, if ever, have any people been so favored.

XVIII. Makers of America: The Loyalists

- i. Loyalists were conservative, well-educated, and thought that a complete break with Britain would invite anarchy. They felt that America couldn't win against the most powerful nation in the world.
- ii. Many Britons had settled in America after the Seven Years' War, and they had reason to support their home country.
- iii. Thousands of African-Americans joined the British ranks for hope of freedom from bondage.
  1. Many Black Loyalists won their freedom from Britain.
  2. Others suffered betrayal, such as when Cornwallis abandoned over 4,000 former slaves in Virginia and when many Black Loyalists boarded ships expecting to embark for freedom but instead found themselves sold back into slavery.
  3. Some Black exiles settled in Britain, but weren't really easily accepted.
- iv. Most Loyalists remained in America, where they faced special burdens and struggled to re-establish themselves in a society that viewed them as traitors.
- v. **Hugh Gaine**, though, succeeded in building back his name.
  1. He reopened his business and even won contracts from the new government.
  2. He also published the new national army regulations authored by Baron von Steuben.
  3. When New York ratified the Constitution in 1788, Gaine rode the float at the head of the city's celebration parade.
  4. He had, like many other former Loyalists, become an American.

## Chapter 8 Vocabulary

**George Washington** -- Washington was initially a military leader in the French and Indian War who pulled his small force back into Fort Mifflin where he was overwhelmed by the French. He was the commander of Virginia's frontier troops as a colonel. Later, he was Commander of the Continental Army during the American Revolution. His greatest achievements then were: (1) his surprise victory at Trenton, (2) holding the army together at Valley Forge, and (3) his major victory at Yorktown. He became the first president of the United States when he took office on Apr. 30, 1789 in New York City.

**Hessians** -- German soldiers hired by George III to smash colonial rebellion. They proved good in a mechanical sense, but they were more concerned about booty than duty, meaning, they didn't care which side really won the war.

**William Howe** -- Howe was English general who commanded the English forces at Bunker Hill. Howe did not relish the rigors of winter campaigning, and he found more agreeable the bedtime company of his mistress. At a time when it seemed obvious that he should join the forces in New York, he joined the main British army for an attack on Philadelphia.

**Nathanael Greene** -- Green was a colonial general who fought the English in the late eighteenth century. He used the fighting tactic of retreating and getting the English to pursue him for miles, biding his time and waiting for the chance to make a move. The significance was that he helped clear Georgia and South Carolina of British troops.

**Benedict Arnold** -- He was an American General during the Revolutionary War. He prevented the British from reaching Ticonderoga and thus delayed the British assault on New York. Later, in 1778, he tried to help the British take West Point and the Hudson River but he was found out and declared a traitor.

**John Burgoyne** -- He was a British general that submitted a plan for invading New York state from Canada. He was then given charge of the army. Though defeated, he advanced troops near Lake Champlain to the Albany area. Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga on Oct. 17, 1777. This battle helped to bring France into the war as an ally for the United States. This has been called one of the decisive battles of history.

**Charles Cornwallis** -- He was a British general who fought in the Seven Years War, was elected to the House of Commons in 1760, and lost battles to George Washington on December 26, 1776 and on January 3, 1777. Cornwallis made his mark on history, even though he could never ensure an overall British win over the Americans. He had many individual victories and losses against the Americans in the American Revolution and will always be remembered as a great and powerful general.

**Thomas Paine** -- Paine was a passionate and persuasive writer who published the bestseller, *Common Sense* in 1776. Paine had the radical idea that the colonies should set up America as an independent, democratic, republic away from England. Over 120,000 copies of his pamphlet were sold and this helped spark the colonists' call for independence later that year.

**Barry St. Leger** -- Barry St. Leger was a British officer in the American Revolutionary War. He led a British advance into New York's Mohawk Valley in the summer of 1777. Hoping to join the British army of General John Burgoyne at Albany, St. Leger was halted by American militia at Fort Stanwix. His forces were nearly destroyed while repelling an American relief unit at Oriskany, and the approach of additional American troops forced St. Leger to retreat to Canada.

**George Rogers Clark** -- Clark was a frontiersman who led the seizing of 3 British forts in 1777 along the Ohio River. This later led to the British giving the region north of the Ohio River to the United States.

**Richard Henry Lee** -- He was a member of Philadelphia's Continental Congress during the late 1770's. On June 7, 1776 he declared, "These United colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." This resolution was the start of the Declaration of Independence and end to British relations.

**Horatio Gates** -- He started in the English army and worked his way up through the ranks. Later, during the revolution, he turned sides and was appointed to take charge of the Continental army of the North. One of Gates' accomplishments was his victory at Saratoga. His career in the army ended when he lost to General Charles Cornwallis in Camden, SC.

**John Paul Jones** -- The commander of one of America's ships. He was a daring, hard-fighting young Scotsman who helped destroy British merchant ships in 1777. He brought war into the water and surprisingly had success there against the British.

**Thomas Jefferson** -- He was a member of the House of Burgesses, wrote the Declaration of Independence, was ambassador to France, and was the third president of the United States of America. With his Declaration of Independence, he declared the colonies' freedom from England. While president, he bought the Louisiana Purchase and had Lewis and Clark explore it.

**Marquis de Lafayette** -- A wealthy French nobleman, nicknamed the "French Gamecock," he was made Major General of colonial army. He got commission on part of his family but nevertheless supplied America with invaluable help.

**Admiral de Grasse** -- Admiral de Grasse operated a powerful French fleet in the West Indies. He advised America that he was free to join with them in an assault on Cornwallis at Yorktown. Rochambeau's French army defended the British by land and Admiral de Grasse blockaded them by sea. This resulted in Cornwallis's surrender on October 19, 1781.

**Patrick Henry** -- He was a fiery lawyer during Revolutionary War times. Supporting a break from Great Britain, he is famous for the words, "...give me liberty, or give me death!" which concluded a speech given to the Virginia Assembly in 1775. This quote is a symbol of American patriotism still today. After the American Revolution, Henry served two terms as governor of Virginia and was also instrumental in the development of the Bill of Rights.

**Comte de Rochambeau** -- He commanded a powerful French army of 6,000 troops in the summer of 1780 and arrived in Newport, Rhode Island. They were planning a Franco-American attack on New York.

**John Jay** -- John Jay was the First Chief Justice of the United States, and also an American statesman and jurist. Elected to the Continental Congress, he also helped negotiate the Treaty of Paris with Great Britain, ending the American Revolution. Serving as governor of New York state from 1795 to 1801, he was an advocate of a strong national government. Appointed by Washington, Jay negotiated a settlement with Britain to settle the threat of war. This became known as Jay's Treaty. He was also known for helping Alexander Hamilton and James Madison write the series of articles known as "The Federalist Papers."

**Mercenaries** -- A mercenary is a person hired for service in the army of a foreign country. For example, in the late 1760's George III hired German soldiers (Hessians) to fight in the British army against Americans

**Natural Rights theory** -- The theory that people are born with certain "natural rights," rights which cannot be taken away. Jefferson, in the Declaration of Independence, said these included the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

**Privateering** -- Privateers were privately owned armed ships specifically authorized by Congress to prey on enemy shipping and smuggle in needed supplies. There were over a thousand American privateers who responded to the call of patriotism and profit. The privateers brought in urgently needed gold, harassed the enemy, and raised American morale.



**2<sup>nd</sup> Continental Congress** -- The congress met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. Three delegates added to the Congress were Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and John Hancock. The Congress took on governmental duties and united all the colonies for the war effort. They selected George Washington as commander of the army. They encouraged the colonies to set themselves up as states. On July 4, 1776 they adopted the Declaration of Independence. The Congress ended March 1, 1781 when a Congress authorized by the Articles of Confederation took over.

**Common Sense** -- A pamphlet written in 1776 that was one of the most potent publications ever. It called for the colonists to realize their mistreatment and push for independence from England. The author, Thomas Paine, introduced ideas such as the fact that nowhere in the universe was a smaller heavenly body control a larger. For this reason there was no reason for England to have control over the vast lands of America. The pamphlet was high-class journalism as well as propaganda and sold a total of 120,000 copies within a few months.

**Declaration of Independence** -- This was formally approved by the Congress on July 4, 1776. This "shout heard round the world" has been a source of inspiration to countless revolutionary movements against arbitrary authority. The document sharply separated Loyalists from Patriots and helped to start the revolution by allowing England to hear of the colonists' disagreements with British authority.

**Whigs/Patriots** -- These were the names given to the party of patriots of the new land resisting England prior to the Declaration of Independence.

**Treaty of Paris of 1783** -- The British recognized the independence of the United States. It granted boundaries, which stretched from the Mississippi River on the west, to the Great Lakes on the north, and to Spanish Florida on the south. The Yankees retained a share of Newfoundland for fishing, which greatly upset the Canadians.

# Chapter 9

## The Confederation and the Constitution

### I. The Pursuit of Equality

- i. The American Revolution was more of an accelerated evolution than a revolution.
- ii. However, the exodus of some 80,000 Loyalists left a great lack of conservatives.
  1. This weakening of the aristocratic "upper crust" let Patriot elites emerge.
- iii. The fight for separation of church and state resulted in notable gains.
  1. The Congregational church continued to be legally established (tax supported) by some New England states, but the Anglican Church was humbled and reformed as the Protestant Episcopal Church.
- iv. Slavery was a large, problematic issue, as the Continental Congress of 1774 had called for the abolition of slavery, and in 1775, the Philadelphia Quakers founded the world's first antislavery society.
  1. This new spirit that "all men are created equal" even inspired a few slave owners to free their slaves.
- v. Another issue was women. They still were unequal to men, even though some had served (disguised as men) in the Revolutionary War.
  1. There were some achievements for women such as New Jersey's 1776 constitution which allowed women to vote (for a time).
  2. Mothers devoted to their families were developed as an idea of "republican motherhood" and elevated women to higher statuses as keepers of the nation's conscience. Women raised the children and thereby held the future of the republic in their hands.

### II. Constitution Making in the States

- i. The Continental Congress of 1776 called upon colonies to draft new constitutions (thus began the formation of the Articles of the Confederation).
  1. Massachusetts contributed one innovation when it called a special convention to draft its constitution and made it so that the constitution could only be changed through another specially called constitutional convention.
  2. Many states had written documents that represented a fundamental law.
  3. Many had a bill of rights and also required annual election of legislators.
  4. All of them deliberately created weak executive and judicial branches since they distrusted power due to Britain's abuse of it.

5. In most states, the legislative branch was given sweeping powers, though some people, like Thomas Jefferson, warned that "173 despots [in legislature] would surely be as oppressive as one."
  - ii. Many state capitals followed the migration of the people and moved westward, as in New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.
- III. Economic Crosscurrents
- i. After the Revolution, Loyalist land was seized, but people didn't chop heads off (as later in France).
  - ii. Goods formerly imported from England were cut off, forcing Americans to make their own.
  - iii. Still, America remained agriculturalist by a large degree. Industrialization would come much later.
  - iv. Prior to war, Americans had great trade with Britain, and now they didn't. But they could now trade with foreign countries, and with any nation they wanted to, a privilege they didn't have before.
  - v. Yankee shippers like the *Empress of China* (1784) boldly ventured into far off places.
  - vi. However, inflation was rampant, and taxes were hated. The rich had become poor, and the newly rich were viewed with suspicion. Disrespect of private property became shocking.
- IV. A Shaky Start Toward Union
- i. While the U.S. had to create a new government, the people were far from united.
  - ii. In 1786, after the war, Britain flooded America with cheap goods, greatly hurting American industries.
  - iii. However, the states all did share similar constitutions, had a rich political inheritance from Britain, and America was blessed with men like Washington, Madison, Jefferson, Hamilton, and John Adams, great political leaders of high order.
- V. Creating a Confederation
- i. The new states chose a confederation as their first government—a loose union of states where a federal and state level exist, yet the state level retains the most sovereignty to "do their own thing."
    1. For example, during the war, states had created their own individual currencies and tax barriers.
  - ii. The Articles of the Confederation was finished in 1777, but it was finally completely ratified by the last state, Maryland, on March 1, 1781.
  - iii. A major dispute was that states like New York and Virginia had huge tracts of land west of the Appalachians that they could sell off to pay off their debts while other states could not do so.
    1. As a compromise, these lands were ceded to the federal government, which pledged to dispense them for the common good of the union (states would be made).
    2. The Northwest Ordinance later confirmed this.
- VI. The **Articles of the Confederation**: America's First Constitution
- i. The main thing to know regarding the Articles is that they set up a very weak government. This was not by accident, but by plan. The reason a weak government was desired was simply to avoid a strong national government that would take away unalienable rights or abuse their power (i.e. England).
  - ii. The Articles had no executive branch (hence, no single leader), a weak Congress in which each state had only one vote, it required 2/3 majority on any subject of importance, and a fully unanimous vote for amendments.
  - iii. Also, Congress was pitifully weak, and could not regulate commerce and could not enforce tax collection.
    1. States printed their own, worthless paper money.
    2. States competed with one another for foreign trade. The federal government was helpless.
  - iv. Congress could only call up soldiers from the states, which weren't going to help each other.
    1. Example: in 1783, a group of Pennsylvanian soldiers harassed the government in Philadelphia, demanding back pay. When it pleaded for help from the state, and didn't receive any, it had to shamefully move to Princeton College in New Jersey.
  - v. However, the government was a model of what a loose confederation should be, and was a significant stepping-stone towards the establishment of the U.S. Constitution.
  - vi. Still, many thought the states wielded an alarmingly great of power.
- VII. Landmarks in Land Laws
- i. The **Land Ordinance of 1785** answered the question, "How will the new lands in the Ohio Valley be divided up?" It provided the acreage of the Old Northwest should be sold and that the proceeds be used to pay off the national debt.
    1. This vast area would be surveyed before settlement and then divided into townships (six miles square), which would then be divided into 36 square sections (1 mile square) with one set aside for public schools (section #16).

- ii. The **Northwest Ordinance of 1787** answered the question, "How will new states be made once people move out there?" It made admission into the union a two stage affair:
  1. There would be two evolutionary territorial stages, during which the area would be subordinate to the federal government.
  2. When a territory had 60,000 inhabitants, they wrote a state constitution and sent it to Congress for approval. If approved, it's a new state.
  3. It worked very well to solve a problem that had plagued many other nations.

VIII. The World's Ugly Duckling

- i. However, Britain still refused to repeal the Navigation Laws, and closed down its trading to the U.S. (proved useless to U.S. smuggling). It also sought to annex Vermont to Britain with help from the Allen brothers and Britain continued to hold a chain of military posts on U.S. soil.
  1. One excuse used was that the soldiers had to make sure the U.S. honor its treaty and pay back debts to Loyalists.
- ii. In 1784, Spain closed the Mississippi River to American commerce.
- iii. It also claimed a large area near the Gulf of Mexico that was ceded to the U.S. by Britain.
  1. At Natchez, on disputed soil, it also held a strategic fort.
- iv. Both Spain and England, while encouraging Indian tribes to be restless, prevented the U.S. from controlling half of it territory.
- v. Even France demanded payment of U.S. debts to France.
- vi. The pirates of the North African states, including the arrogant **Dey of Algiers**, ravaged U.S. ships in the area and enslaved Yankee sailors. Worse, America was just too weak to stop them.

IX. The Horrid Specter of Anarchy

- i. States were refusing to pay taxes, and national debt was mounting as foreign credibility was slipping.
- ii. Boundary disputes erupted into small battles while states taxed goods from other states.
- iii. **Shays' Rebellion**, which flared up in western Massachusetts in 1786.
  1. Shays' was disgruntled over getting farmland mortgages. Notably, the inability to get land is the same motivation for rebellion as Bacon's Rebellion back in 1676 in Virginia. And, the desire for land was also the motivator of the Paxton Boys in Pennsylvania in 1764.
  2. Daniel Shays was convicted, but later pardoned.
  3. The importance of Shays' Rebellion → The fear of such violence lived on and paranoia motivated folks to desire a stronger federal government.
- iv. People were beginning to doubt republicanism and this Articles of the Confederation.
- v. However, many supporters believed that the Articles merely needed to be strengthened.
- vi. Things began to look brighter, though, as prosperity was beginning to emerge. Congress was beginning to control commerce, and overseas shipping was regaining its place in the world.

X. A Convention of "Demigods"

- i. An Annapolis, Maryland convention was called to address the Articles' inability to regulate commerce, but only five states were represented. They decided to meet again.
- ii. On May 25, 1787, 55 delegates from 12 states (Rhode Island wasn't there) met in Philadelphia to "revise the Articles only."
  1. Among them were people like Hamilton, Franklin, and Madison.
  2. However, people like Jefferson, John and Sam Adams, Thomas Paine, Hancock, and Patrick Henry were not there. Notably the Patriots like Sam Adams were seen as too radical.

XI. Patriots in Philadelphia

- i. The 55 delegates were all well-off and mostly young, and they hoped to preserve the union, protect the American democracy from abroad and preserve it at home, and to curb the unrestrained democracy rampant in various states (like rebellions, etc...).

XII. Hammering Out a Bundle of Compromises

- i. The delegates quickly decided to totally scrap the Articles and create a new Constitution.
  1. **Virginia's large state plan** called for Congressional representation based on state population, while **New Jersey's small state plan** called for equal representation from all states (in terms of numbers, each state got the same number of representatives, two.)
  2. Afterwards, the "**Great Compromise**" was worked out so that Congress would have *two* houses, the House of Representatives, where representation was based on population, and the Senate, where each state got two representatives
  3. All tax bills would start in the House.
- ii. Also, there would be a strong, independent executive branch with a president who would be military commander-in-chief and who could veto legislation.

- iii. Another compromise was the election of the president through the Electoral College, rather than by the people directly. The people were viewed as too ignorant to vote.
  - iv. Also, slaves would count as 3/5 of a person in census counts for representation.
    - 1. Also, the Constitution enabled a state to shut off slave importation if it wanted, after 1807.
- XIII. Safeguards for Conservatism
- i. The delegates at the Convention all believed in a system with checks and balances, and the more conservative people deliberately erected safeguards against excesses of mobs. Such as...
    - 1. Federal chief justices were appointed for life, thus creating stability conservatives liked.
    - 2. The electoral college created a buffer between the people and the presidency.
    - 3. Senators were elected by state legislators, *not* by the people.
    - 4. So, the people voted for 1/2 of 1/3 of the government (only for representatives in the House).
  - ii. However, the people still had power, and government was based on the people.
  - iii. By the end of the Convention, on Sept. 17, 1787, only 42 of the original 55 were still there to sign the Constitution.
- XIV. The Clash of Federalists and Anti-federalists
- i. Knowing that state legislatures would certainly veto the new Constitution, the Founding Fathers sent copies of it out to state conventions, where it could be debated and voted upon.
    - 1. The people could judge it themselves.
  - ii. The American people were shocked, because they had expected a patched up Articles of the Confederation and had received a whole new Constitution (the Convention had been very well concealed and kept secret).
  - iii. The **Federalists**, who favored the proposed stronger government, were against the anti-federalists, who were opposed to the Constitution.
    - 1. The Federalists were more respectable and generally embraced the cultured and propertied groups, and many were former Loyalists. These folks lived nearer the coast in the older areas.
  - iv. **Anti-federalists** truthfully cried that it was drawn up by aristocratic elements and was therefore anti-democratic.
    - 1. The Anti-federalists were mostly the poor farmers, the illiterate, and states' rights devotees. It was basically the poorer classes who lived westward toward the frontier.
    - 2. They decried the dropping of annual elections of congressional representatives and the erecting of what would become Washington D.C., and the creation of a standing army.
- XV. The **Great Debate** in the States
- i. Elections were run to elect people into the state conventions.
  - ii. Four small states quickly ratified the Constitution, and Pennsylvania was the first large state to act.
  - iii. In Massachusetts, a hard fought race between the supporters and detractors (including Samuel Adams, the "Engineer of Revolution" who now resisted change), and Massachusetts finally ratified it after a promise of a bill of rights to be added later.
    - 1. Had this state not ratified, it would have brought the whole thing down.
  - iv. Three more states ratified, and on June 21, 1788, the Constitution was officially adopted after nine states (all but Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island) had ratified it.
- XVI. The Four Laggard States
- i. Virginia, knowing that it could not be an independent state (the Constitution was about to be ratified by the 9<sup>th</sup> state, New Hampshire, anyway), finally ratified it by a vote of 89 to 79.
  - ii. New York was swayed by *The Federalist Papers*, written by **John Jay**, **James Madison**, and **Alexander Hamilton**, and finally yielded after realizing that it couldn't prosper apart from the union.
  - iii. North Carolina and Rhode Island finally ratified it after intense pressure from the government.
- XVII. A Conservative Triumph
- i. The minority had triumphed again, and the transition had been peaceful.
  - ii. Only about 1/4 of the adult white males in the country (mainly those with land) had voted for the ratifying delegates.
  - iii. Conservationism was victorious, as the safeguards had been erected against mob-rule excesses.
  - iv. Revolutionaries against Britain had been upended by revolutionaries against the Articles.
    - 1. It was a type of counterrevolution.
  - v. Federalists believed that every branch of government effectively represented the people, unlike Anti-federalists who believed that only the legislative branch did so.
  - vi. In the U.S., conservatives and radicals alike have championed the heritage of democratic revolution.

## Chapter 9 Vocabulary

**Abigail Adams** -- She was the wife of second president John Adams. She attempted to get rights for the "Ladies" from her husband who at the time was on the committee for designing the Declaration of Independence.

**Daniel Shays** -- Shays was a radical veteran of the Revolution. He led a rebellion, fittingly named Shays' Rebellion. He felt he was fighting against a tyranny. Essentially upset about his inability to get land, his rebellion was composed of debtors demanding cheap paper money, lighter taxes, and suspension of mortgage foreclosures. He was sentenced to death but was later pardoned. Because fear of similar rebellions motivated leaders to desire a stronger government, the rebellion in 1786 helped lead to the Constitution and Shays somewhat became one of the Founding Fathers.

**Alexander Hamilton** -- Hamilton was a high political leader and 32 year old New Yorker who saved the Annapolis convention from complete failure by engineering the adoption of his report. It called upon Congress to summon a convention to meet in Philadelphia the next year, not to deal with commerce alone but to bolster the entire fabric of the Articles of Confederation. Congress, because of Hamilton's influence, issued the call for a convention "for the sole and express purpose of revising" the Articles of Confederation. Hamilton was present as an advocate of super-powerful central government. He gave a five hour speech that did not reach anyone but himself. He was one of the youngest and most brilliant founding fathers. Hamilton joined John Jay and James Madison in penning a masterly series of articles for the New York newspaper called *The Federalist Papers*. Their essays are the most penetrating commentary ever written on the Constitution. He later became the 1<sup>st</sup> Secretary of the Treasury and his 4-part financial plan got American on firm financial footing. His plan included: (1) paying the debt in full, (2) a national Bank of the U.S., (3) a tariff, and (4) an excise tax on whiskey.

**James Madison** -- Nicknamed "the Father of the Constitution," he was a talented politician sent to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia on May 25, 1787. His notable contributions to the Constitution helped to convince the public to ratify it. He later wrote the Bill of Rights then was the 5<sup>th</sup> president of the U.S.

**Federation** -- This is a two-level government, the state and national (federal) levels, with the national government holding the most power. This involved the yielding by the states of their sovereignty to a completely new federal government. This would give the states freedom to control their local affairs.

**Checks & Balances** -- This was the principle of government under which separate branches are employed to prevent actions by the other branches and are induced to share power. The framers of the Constitution for the U.S. saw the policy of checks and balances necessary for the government to run smoothly. This principle has prevented any one branch from taking over the government and making all the decisions (i.e., having a dictatorship).

**Sovereignty** -- This is defined as supreme political power. When the Continental Congress in 1776 asked the colonies to draft new constitutions, it was asking them to become new states, whose sovereignty, according to republicanism, would rest on the people's authority. Power in the people's hands is the basis for democracy.

**Mobocracy** -- The term "mobocracy" is the fear that the nation would be ruled by a mob. An example of people who used this method would be the American colonists. When England would impose taxes and acts, such as the Stamp Act, the colonists would become angered and protested it by forming mobs and doing such things as ransacking houses and stealing the money of stamp agents. Another example was Shays' Rebellion. Essentially, the mobocracy fear motivates conservative groups to crack down on rules and order. And, in the case of Shays, to strengthen the government through the Constitution.

**Consent of the governed** -- The people of a country have to give their consent to be governed, otherwise they have the right to over-throw the government. This theory was coined by John Locke.

**Republicanism** -- The theory of republicanism was that the government was under the authority of the people it governs. A republic is made of representatives chosen by the people. The power in the people's hands is the basis for democracy. The writers of the constitution used the republicanism theory and experimented with this type of government on the largest scale ever attempted.

**States' Rights** -- The anti-federalists opposed the Constitution because they thought it did not give enough power to the states. They believed that each state deserved certain rights that were not clearly defined in the Constitution but were pertinent to a democracy. Since these rights were not included in the original draft of the Constitution, there was a delay in the ratification process until the states were promised their rights would be protected in a Bill of Rights. This protection was made through the Tenth Amendment saying any power not listed in the Constitution would be reserved to the states.

**Anarchy** -- Anarchy is a lack of a strong government, often resulting in chaos. It gives no security to landowners or upper-class people (wealthy). There is no stability, and what few laws exist are openly defied with no form of punishment. There are often problems in creating a usable and effective currency (this was a problem in inter-state relations.) Anarchy coincides with the notion of the "mobocracy" and Daniel Shays' Rebellion, and motivated the Founding Fathers to strengthen the federal government.

**Society of the Cincinnati** -- The Cincinnati was a group of Continental Army officers formed a military order in 1783. They were criticized for their aristocratic ideals and tendencies.

**The "large-state plan"** -- It was the plan purposed by Virginia to set up Congress where the number of representatives per state would be based on population, giving the larger states an advantage. It was first written as a framework for the Constitution.

**Great Compromise** -- This compromise at the 1787 Constitutional Convention was between the large and small states over how representation in Congress would be determined. The Great Compromise resolved that there would be representation by population in the House of Representatives, and equal representation would exist in the Senate. Each state, regardless of size, would have 2 Senators. All tax bills and revenues would originate in the House. This compromise combined the needs of both large and small states and formed a fair and sensible resolution to their problems.

**Confederation** -- This is a group of sovereign states, each of which is free to act independently from the others. In 1776, when America gained its independence, a loose confederation was formed among the thirteen colonies. Under this confederation, the states were united by a weak national government, which was completely lacking constitutional authority. The national government had some control over issues such as military affairs and foreign policy. The states, however, took the majority of power into their own hands, such as the power to coin money and raise armies. The reasoning for the weak confederation (as opposed to a strong federal government) was the fear that a strong federal government would turn out to be little or no better than the king had been.

**Articles of Confederation** -- The Articles were the first "constitution" governing the United States after the revolution. It was ratified in 1781 and provided for a "firm league of friendship." The legislative branch (Congress) had no power to regulate commerce or forcibly collect taxes and there was no national executive or judicial branch. Despite its weaknesses, it was an important stepping-stone towards the present Constitution because without it the states would never have consented to the Constitution.

**Electoral College** -- This was a group of electors chosen by the people to elect the president of the United States in every election year. This system was born alongside the U.S. Constitution. The reasoning for forming it was that many conservatives simply felt the common man was too ignorant to make wise decisions on such important matters. An electoral college of educated men would fix this. This system is a way of speeding up presidential elections and is still in force today. The electors of each state must reflect the interests of the people within their respective states during each election. After the people in a state have voted, the votes are tallied. Whichever candidate has the most votes gets all of that state's votes in the Electoral College.

**Three-Fifths Compromise** -- This was a compromise where a black slave was counted as three-fifths of a person when they were counting the population. The southern states wanted them counted as one whole person for more representatives in the House of Representatives. The northern states did not want them counted at all, and 3/5 was the number negotiated.

**Land Ordinance of 1785** -- This was a red-letter law which stated that the disputed land of the Old Northwest (today's Midwest) was to be equally divided into townships (6 miles by 6 miles) and sold for federal income. It also promoted education (by reserving section #16 for schools) and ended confusing legal disagreements over land.

**Northwest Ordinance** -- The ordinance answered the question, "How will new states be made?" It said that sections of land were similar to colonies for a while, and under the control of the Federal Government. Once a territory was inhabited by 60,000 people, then Congress would review its constitution and admit it as a state. Slavery was prohibited in the Northwest Territories. This plan worked so well it became the model for other frontier areas.

**Anti-Federalists** -- The Anti-Federalists were people against the Federalists (who wanted the Constitution ratified) in 1787. They disagreed with the Constitution because they believed people's rights were being taken away without a Bill of Rights. They were angered by dropping annual elections, the non-existence of God in the government, a standing army, and basically the strengthening of the federal government.

**Shay's Rebellion** -- A rebellion led by Captain Daniel Shays, Revolutionary War veteran. It was an uprising that flared up in western Massachusetts. Impoverished backcountry farmers, many of them Revolutionary War veterans, were losing their farms through mortgage foreclosures and tax delinquencies. They demanded cheap paper money, lighter taxes, and a suspension of mortgage foreclosures. Hundreds of angry agitators attempted to enforce these demands. Massachusetts authorities, supported by wealthy citizens, raised a small army under General Lincoln. The movement was smashed and Shays was condemned to death then later pardoned. The importance of the rebellion was that it struck fear in the hearts of the propertied class. The rebellion exposed the need for a stronger central government and helped launch the Constitutional Convention.

**Federalists** -- A political party consisting of the wealthier, more educated, more respectable citizens of the time. Federalists generally lived along the eastern seaboard in the 1790's. They believed in advocating a strong federal government and fought for the adoption of the United States Constitution in 1787-1788.

**Constitution of the United States** -- This is the foundation of our country's national government. It was drafted in Philadelphia in 1787 and ratified two years later. The Constitution establishes a government with direct authority over all citizens, it defines the powers of the national government, and it establishes protection for the rights of states and of every individual.

**The Federalist Papers** -- These were a series of articles written in New York newspapers as a source of propaganda for a stronger central government. The articles, written by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison, were a way for the writers to express their belief that it is better to have a stronger central government. The papers turned out to be a penetrating commentary written on the Constitution. Most famous of these were *Federalist Papers* #10 and #54.

# Chapter 10

## Launching the New Ship of State

- I. Growing Pains
  1. In 1789, the new U.S. Constitution was launched, and the population was doubling every 20 years.
    - a. America's population was still 90% rural, with 5% living west of the Appalachians.
    - b. Vermont became the 14<sup>th</sup> state in 1791, and Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio (states where trans-Appalachian overflow was concentrated) became states soon after.
    - c. Visitors looked down upon the crude, rough pioneers, and these western people were restive and dubiously loyal at best.
  2. In the twelve years after American independence, laws had been broken and a constitution had been completely scrapped and replaced with a new one, a government that left much to be desired.
  3. America was also heavily in debt, and paper money was worthless, but meanwhile, restless monarchs watched to see if the U.S. could succeed in setting up a republic while facing such overwhelming odds.
- II. Washington for President
  1. At 6'2", 175 pounds, with broad and sloping shoulders, a strongly pointed chin and pockmarks from smallpox, **George Washington** was an imposing figure, which helped in his getting unanimously elected as president by the Electoral College in 1789.
  2. His long journey from Mt. Vernon to New York (capital at the time) was a triumphant procession filled with cheering crowds and roaring festivities, and he took his oath of office on April 30, 1789, on a balcony overlooking Wall Street.
  3. Washington established a diverse cabinet (which was not necessary Constitutionally).
    - a. Secretary of State: Thomas Jefferson
    - b. Secretary of the Treasury: Alexander Hamilton
    - c. Secretary of War: Henry Knox
- III. The Bill of Rights
  1. Many states had ratified the Constitution on the condition that there would be a **Bill of Rights**, and many Anti-Federalists had criticized the Constitution for its lack of a Bill.
  2. The necessary number of states adopted the Bill of Rights in 1791.
  3. Bill of Rights
    - a. Amendment I: Freedom of religion, speech or press, assembly, and petition.
    - b. Amendment II: Right to bear arms (for militia).
    - c. Amendment III: Soldiers can't be housed in civilian homes during peacetime.
    - d. Amendment IV: No unreasonable searches; all searches require warrants.
    - e. Amendment V: Right to refuse to speak during a civil trial; No Double Jeopardy.
    - f. Amendment VI: Right to a speedy and public trial.
    - g. Amendment VII: Right to trial by jury when the sum exceeds \$20.
    - h. Amendment VIII: No excessive bails and/or fines.
    - i. Amendment IX: Other rights not enumerated are also in effect. ("People's Rights" Amendment)
    - j. Amendment X: Unlisted powers belong to the state. ("States' Rights" Amendment)
  4. The **Judiciary Act of 1789** created effective federal courts.
  5. **John Jay** became the first Chief Justice of the United States
- IV. Hamilton Revives the Corpse of Public Credit
  1. Born in the British West Indies, **Alexander Hamilton**'s loyalty to the U.S. was often questioned, even though he claimed he loved his adopted country more than his native country.
  2. He urged the federal government to pay its debts of \$54 million and try to pay them off at face value ("Funding at Par"), *plus* interest, as well as assume the debts of the states of \$21.5 million (this was known as "assumption").
    - a. Massachusetts had a huge debt, but Virginia didn't, so there needed to be some haggling. This was because Virginia felt it unfair that all debts were to be assumed by the entire nation. Essentially, its rival states would be at the same level as Virginia, even though they had obtained larger debts.

- b. The bargain → Virginia would have the **District of Columbia** built on its land (therefore gaining prestige) in return for letting the government assume all the states' debts.
      3. The "Funding at Par" would gain the support of the rich to the federal government, not to the states.
- V. Customs Duties and Excise Taxes.
  1. With the national debt at a huge \$75 million, Alexander Hamilton was strangely unworried.
  2. He used the debt as an asset: the more people the government owed money to, the more people would care about what would happen to the U.S. as a whole nation.
  3. To pay off some of the debt, Hamilton first proposed custom duties, and the first one, imposing a low tariff of about 8% of the value of dutiable imports, was passed in 1789.
    - a. Hamilton also wanted to protect America's infant industries, though the U.S. was still dominated by agricultural programs. Little was done regarding this.
  4. In 1791, Hamilton secured an excise tax on a few domestic items, notably whiskey (at 7 cents per gallon).
- VI. Hamilton Battles Jefferson for a Bank
  1. Hamilton proposed a national treasury, to be a private institution modeled after the Bank of England, to have the federal government as a major stockholder, to circulate cash to stimulate businesses, to store excess money, and to print money that was worth something. This was opposed by Jefferson as being unconstitutional (as well as a tool for the rich to better themselves).
  2. Hamilton's Views:
    - a. What was not forbidden in the Constitution was permitted.
    - b. A bank was "necessary and proper" (from Constitution).
    - c. He evolved the **Elastic Clause**, AKA the "necessary and proper" clause, which would greatly expand federal power. This is a "**loose interpretation**" of the Constitution.
  3. Jefferson's Views:
    - a. What was not permitted was forbidden.
    - b. A bank should be a state-controlled item (since the 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment says powers not delegated in the Constitution are left to the states).
    - c. The Constitution should be interpreted literally and through a "**strict interpretation**."
  4. End result: Hamilton won the dispute, and Washington reluctantly signed the bank measure into law. The **Bank of the United States** was created by Congress in 1791, and was chartered for 20 years.
    - a. It was located in Philadelphia and was to have a capital of \$10 million.
    - b. Stock was thrown open to public sale, and surprisingly, a milling crowd oversubscribed in two hours.
- VII. Mutinous Moonshiners in Pennsylvania
  1. In 1794, in western Pennsylvania, the **Whiskey Rebellion** flared up when fed-up farmers revolted against Hamilton's excise tax.
    - a. Around those parts, liquor and alcohol was often used as money.
    - b. They said they'd been unfairly singled out to be taxed.
    - c. They cried "taxation without representation" since many were from Tennessee and Kentucky which were not yet states and had no one in Congress.
  2. Washington cautiously sent an army of about 13,000 troops from various states to the revolt, but the soldiers found nothing upon arrival; the rebels had scattered.
  3. Washington's new presidency now commanded new respect, but anti-federalists criticized the government's use of a sledgehammer to crush a gnat.
  4. The lesson of the Whiskey Rebellion → this government, unlike the Articles, was strong!
- VIII. The Emergence of Political Parties
  1. Hamilton's policies (national bank, suppression of Whiskey Rebellion, excise tax) seemed to encroach on states' rights.
  2. As resentment grew, what was once a personal rivalry between Hamilton and Jefferson gradually evolved into two political parties.
  3. The Founding Fathers had not envisioned various political parties (Whigs and Federalists and Tories, etc... had existed, but they had been groups, not parties).
  4. Since 1825, the two-party system has helped strengthen the U.S. government, helping balance power and ensuring there was always a second choice to the ruling party.
- IX. The Impact of the French Revolution



1. Near the end of Washington's first term, in 1793, two parties had evolved: the **Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans** and the **Hamiltonian Federalists**.
  2. However, the **French Revolution** greatly affected America.
  3. At first, people were overjoyed, since the first stages of the revolution were not unlike America's dethroning of Britain. Only a few ultraconservative Federalists were upset at this "mobocracy" and revolt.
  4. When the French declared war on Austria, then threw back the Austrian armies and then proclaimed itself a republic, Americans sang "The Marseillaise" and other French revolutionary songs, and renamed various streets and places.
  5. After the revolution turned radical and bloody, the Federalists rapidly changed opinions and looked nervously at the Jeffersonians, who felt that no revolution could be carried out without a little bloodshed.
  6. Still, neither group completely approved of the French Revolution and its antics.
  7. America was sucked into the revolution when France declared war on Great Britain and the battle for North American land began...again.
- X. Washington's Neutrality Proclamation
1. With war came the call by the JDR's (Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans) to enter on the side of France, the recent friend of the U.S., against Britain, the recent enemy.
  2. Hamilton leaned toward siding with the Brits, as doing so would be economically advantageous.
  3. Washington knew that war could mean disaster and disintegration, since the nation in 1793 was militarily and economically weak and politically disunited.
  4. In 1793, he issued the **Neutrality Proclamation**, proclaiming the U.S.'s official neutrality and warning Americans to stay out of the issue and be impartial.
  5. JDR's were furious, and this controversial statement irked both sides, France and England.
  6. Soon afterwards, **Citizen Edmond Genêt**, landed at Charleston, South Carolina, as representative to the U.S.
    - a. On his trip to Philadelphia, he had been cheered rousingly by Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans, who supported France, and he came to wrongly believe that Washington's Neutrality Proclamation didn't truly reflect the feelings of Americans.
    - b. Also, he equipped privateers to plunder British ships and to invade Spanish Florida and British Canada.
    - c. He even went as far as to threaten to appeal over the head of Washington to the sovereign voters. Afterwards, he was basically kicked out of the U.S.
  7. Actually, America's neutrality helped France, since only in that way could France get needed American foodstuffs to the Caribbean islands.
  8. Although France was mad that the U.S. didn't help them, officially, the U.S. didn't have to honor its alliance from the **Treaty of 1778** because France didn't call on it to do so.
- XI. Embroilments with Britain
1. Britain still had many posts in the frontier, and supplied the Indians with weapons.
  2. The **Treaty of Greenville**, in 1795, had the Indians cede their vast tract in the Ohio country to the Americans after **General "Mad Anthony" Wayne** crushed them at the **Battle of Fallen Timbers** on August 20, 1794. It was here that the Americans learned of, and were infuriated by, British guns being supplied to the Indians.
  3. Ignoring America's neutrality, British commanders of the Royal Navy seized about 300 American merchant ships and impressed (kidnapped) scores of seamen into their army.
  4. Many JDR's cried out for war with Britain, or at least an embargo, but Washington refused, knowing that such drastic action would destroy the Hamilton financial system.
- XII. Jay's Treaty and Washington's Farewell
1. In a last-ditch attempt to avert war, Washington sent John Jay to England to work something out.
  2. However, his negotiations were sabotaged by England-loving Hamilton, who secretly gave the Brits the details of America's bargaining strategy.
  3. The results of the **Jay Treaty** with England weren't pretty:
    - a. Britain would repay the lost money from recent merchant ship seizures called "**impressment**", but it said nothing about future seizures or supplying Indians with arms.
    - b. America would have to pay off its pre-Revolutionary War debts to Britain.

4. Result→ the JDR's from the South were furious, as the southern farmers would have to pay while the northern merchants would be paid. Jay's effigy was burnt in the streets. However, war was avoided.
  5. At this time, the **Pinckney Treaty** of 1795 with Spain gave Americans free navigation of the Mississippi and the large disputed territory north of Florida. Oddly, it was the pro-British Jay Treaty that prompted Spain to be so lenient in the Pinckney Treaty (since Spain didn't want America buddying up to their enemy, England).
  6. After his second term, Washington stepped down, creating a strong two-term precedent that wasn't broken until FDR was president.
    - A. His **Farewell Address** warned (1) against political parties and (2) against building permanent alliances with foreign nations.
    - B. Washington had set the U.S. on its feet and had made it sturdy.
- XIII. John Adams Becomes President
1. Hamilton was the logical choice to become the next president, but his financial plan had made him very unpopular.
  2. **John Adams**, the ablest statesmen of his day, won, 71 to 68, against **Thomas Jefferson**, who became vice president.
  3. Adams had a hated rival and opponent in Hamilton, who plotted with Adams' cabinet against the president, and a political rival in his vice president.
  4. He also had a volatile situation with France that could explode into war.
- XIV. Unofficial Fighting with France
1. France was furious about the **Jay's Treaty**, calling it a flagrant violation of the 1778 Franco-American treaty, and so began seizing defenseless American merchant ships.
  2. In the **XYZ Affair**, John Adams sent three envoys (including John Marshall) to France, where they were approached by three agents, "X," "Y," and "Z," who demanded a load of 32 million florins and a \$250,000 bribe just for talking to **Talleyrand**.
    - a. Even though bribes were routine in diplomacy, such a large sum for simply talking weren't worth it, and there was no guarantee of an agreement.
    - b. The envoys returned to America, cheered by angry Americans as having done the right thing for America.
  3. Irate Americans called for war with France, but Adams, knowing just as Washington did that war could spell disaster, remained neutral.
  4. Thus, an undeclared war mostly confined to the seas raged for two and a half years, where American ships captured over 80 armed French ships.
- XV. Adams Puts Patriotism Above Party
1. Talleyrand, knowing that war with the U.S. would add another enemy to France, declared that if another envoy was sent to France, that it would be received with respect.
  2. In 1800, the three American envoys were met by **Napoleon**, who was eager to work with the U.S.
  3. The **treaty in 1800**, signed in Paris, ended the 1778 alliance in return for the Americans paying the claims of its shippers' as alimony.
  4. In keeping the U.S. at peace, John Adams plunged his popularity and lost his chance at a possible second term, but he did the right thing, keeping the U.S. neutral while it was still weak.
- XVI. The Federalist Witch Hunt
1. The Federalists scorned the poor people, who in turn were welcomed by the JDR's.
  2. With the **Alien Laws**, Federalists therefore raised the residence requirements for aliens who wanted to become citizens from five to fourteen years, a law that violated the traditional American policy of open-door hospitality and speedy assimilation.
    - A. Another law let the president deport dangerous aliens during peacetime and jail them during times of war.
  3. The **Sedition Act** provided that anyone who impeded the policies of the government or falsely defamed its officials, including the president, would be liable to a heavy fine and imprisonment; it was aimed at newspaper editors and the JDR's.
    - a. While obviously unconstitutional, this act was passed by the Federalist majority in Congress and upheld in the court because of the majority of Federalists there too.
    - b. It was conveniently written to expire in 1801 to prevent the use of it against themselves.
    - c. **Matthew Lyon** was one of those imprisoned when he was sentenced to four months in jail for writing ill things about President John Adams.

4. Furthermore, in the elections of 1798-99, the Federalists won the most sweeping victory of their history.

XVII. The **Virginia** (Madison) and **Kentucky** (Jefferson) **Resolutions**

1. Resentful Jeffersonians would not take these laws lying down, and Jefferson feared that the Federalists, having wiped out freedom of speech and of the press, might wipe out more.
2. He wrote a series of legislation that Kentucky approved in 1798-99, and friend James Madison wrote another series of legislation (less extreme) that Virginia approved.
  - a. They stressed the "**compact theory**" which meant that the 13 states, in creating the federal government, had entered into a contract regarding its jurisdiction, and the individual states were the final judges of the laws passed in Congress. In other words, the states had made the federal government, the federal government makes laws, but since the states made the federal government, the states reserve the right to nullify those federal laws. This compact theory is heard at this point, then again in 1832 regarding the national tariff, then again in the 1850s over slavery. Civil War erupts afterwards. Notably, this theory goes by several names, all synonymous: the "compact theory," "**states' rights theory**," or "**nullification**."
  - b. This legislation set out to kill the Sedition and Alien Laws.
3. Only those two states adopted the laws.
4. Federalists, though, argued that the people, not the states, had made the contract, and it was up to the Supreme Court to nullify legislation, a procedure that it adopted in 1803.
5. While neither Madison nor Jefferson wanted secession, they did want an end to Federalist abuses.

XVIII. Federalists Versus Democratic-Republicans

1. The **Federalists**
  - a. Most Federalists were the old Federalists from before the Constitution.
  - b. They wanted a strong government ruled by the educated aristocrats, the "best people."
  - c. Most were the merchants, manufacturers, and shippers along the Atlantic seaboard.
  - d. They were mostly pro-British and recognized that foreign trade was key in the U.S.
2. The **Democratic-Republicans**
  - a. Republicans were led by Thomas Jefferson, a poor speaker but a great leader, and an appeal to the common people. They desired rule by informed classes and a weaker central government that would preserve the sovereignty of the states. They were mostly pro-French.
  - b. Jefferson was rich and even owned slaves, but he sympathized with the common people.
  - c. They emphasized that national debt had to be paid off.
  - d. They were mostly agrarians (farmers), and insisted on no privileges for the upper class.
    - I. They saw farming as ennobling: it kept people away from wickedness of the cities, in the sun, and close to God.
  - e. He advocated rule of the people, but not all the people, just those who weren't ignorant.
  - f. Slavery could help avoid a class of landless voters by providing the necessary labor.
  - g. He championed free speech, but he was foully abused by editorial pens.
3. Thus, as 1800 rolled around, the disunity of America was making its existence very much felt.

## Chapter 10 Vocabulary

**Thomas Jefferson** -- Under the executive branch of the new constitution, Thomas Jefferson was the Secretary of State. When Alexander Hamilton wanted to create a new national bank, Jefferson adamantly spoke against it. He felt it would violate states' rights by causing a huge competitor for the state banks, then causing a federal monopoly. Jefferson's argument was that since the Constitution did not say Congress could create a bank, they should not be given that power. This is the philosophy of strict interpretation of the construction. Thomas Jefferson's beliefs led to the creation of the political party known as the Democratic-Republicans. They believed in an extremely weak central government, no special privileges for special classes, especially manufacturers, and did not believe in letting every white male vote, only those intelligent enough to make wise decisions (however they did believe in extending the right to vote to more people than did the Federalists, who were even more elitist still).

**Alexander Hamilton** – He was a great political leader and youngest and brightest of the Federalists. He was known as the "father of the National Debt." Hailing from New York, he became a major general and was a military genius. He became Secretary of the Treasury under George Washington in 1789 and established a plan for the economy that went into affect in

1790 including a (1) tariff that passed in 1789, (2) a plan to take care of the national debt which included (a) funding the debt at face value or "funding at par," and (b) the assumption of state debts by the federal government, (3) an excise tax on whiskey in 1791, and (4) a plan for a National Bank which was approved in 1791. His ideas founded the Federalist Party which opposed Jefferson's Republicans.

**Henry Knox** – Knox was the first Secretary of War, beginning with the new government in 1789.

**John Jay** – He was the 1<sup>st</sup> Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. In 1794, George Washington sent him to negotiate a treaty with England and thus settle issues with the Brits. The Jay Treaty was a failure because it didn't mention British impressment and America had to pay pre-Revolutionary debts. It did prevent a war with England, however, and helped to bring about the signing of the Pinckney Treaty with Spain.

**Assumption** – Assumption was part of Hamilton's economic theory. It stated that the federal government would assume all the states' debts for the American Revolution. This angered states such as Virginia who had already paid off their debts. In exchange for agreeing to assumption, Virginia was promised that the new capital would be in the South.

**Funding at Par** – This was an economic plan devised in 1790 by Hamilton in order to "bolster the nation's credit" and strengthen the central government. It was a plan to exchange old bonds for new bonds at face value. This would take on the debts of all the states and reinforce faith in the government bonds. The idea was that in paying face value, credibility and respect would be given to the new government and the economy.

**Strict Interpretation of the Constitution** -- Jefferson and his states' rights disciples believed the Constitution should be interpreted "literally" or "strictly." The reason was to protect individual rights. Jefferson did not want the Bank of the United States, saying it was simply not written into the Constitution, Hamilton argued that although not explicitly written, it was implied in the Constitution. Namely, the "elastic clause" (AKA the "necessary and proper" clause) applied to the Bank. Jefferson thought it was up to the states and Hamilton thought it was up to Congress. The Bank was indeed created by Congress in 1791.

**Implied Powers** -- Implied powers refer to the powers of the government found in the Constitution in unwritten forms, mainly through the elastic clause. Although some situations, such as the creation of the National Bank, are not specifically referred to in the Constitution, through the elastic clause they are not illegal or unconstitutional. The clause states that it's okay for Congress to do anything "necessary and proper" so that it may carry out its delegated powers. After Hamilton was appointed head of treasury in 1789, debates began between his interpretation of the Constitution and Jefferson's views. Eventually this became an issue contributing to the formation of political parties.

**Agrarian** – This term means having to do with agriculture. The agrarian society were the farmers and plantation owners of the south. This was the society that Jefferson wanted to see become the future of America. He appreciated the many virtuous and beneficial characteristics of an agrarian society.

**Excise Tax** – An excise tax is a tax on the manufacturing of an item. It helped Hamilton to achieve his theory on a strong central government, supported by the wealthy manufacturers. This tax mainly targeted poor Western frontier corn farmers who produced whiskey. This sparked the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794 and the squelching of the rebellion showed the new government's power.

**The Cabinet** – This was a body of executive department heads that serve as the chief advisors to the president. It was formed during the first years of Washington's presidency. The original members of the cabinet included the Sec. of State (Jefferson), of the Treasury (Hamilton) and of War (Knox).

**Bill of Rights** -- The first ten amendments of the Constitution are the Bill of Rights. It was added in 1791 when it was adopted by the necessary number of states. Notably, several states would not ratify the Constitution until a Bill of Rights was promised. The Bill of Rights guarantees such civil liberties as freedom of speech, free press, and freedom of religion. It was written by James Madison.

**Whiskey Rebellion** – This was a small rebellion that began in southwestern Pennsylvania in 1794 that was a challenge to the national government's unjust use of an excise tax on an "economic medium of exchange." Washington crushed the rebellion with excessive force, proving the strength of the national government's power in its military, but was condemned for using a "sledgehammer to crush a gnat." The lesson learned was that this government, unlike the Articles of Confederation, was strong.

**Amendment Nine** -- The Ninth Amendment states that the enumeration of rights in the Constitution shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people. In other words, the rights listed in the Constitution are not the only rights people have. It was written by James Madison in 1791 to stop the possibility that listing such rights might possibly lead to the assumption that the rights were the only ones protected.

**Tenth Amendment** -- The Tenth Amendment is the last Amendment in the Bill of Rights and is often called the "States' Rights Amendment." The Tenth Amendment states that the "powers not delegated to the federal government are reserved to the states and the people." This allows for a strong central government, but it does not allow the government to become all powerful by still allowing states and people rights. This amendment is the basis for the later States' Rights advocates (the South) over the issues of the tariff and slavery.

**Jeffersonian Republicans** – This was one of nation's first political parties, led by Thomas Jefferson, and stemming from the Anti-Federalists. It emerged around 1792 and gradually became today's Democratic party. The Jeffersonian Republicans were pro-French, liberal, and mostly made up of the middle class. They favored a weak central government, an America made up of farmers, were more favorable toward the expansion of democracy, and strong states' rights.

**Judiciary Act of 1789** -- The Judiciary Act of 1789 organized the Supreme Court, originally with five justices and a chief justice, along with several federal district and circuit courts. It also created the Attorney General's office. This act created the judicial branch of the U.S. government and thus helped to shape the future of this country.

**Citizen Genet** -- He was a representative of the French Republic who came to America in order to recruit Americans to help fight in the French Revolution. He landed in Charleston, SC around 1793 after the outbreak of war between France and Britain. He failed to gather American support and was ousted from the nation.

**"Mad" Anthony Wayne** -- He was a general who bested Northwest Indians at the Battle of Fallen Timbers on August 20, 1794. There, the Indians left British-made arms on the fields of battle which angered the Americans. After that, the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 led to the Indians ceding their claims to a vast tract in the Ohio Country.

**John Adams** -- He was a Federalist who was Vice President under Washington in 1789, and later became president by three votes in 1796. Known for his quarrel with France, he was involved in the XYZ Affair, the "Quasi War", and the Convention of 1800. Later though, he was also known for his belated push for peace with France in 1800. Regarding his personality, he was a "respectful irritation."

**Talleyrand** -- Talleyrand was the French foreign minister. In 1797, Adams sent a diplomatic commission to France to settle matters regarding France's dislike of the Jay Treaty of 1794. The French thought that America was siding with the English and violating the Franco-American Treaty of 1778. The commission was sent to talk to Talleyrand about the seizing of American ships by the French. Communication between the commission and Talleyrand existed between three "go-betweens," (XYZ). They requested a loan and a bribe for talking to Talleyrand in person. Americans soon rejected this act and effectively started an undeclared war with France.

**Compact Theory** -- The Compact Theory was popular among the English political philosophers in the eighteenth century. In America, it was supported by Jefferson and Madison. It meant that the thirteen states, by creating the federal government, had entered into a contract regarding the jurisdiction of the federal government. The national government, being created by the states, was the agent of the states. This meant that the individual states were the final judges of the national government's actions. Therefore, states could reject or nullify federal laws they disliked. The theory was the basis for the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions passed in 1798. The compact theory was used to try to stop the Federalist abuses like the Alien and Sedition Acts, then later by states' rights advocates over the tariff (1830s) and then attempts to stop the expansion of slavery (1850s).

**French Revolution** -- The French Revolution began in 1789 with some nonviolent restrictions on the king, but became more hostile in 1792 when France declared war on Austria. Seeking help from America, the French pointed to the Franco-American Alliance of 1778. Jeffersonians leaned toward helping France due to the treaty. Hamiltonians leaned toward helping England due to economic benefits. Not wanting to get involved for fear of damage to the trade business, Washington gave the Neutrality Proclamation, which made America neutral. This led to arguments between Americans and French. After fighting with the French over such things as the Jay Treaty, the Americans came to peace with France in 1800. The French Revolution was not a war within a country, but a war that affected the world.

**Jay Treaty** -- This was a 1794 treaty that offered little concessions from Britain to the U.S. and greatly disturbed the Jeffersonians. Jay was able to get Britain to say they would evacuate the chain of posts on U.S. soil and pay damages for recent seizures of American ships. The British, however, would not promise to leave American ships alone in the future, and they decided that the Americans still owed British merchants for pre-Revolutionary war debts. It said nothing of future impressments. Because of this, many Southerners especially, were angry and rioted and called John Jay the "Damn'd Archtraitor."

**Pinckney Treaty** -- This 1795 treaty gave America what they demanded from the Spanish, namely free navigation of the Mississippi (AKA "the right of deposit"), and a large area of north Florida. This was an unexpected diplomatic success since it was the Jay Treaty that helped prompt the Spanish to deal out the Pinckney Treaty.

**Convention of 1800** -- This was a treaty signed in Paris that ended France's peacetime military alliance with America. Napoleon was eager to sign this treaty so he could focus his attention on conquering Europe and perhaps create a New World empire in Louisiana. This ended the "Quasi-War" between France and America.

**Neutrality Proclamation 1793** -- This was issued by George Washington and established an isolationist policy in the French Revolution. It proclaimed the government's official neutrality in widening European conflicts and also warned American citizens about intervening on either side of conflict.

**Alien and Sedition Acts** -- These were 1798 laws that contained four parts: 1. Raised the residence requirement for American citizenship from 5 to 14 years. 2. Alien Act - gave the president the power in peacetime to order any alien out of the country. 3. Alien Enemies Act - permitted the president in wartime to jail aliens when he wanted to. 4. The Sedition Act -- the key clause provided fines and jail penalties for anyone guilty of sedition. It was to remain in effect until the next presidential inauguration. The Sedition Act's purpose was to silence Republican opposition to Adams' administration. Many people, mostly newspaper publishers, were fined and jailed under the Sedition Act. Jefferson and Madison believed the acts were violations of the First Amendment. It expired March 1801.

**Battle of Fallen Timbers** -- Fallen Timbers was an attack made by American General "Mad Anthony" Wayne against invading Indians from the northwest. The defeat of the Indians ended the alliance made with the British and Indians. The battle made the Americans angry at England because the Indians were using British-made guns.

**Treaty of Greenville** – This 1795 treaty gave America all of Ohio after General Mad Anthony Wayne battled and defeated the Indians at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. It allowed Americans to explore the area with peace of mind that the land belonged to America and added size and very fertile land to America.

**Farewell Address** -- The Farewell Address was made by George Washington in 1796, when he retired from office. It wasn't given orally, but was printed in newspapers. He stressed that we should stay away from permanent alliances with foreign countries. He also warned against the growing formation of political parties. The document was rejected by the Jeffersonians, who favored the alliance with France.

**Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions** -- The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were put into practice in 1798 by Jefferson and James Madison. These resolutions were secretly made to get the rights back that were taken away by the Alien and Sedition Acts. These laws took away freedom of speech and press which were guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. These resolutions also brought about the later compact theory, or states' rights theory, which gave the states more power than the federal government.

# Chapter 11

## The Triumphs and Travails of Jeffersonian Democracy

- I. Federalist and Republican Mudslingers
  - a. In the election of 1800, the Federalists had a host of enemies stemming from the Alien and Sedition Acts.
  - b. The Federalists had been most damaged by John Adams' not declaring war against France.
    1. They had raised a bunch of taxes and built a good navy, and then had not gotten any reason to justify such spending, making them seem fraudulent as they had also swelled the public debt.
    2. John Adams became known as "the Father of the American Navy."
  - c. Federalists also launched attacks on Jefferson, saying that he had robbed a widow and her children of a trust fund, fathered numerous children with his slaves (which turned out to be true), called him an atheist (he was a Deist), and used other inflammatory remarks.
- II. The Jeffersonian "Revolution of 1800"
  - a. **Thomas Jefferson** won the election of 1800 by a majority of 73 electoral votes to 65, and even though Adams got more popular votes, Jefferson got New York. But, even though Jefferson triumphed, in a technicality he and **Aaron Burr** tied for presidency.
    1. The vote, according to the Constitution, would now go to the Federalist-dominated House of Representatives.
    2. Hateful of Jefferson, many wanted to vote for Burr, and the vote was deadlocked for months until **Alexander Hamilton** and **John Adams** persuaded a few House members to change their votes, knowing that if the House voted for Burr, the public outcry would doom the Federalist Party.
    3. Finally, a few changed their minds, and Jefferson was elected to the presidency.
  - b. The "**Revolution of 1800**" was that (1) there was a peaceful transfer of power; Federalists stepped down from office after Jefferson won and did so peacefully, though not necessarily happily and (2) the Republicans were more of the "people's party" compared to the Federalists.
- III. Responsibility Breeds Moderation
  - a. On March 4, 1801, Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated president in the new capital of Washington D.C.
    1. In his address, he declared that all Americans were Federalists, all were Republicans, implying that Americans were a mixture. He also pledged "honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."
  - b. Jefferson was simple and frugal, and did not seat in regard to rank during his dinners He also was unconventional, wearing sloppy attire, and he started the precedent of sending messages to Congress to be read by a clerk.
  - c. There were two Thomas Jeffersons: the scholarly private citizen who philosophized in his study, and the harassed public official who discovered that bookish theories worked out differently in practical politics.
  - d. Jefferson also dismissed few Federalist officials and those who wanted the seats complained.

- e. Jefferson had to rely on his casual charm because his party was so disunited still.
- IV. Jeffersonian Restraint
- a. Jefferson pardoned those who were serving time under the Sedition Act, and in 1802, he enacted a new naturalization law that returned the years needed for an immigrant to become a citizen from 14 to 5.
  - b. He also kicked away the excise tax, but otherwise left the Hamiltonian system intact.
  - c. The new secretary of the treasury, **Albert Gallatin**, reduced the national debt substantially while balancing the budget.
  - d. By shrewdly absorbing the major Federalist programs, Jefferson showed that a change of regime need not be disastrous for the exiting group.
- V. The "Dead Clutch" of the Judiciary
- a. The **Judiciary Act**, passed by the Federalists in their last days of Congressional domination in 1801, packed newly created judgeships with Federalist-backing men, so as to prolong their legacy.
  - b. **Chief Justice John Marshall**, a cousin of Jefferson, had served at Valley Forge during the war, and he had been impressed with the drawbacks of no central authority, and thus, he became a lifelong Federalist, committed to strengthening the power of the federal government.
    - 1. **Marbury vs. Madison (1803)**: William Marbury had been one of the "midnight judges" appointed by John Adams in his last hours as president. He had been named justice of peace for D.C., but when **Secretary of State James Madison** decided to shelve the position, Marbury sued for its delivery. Marshall dismissed the case, but he said that the Judiciary Act of 1789 was unconstitutional, thus suggesting that the Supreme Court could determine the constitutionality of laws (AKA, "**judicial review**").
  - c. In 1804, Jefferson tried to impeach the tart-tongued Supreme Court justice, **Samuel Chase**, but when the vote got to the Senate, not enough votes were mustered, and to this day, no attempt to alter the Supreme Court has ever been tried through impeachment.
- VI. Jefferson, a Reluctant Warrior
- a. Jefferson had a natural fear of a large, strong, standing military since such a military could be turned on the people. So, he reduced the militia to 2500 men, and navies were reduced a bit to peacetime footing.
  - b. However, the pirates of the **North African Barbary States** were still looting U.S. ships, and in 1801, the pasha of Tripoli indirectly declared war when he cut down the flagstaff of the American consulate.
    - 1. Non-interventionist Jefferson had a problem of whether to fight or not, and he reluctantly sent the infant navy to the shores of Tripoli, where fighting continued for four years until Jefferson succeeded in extorting a treaty of peace from Tripoli in 1805 for \$60,000.
    - 2. **Stephen Decatur's** exploits in the war with the ship *Intrepid* made him a hero.
    - 3. The small, mobile gunboats used in the **Tripolitan War** fascinated Jefferson, and he spent money to build about 200 of them (these boats might be zippy and fast, but they did little against large battleships). The years eventually showed building small ships to be a poor decision.
- VII. The Louisiana Godsend
- a. In 1800, Napoleon secretly induced the king of Spain to cede the Louisiana territory to France.
  - b. Then, in 1802, the Spaniards at New Orleans withdrew the **right of deposit** guaranteed by the **Pinckney Treaty** of 1795. Such deposit privileges were vital to the frontier farmers who floated their goods down the Mississippi River to its mouth to await oceangoing vessels.
    - 1. These farmers talked of marching to New Orleans to violently get back what they deserved, an action that would have plunged the U.S. into war with Spain and France.
  - c. In 1803, Jefferson sent **James Monroe** to join regular minister **Robert R. Livingston** to buy New Orleans and as much land to the east of the river for a total of \$10 million, tops.
  - d. Instead, Napoleon offered to sell New Orleans and the land west of it, Louisiana, for a bargain of \$15 million, thereby abandoning his dream of a French North American empire.
    - 1. This abandonment was due to the rebellion in Haiti, led by **Toussaint L'Ouverture**, which had been unsuccessful, but had killed many French troops due to yellow fever. The decision to sell Louisiana was also because Napoleon needed cash to renew his war with Britain.
  - e. The **Louisiana Purchase** was finalized on April 30, 1803.
  - f. Jefferson had a dilemma, since the Constitution said nothing about purchasing foreign land, but on the other hand, this deal was simply too good to pass up!
    - 1. After considering an amendment, Jefferson finally decided to go through with the deal anyway, even though nothing in the Constitution talked about land purchases. Jefferson *had* been a strict interpreter of the Constitution, but he was now using a loose interpretation.

2. Federalists, normally loose interpreters, took a strict interpretation and opposed the purchase. Federalist didn't want the new lands because they correctly foresaw new lands meant new settlers and new states, which meant more farmers and more Republicans.
  3. Thus, both parties made a full 180° turnaround from their previous philosophical beliefs about the Constitution simply because of the practical matters at hand.
  - g. The Senate quickly approved the purchase with Jefferson's urging, and the Louisiana Purchase doubled the size of the United States. This was the biggest bargain in history averaging 3 cents per acre.
- VIII. Louisiana in the Long View
- a. The purchase created a precedent of acquisition of foreign territory through purchase.
  - b. In the spring of 1804, Jefferson sent **William Clark** and **Meriwether Lewis** to explore this new territory. Along with a Shoshoni woman named **Sacajawea**, the two spent 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> years exploring the land, marveling at the expanses of buffalo, elk, deer, antelope, and the landscape and went all the way to Oregon and the Pacific before returning.
  - c. Other explorers, like **Zebulon Pike** trekked to the headwaters of the Mississippi River in 1805-06 and ventured to the southern portion of Louisiana, Spanish land in the southwest, and sighted Pike's Peak.
- IX. The Aaron Burr Conspiracies
- a. The Federalists now sank lower than ever, and tried to scheme with Aaron Burr to make New England and New York secede from the union; in the process Aaron Burr killed Hamilton in a duel.
  - b. In 1806, Burr was arrested for treason, but the necessary two witnesses were nowhere to be found.
  - c. The Louisiana Purchase was also nurturing a deep sense of loyalty among the West to the federal government, and a new spirit of nationalism surged through it.
- X. A Precarious Neutrality
- a. In 1804, Jefferson won with a margin of 162 electoral votes to 14 for his opponent, but this happiness was nonexistent because in 1803, Napoleon had deliberately provoked Britain into renewing its war with France.
    1. As a result, American trade sank as England and France, unable to hurt each other (England owned the sea thanks to the **Battle of Trafalgar** while France owned the land thanks to the **Battle of Austerlitz**), resorted to indirect blows.
    2. In 1806, London issued the **Orders in Council**, which closed ports under French continental control to foreign shipping, including American, unless they stopped at a British port first.
    3. Likewise, Napoleon ordered the seizure of all ships, including American, which entered British ports.
    4. Impressment (illegal seizure of men and forcing them to serve on ships) of American seamen also infuriated the U.S.; some 6,000 Americans were impressed from 1808-11.
    5. In 1807, a royal frigate the *Leopard* confronted the U.S. frigate, the **Chesapeake**, about 10 miles off the coast of Virginia, and the British captain ordered the seizure of four alleged deserters. When the American commander refused, the U.S. ship received three devastating broadsides that killed 3 Americans and wounded 18. In an incident in which England was clearly wrong, Jefferson still clung to peace.
- XI. The Hated Embargo
- a. In order to try to stop the British and French seizure of American ships, Jefferson resorted to an embargo. His belief was that the only way to stay out of the war was to shut down shipping.
    1. Jefferson thought Britain and France relied on American goods (it was really the opposite, Americans relied on Europe's goods).
    2. Also, the U.S. still had a weak navy and a weaker army.
  - b. The **Embargo Act** of late 1807 forbade the export of all goods from the United States to any foreign nation, regardless of whether they were transported in American or foreign ships.
    1. The net result was deserted docks, rotting ships in the harbors, and Jefferson's embargo hurt the same New England merchants that it was trying to protect.
    2. The commerce of New England was harmed more than that of France and Britain.
    3. Farmers of the South and West were alarmed by the mounting piles of unexportable cotton, grain, and tobacco.
    4. Illegal trade mushroomed in 1808, where people resorted to smuggling again.
  - c. Finally, coming to their senses and feeling the public's anger, Congress repealed the act on March 1, 1809, three days before Jefferson's retirement and replaced it with the **Non-Intercourse Act**, which reopened trade with all the nations of the world, except France and England.



1. However, this act had the same effect as the Embargo because America's #1 and #2 trade partners were Britain and France.
  2. Thus, economic coercion continued from 1809 to 1812, when war struck.
  - d. The embargo failed for two main reasons: (1) Jefferson underestimated the bulldog British and their dependence on American goods and (2) he didn't continue the embargo long enough or tightly enough to achieve success.
    1. Even Jefferson himself admitted that the embargo was three times more costly than war, and he could have built a strong navy with a fraction of the money lost.
  - e. During the time of the embargo, the Federalist Party regained some of its lost power.
  - f. However, during this embargo, resourceful Americans also opened and reopened factories, and thus, the embargo helped to promote industrialism—another irony since it was Jefferson who was committed to an agrarian, while it was his archrival Alexander Hamilton who was committed to industry.
  - g. Also, the embargo did affect Britain, and had it been continued, it might have succeeded.
    1. In fact, two days before Congress declared war in June 1812, London ordered the Orders in Council to be suspended. Had America known this fact, war would have likely not been declared.
- XII. Madison's Gamble
- a. After Jefferson, James Madison took the oath of presidency on March 4, 1809, short, bald, and not a great speaker.
  - b. In 1810, Congress adopted a bargaining measure called **Macon's Bill No. 2**, which while permitting American trade with all the world, also promised American restoration of trade to France and/or England if either dropped their commercial restrictions.
    1. Napoleon had his opportunity: in August of 1810, he announced that French commercial restrictions had been lifted, and Madison, desperate for recognition of the law, declared France available for American trade.
    2. Of course, Napoleon lied, and never really lifted restrictions, but meanwhile, America had been duped into entering European affairs against Great Britain.
- XIII. Tecumseh and the Prophet
- a. In 1811, new young politicians swept away the older "submission men," and they appointed **Henry Clay** of Kentucky, then 34 years old, to Speaker of the House.
  - b. The western politicians also cried out against the Indian threat on the frontier. These young, aggressive Congressmen were known as "**War Hawks**."
  - c. Indians had watched with increasing apprehension as more and more whites settled in Kentucky, a traditionally sacred area where settlement and extensive hunting was not allowed except in times of scarcity.
    1. Thus, two Shawnee brothers, **Tecumseh** and the **Prophet**, decided that the time to act was now, and gathered followers, urging them to give up textile clothing for traditional buckskin garments, arguing eloquently for the Indian's to *not* acknowledge the White man's "ownership" of land, and urging that no Indian should cede control of land to whites unless all Indians agreed.
    2. On November 7, 1811, American general **William Henry Harrison** advanced upon Tecumseh's headquarters at **Tippecanoe**, killed the Prophet, and burned the camp to the ground.
    3. Tecumseh was killed by Harrison at the **Battle of the Thames** in 1813, and the Indian confederacy dream perished.
    4. In the South, **Andrew Jackson** crushed the Creek Indians at the **Battle of Horseshoe Bend** on March 27, 1814, effectively breaking the Indian rebellion and leaving the entire area east of the Mississippi open for safe settlement.
  - d. The War Hawks cried that the only way to get rid of the Indians was to wipe out their base, Canada, since the British had helped the Indians.
    1. War was declared in 1812, with a House vote of 79 to 49 and a very close Senate vote of 19 to 13, showing America's disunity.
- XIV. Mr. Madison's War
- a. Why did America go to war with Britain and not France? Because England's impressments of American sailors stood out, France was allied more with the Republicans, and Canada was a very tempting prize that seemed easy to get, a "frontiersman's frolic."
  - b. New England, which was still making lots of money, damned the war for a free sea, and Federalists opposed the war because (1) they were more inclined toward Britain anyway and (2) if Canada was conquered, it would add more agrarian land and increase Republican supporters.

- c. In brief, America's reasons for entering the War of 1812 were...
  1. "Freedom of the seas" – The U.S. wanted the right to sail and trade without fear.
  2. Possibility of land – The U.S. might gain Canada or Florida.
  3. Indian issues – Americans were still upset about British guns being giving to Indians.
- d. The nation became sectionalized. Generally, the North was against war, the West and the South was for the war.
  1. Thus, a disunited America had to fight both Old England and New England in the **War of 1812**, since Britain was the enemy while New England tried everything that they could do to frustrate American ambitions in the war.

## Chapter 11 Vocabulary

**Thomas Jefferson** – Jefferson was a Republican who believed that the future of the U.S. would lie in the hands of farmers. "Long Tom" Jefferson was inaugurated to the presidency in the swampy village of Washington on March 4, 1801. While Jefferson was president, the Louisiana Purchase was made, Lewis and Clark were sent to explore the newly acquired land, the Barbary Pirate threat was silenced, and the Embargo Act was passed. While all of Jefferson's presidential acts were not always successful, he always put the country ahead of himself. His patriotism and loyalty to the U.S. helped make it into the great country that it is today.

**James Monroe** – Monroe was sent to Paris in 1803 to buy New Orleans and as much land as possible to the east for a maximum of ten million dollars. Monroe and Robert Livingston arranged the sale of all of Louisiana for fifteen million dollars. Monroe later became James Madison's Secretary of State, then later, he became president.

**Robert Livingston** – Livingston, along with James Monroe, bought New Orleans and all the French territory west of the Mississippi River from Napoleon for 15 million dollars.

**Meriwether Lewis & William Clark** – They were explorers sent out to explore the recently purchased Louisiana Territory. Lewis was the military ruler and Clark served as the artist and cartographer. Their exploring lasted from 1804-1806. They traveled up the Missouri River, through the Rockies, and to the mouth of the Columbia River at the Pacific Ocean. This exploration bolstered America's claim to western lands as well as opening the west to Indian trade and further exploration.

**Albert Gallatin** – Gallatin was the Secretary of the Treasury under Thomas Jefferson. He was called the "Watchdog of the Treasury," and proved to be as able as Alexander Hamilton. He agreed with Jefferson that a national debt was a bane rather than a blessing. Using strict controls of the economy, he succeeded in reducing the debt, and he balanced the budget.

**Zebulon M. Pike** – Pike was a pioneer who explored the Louisiana territory between 1805 and 1807. He explored the headwaters of the Mississippi River in Minnesota, then west into Colorado (discovered Pike's Peak), then south into New Mexico. Along with Lewis and Clark, he helped set up the portal to allow people to migrate westward and foreshadowed America's thrust into the southwest.

**Marbury V. Madison** -- Sec. of State James Madison held up one of John Adams' "Midnight Judges" appointments. The appointment was for a Justice of the Peace position for William Marbury. Marbury sued. Fellow Hamiltonian and Chief Justice John Marshall dismissed Marbury's suit, avoiding a political showdown and magnifying the power of the Court. This case cleared up controversy over who had final say in interpreting the Constitution: the states did not, the Supreme Court did. This case established "judicial review," the right of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional.

**John Marshall** – Marshall was appointed by President John Adams in 1801 to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Being a strong advocate of national power, he was a Virginia Federalist who was disliked by the states' rights Jeffersonians. Although the Federalists died out, Marshall continued to hand down Federalist decisions. Although he dismissed the Marbury suit to avoid a direct political showdown, he said that part of the Judiciary Act of 1789, on which Marbury tried to base his appeal was unconstitutional. Marshall greatly magnified the authority of the court in the *Marbury v. Madison* case where Marshall inserted the keystone into the arch that supports the tremendous power of the Supreme Court (the right to declare a law unconstitutional, AKA "judicial review"). Marshall's decision regarding the Marbury case caused the Jeffersonians to lay rough hands on the Supreme Court through impeachment. Jefferson's ill-advised attempt of "Judge Breaking" was a reassuring victory for the independence of the judiciary and the separation of powers among the three branches.

**Samuel Chase** – Chase was a strong supporter of the American Revolution, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, an ardent Federalist, and the only Supreme Court Justice ever to be impeached. A lawyer by profession, in 1796 he was appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court by President Washington. This was after he served as Chief Justice of the General Court of Maryland in 1791. In 1804, he was impeached for alleged prejudice against the Jeffersonians in treason and sedition trials. The Senate, however, in a decision that indicated reluctance to remove judges for purely political reasons, did not convict him, and he remained on the court until his death.

**Aaron Burr** – Burr was a running mate with Thomas Jefferson. They tied for the presidency although Jefferson won the runoff, making Burr Vice President. Burr later killed Alexander Hamilton in a famous duel. He was tried and acquitted for treason involving a plan to separate part of the U.S. and combine with Spain.

**Toussaint L' Overture** – L'Overture was a Haitian who skillfully led a group of angry ex-slaves against French troops in Santo Domingo. The French were unable to reconquer this valuable island and hence, had no use for Louisiana to serve as a

granary for Santo Domingo. The inability of the French to regain possession of the island caused Napoleon to cede the Louisiana territory to the United States for 15 million dollars. Thus, Toussaint L' Overture's military vigor indirectly provoked Napoleon's decision to sell Louisiana to the Americans.

**Patronage** – Patronage is like the "spoils system." When an elected official fills appointed positions with friends that helped him or her get elected, it is considered patronage. Thomas Jefferson did not change many of the appointed positions in the government when he was elected in 1801.

**Judicial Review** -- Until 1803, when the case of *Marbury vs. Madison* took place, there was controversy over who had the final say in determining the meaning of the Constitution, whether a loose or strict interpretation should be used, and who would decide. Jefferson tried to give the rights to the states in the Kentucky resolution, but his cousin, John Marshall of the Supreme Court, proposed "judicial review," which gave the Supreme Court the power to decide if a law is or is not constitutional. "Judicial review" was accepted as a result of the famous case of *Marbury vs. Madison*, and John Marshall succeeded in giving increased power to the Supreme Court officials.

**Impeachment** – Impeachment means to accuse a public official of misconduct in office. The Jeffersonians were angry about a ruling made by Chief Justice John Marshall. The House of Representatives attempted to impeach the unpopular Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase. Although there were enough votes in the House of Representatives to impeach, the Senate did not have enough (2/3 required) to kick Chase out. Since this attempt in 1804, there has been no serious attempt to impeach members of the Supreme Court.

**Impressment** – This is the forcible enlistment of sailors or soldiers. This was a crude form of conscription that the British had employed for over four hundred years. At this time, the London authorities claimed the right to impress only British subjects on their own soil, harbor, or merchant ships. However, many Americans were mistaken for Englishmen and between 1808 and 1811 alone some 6,000 United States citizens were impressed by the "piratical man-stealers" of England. This was one of the major causes of the War of 1812.

**"Midnight Judges"** – This was a nickname given to a group of judges that was appointed by John Adams the night before he left office. He appointed them to go to the federal courts so there would be a long term Federalist influence in the government, since judges serve for life instead of limited terms

**The Judiciary Act of 1801** – This was a law passed by the Federalist Congress. This law allowed the president, then President Adams, to stay up until midnight signing in new federal judges across the nation. These midnight appointments allowed the Federalists to still maintain power in the nation after they were a minority party in Congress. This act brought bitterness between the two parties.

**Orders in Council** – The Orders in Council was a law passed by the English Parliament in 1793 when the British were fighting the French. The British closed off all port vessels that France went through so they couldn't get supplies. American ships headed to France were required to first check-in at England, sailors were seized also and Americans were impressed into the British navy. This largely led to the War of 1812.

**The Chesapeake Incident** -- The *Chesapeake*, a U.S. frigate, was boarded by a British ship, the *Leopard*. The *Chesapeake* was not fully armed. The British seized four alleged deserters (the commander of the *Chesapeake* was later court-martialed for not taking any action). This is the most famous example of impressment, in which the British seized American sailors and forced them to serve on British ships. Impressment was one of the major factors leading to the War of 1812.

**Embargo Act** – This was a law passed by Congress forbidding all exportation of goods from the United States. Britain and France had been continuously harassing the U.S. and seizing U.S. ships and men. And now, Britain and France were at war which stood to figure that their harassment of Americans would only increase. The U.S. was not prepared to fight in a war on either side, so President Jefferson hoped to weaken Britain and France by stopping trade and avoiding conflicts such as the *Chesapeake* incident. The Embargo Act ended up hurting our economy more than theirs. It was repealed in 1809. The Embargo Act helped to revive the Federalists and it caused New England's industry to grow. Its failure eventually led to the War of 1812.

**Non-Intercourse Act** – Replacing the Embargo Act, this law formally reopened trade with all nations except England and France on March 1, 1809. It was made by the Republican Congress in an attempt to make England and France stop harassing the American ships and recognize American neutrality. Was ineffective because, though trade with other nations was okay, England and France were America's top trade partners.

**Louisiana Purchase** -- In 1803 Thomas Jefferson purchased 828,000 square miles of land for 15 million dollars from Napoleon, the leader of France. The land mass stretched from the Gulf of Mexico all the way to the Rocky Mountains and Canada. The purchase of this land sprouted national pride and ensured expansion.

# Chapter 12

## The Second War for Independence and the Upsurge of Nationalism

- I. On to Canada Over Land and Lakes
  - i. Due to widespread disunity, the **War of 1812** ranks as one of America’s worst fought wars.
  - ii. There was not a burning national anger, like there was after the *Chesapeake* outrage; the regular army was very bad and scattered and had old, senile generals, and the offensive strategy against Canada was especially poorly conceived.
  - iii. Had the Americans captured Montreal, everything west would have wilted like a tree after its trunk has been severed, but the Americans instead focused a three-pronged attack that set out from Detroit, Niagara, and Lake Champlain, all of which were beaten back.
  - iv. In contrast, the British and Canadians displayed enthusiasm early on in the war and captured the American fort of Michilimackinac, which commanded the upper Great Lakes area (the battle was led by British General **Isaac Brock**).
    1. After more land invasions were hurled back in 1813, the Americans, led by **Oliver Hazard Perry**, built a fleet of green-timbered ships manned by inexperienced men, but still managed to capture a British fleet. His victory, coupled with **General William Henry Harrison**’s defeat of the British during the **Battle of the Thames**, helped bring more enthusiasm and increased morale for the war.
    2. In 1814, 10,000 British troops prepared for a crushing blow to the Americans along the Lake Champlain route, but on September 11, 1814, **Capt. Thomas MacDonough** challenged the British and snatched victory from the fangs of defeat and forced the British to retreat.
- II. Washington Burned and New Orleans Defended.
  - i. In August 1814, British troops landed in the Chesapeake Bay area, dispersed 6,000 panicked Americans at Bladensburg, and proceeded to enter Washington D.C. and burn most of the buildings there.
  - ii. At Baltimore, another British fleet arrived but was beaten back by the privateer defenders of Fort McHenry, where **Francis Scott Key** wrote “The Star Spangled Banner.”
  - iii. Another British army menaced the entire Mississippi Valley and threatened New Orleans, and **Andrew Jackson**, fresh off his slaughter of the Creek Indians at the **Battle of Horseshoe Bend**, led a hodgepodge force of 7,000 sailors, regulars, pirates, and Frenchmen, entrenching them and helping them defeat 8,000 overconfident British that had launched a frontal attack in the **Battle of New Orleans**.
    1. The news of this British defeat reached Washington early in February 1815, and two weeks later came news of peace from Britain.
    2. Ignorant citizens simply assumed that the British, having been beaten by Jackson, finally wanted peace, lest they get beaten again by the “awesome” Americans.
  - iv. During the war, the American navy had oddly done much better than the army, since the sailors were angry at British impressments.
  - v. However, Britain responded with a naval blockade, raiding ships and ruining American economic life such as fishing.
- III. The Treaty of Ghent
  - i. At first, the confident British made sweeping demands for a neutralized Indian buffer state in the Great Lakes region, control of the Great Lakes, and a substantial part of conquered Maine, but the Americans, led by **John Quincy Adams**, refused. As American victories piled up, though, the British reconsidered.
  - ii. The **Treat of Ghent**, signed on December 24, 1814, was an armistice, acknowledging a draw in the war and ignoring any other demands of either side. Each side simply stopped fighting. The main issue of the war, impressment, was left unmentioned.
- IV. Federalist Grievances and the Hartford Convention
  - i. As the capture of New Orleans seemed imminent, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island secretly met in Hartford from December 15, 1814 to January 5, 1815, to discuss their grievances and to seek redress for their wrongs.
    1. While a few talked about secession, most wanted financial assistance from Washington to compensate for lost trade, and an amendment requiring a  $\frac{2}{3}$  majority for all declarations of embargos, except during invasion.

- ii. Three special envoys from Mass. went to D.C., where they were greeted with the news from New Orleans; their mission failed, and they sank away in disgrace and into obscurity.
    1. The **Hartford Convention** proved to be the death of the Federalist Party, as their last presidential nomination was trounced by James Monroe in 1816.
- V. The Second War for American Independence
- i. The War of 1812 was a small war involving some 6,000 Americans killed or wounded, and when Napoleon invaded Russia in 1812 with 500,000 men, Madison tried to invade Canada with about 5,000 men.
  - ii. Yet, the Americans proved that they could stand up for what they felt was right, and naval officers like Perry and MacDonough gained new respect; American diplomats were treated with more respect than before.
  - iii. The Federalist Party died out forever, and new war heroes, like Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison, emerged.
  - iv. Manufacturing also prospered during the British blockade, since there was nothing else to do.
  - v. Incidents like the burning of Washington added fuel to the bitter conflict with Britain, and led to hatred of the nation years after the war, though few would have guessed that the War of 1812 would be the last war America fought against Britain.
  - vi. Many Canadians felt betrayed by the Treaty of Ghent, since not even an Indian buffer state had been achieved, and the Indians, left by the British, were forced to make treaties where they could.
  - vii. In 1817, though, after a heated naval arms race in the Great Lakes, the **Rush-Bagot Treaty** between the U.S. and Britain provided the world's longest unfortified boundary (5,527 mi.).
  - viii. After Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo, Europe sank into an exhaustion of peace, and America looked west to further expand.
- VI. Nascent Nationalism
- i. After the war, American nationalism really took off, and authors like **Washington Irving** (*Rumpelstiltskin*, *The Knickerbocker Tales* such as *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*) and **James Fenimore Cooper** (*The Leatherstocking Tales* which included *The Last of the Mohicans*) gained international recognition.
  - ii. The *North American Review* debuted in 1815, and American painters painted landscapes of America on their canvases, while history books were now being written by Americans for Americans.
  - iii. Washington D.C. rose from the ashes to be better than ever, and the navy and army strengthened themselves.
  - iv. **Stephen Decatur**, naval hero of the War of 1812 and the Barbary Coast expeditions, was famous for his American toast after his return from the Mediterranean: "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong!"
- VII. "The American System"
- i. After the war, British competitors dumped their goods onto America at cheap prices, so America responded with the **Tariff of 1816**, the first in U.S. history designed for protection, which put a 20-25% tariff on dutiable imports.
  - ii. It was not high enough, but it was a great start, and in 1824, Henry Clay established a program called the **American System**.
    1. The system began with a strong banking system.
    2. It advocated a protective tariff behind which eastern manufacturing would flourish.
    3. It also included a network of roads and canals, especially in the burgeoning Ohio Valley, to be funded for by the tariffs, and through which would flow foodstuffs and raw materials from the South and West to the North and East.
      - a. Lack of effective transportation had been one of the problems of the War of 1812, especially in the West, and in 1817, Congress sought to distribute \$1.5 million to the states for **internal improvements**, but Madison vetoed it, saying it was unconstitutional, thus making the states look for their own money to build the badly needed roads.
- VIII. The So-Called Era of Good Feelings
- i. **James Monroe** defeated his Federalist opponent 183 to 34, and ushered in a short period of one-party rule.
  - ii. He straddled the generations of the Founding Fathers and the new Age of Nationalism.
  - iii. Early in 1817, Monroe took a goodwill tour venturing deep into New England, where he received heartwarming welcomes.
  - iv. A Boston newspaper even went as far as to declare that an "Era of Good Feelings" had begun.
  - v. However, seeds of sectional troubles were planted. Notably, the South did not like the tariff saying it only benefited the North and made the South pay higher prices. And, the South disliked the internal

improvements linking the North and West—the South didn't see any benefits in paying taxes for roads and canals in other states.

IX. The **Panic of 1819** and the Curse of Hard Times

- i. In 1819, a paralyzing economic panic (the first since Washington's times) engulfed the U.S., bringing deflation, depression, bankruptcies, bank failures, unemployment, soup kitchens, and overcrowded debtors' prisons.
  1. A major cause of the panic had been over-speculation in land prices, where the Bank of the United States fell heavily into debt.
  2. Oddly, this started an almost predictable chain of panics or recessions. An economic panic occurred every 20 years during the 1800s (panics occurred during 1819, 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893).
- ii. The West was especially hard hit, and the Bank of the U.S. was soon viewed upon as the cause.
- iii. There was also attention against the debtors, where, in a few overplayed cases, mothers owing a few dollars were torn away from their infants by the creditors.

X. Growing Pains of the West

- i. Between 1791 and 1819, nine frontier states had joined the original 13.
- ii. This explosive expansion of the west was due in part to the cheap land, the elimination of the Indian menace, the "**Ohio Fever**," and the need for land by the tobacco farmers, who exhausted their lands.
- iii. The **Cumberland Road**, begun in 1811 and ran ultimately from western Maryland to Illinois. And, the first steamboat on western waters appeared in 1811.
- iv. The West, still not populous and politically weak, was forced to ally itself with other sections, and demanded cheap acreage.
- v. The **Land Act of 1820** gave the West its wish by authorizing a buyer to purchase 80 acres of land at a minimum of \$1.25 an acre in cash; the West demanded and slowly got cheap transportation as well.

XI. Slavery and the Sectional Balance

- i. Sectional tensions between the North and the South came to a boil when Missouri wanted to become a slave state.
- ii. Although it met all the requirements of becoming a state, the House of Representatives stymied the plans for its statehood when it proposed the **Tallmadge Amendment**, which provided that no more slaves be brought into Missouri and also provided for the gradual emancipation of children born to slave parents already in Missouri (this was shot down in the Senate).
- iii. Angry Southerners saw this as a threat figuring that if the Northerners could wipe out slavery in Missouri, they might try to do so in all of the rest of the slave states.
- iv. Plus, the North was starting to get more prosperous and populous than the South.

XII. The Uneasy Missouri Compromise

- i. Finally, the deadlock was broken by a bundle of compromises known as the **Missouri Compromise**.
  1. Missouri would be admitted as a slave state while Maine would be admitted as a free state, thus maintaining the balance (it went from 11 free states and 11 slave states to 12 and 12).
  2. All new states north of the **36°30' line** would be free, new states southward would be slave.
- ii. Both the North and South gained something, and though neither was totally happy, the compromise worked for many years.
  1. Monroe should have been doomed after the 1819 panic and the Missouri problem, but he was so popular, and the Federalist Party so weak, that he won in 1820 by all but one vote (unanimity was reserved for Washington).

XIII. John Marshall and Judicial Nationalism

- i. **Chief Justice John Marshall** helped to bolster the power of the government at the expense of the states.
- ii. **McCulloch vs. Maryland (1819)**: This case involved Maryland's trying to destroy the Bank of the U.S. by taxing its currency notes. Marshall invoked the Hamiltonian principle of implied powers and denied Maryland's right to tax the bank, and also gave the doctrine of "**loose construction**," using the **elastic clause** of the Constitution as its basis. He implied that the Constitution was to last for many ages, and thereby was constructed loosely, flexibly, to be bent as times changed.
- iii. **Cohens vs. Virginia (1821)**: The Cohens had been found guilty by Virginia courts of illegally selling lottery tickets, had appealed to the Supreme Court, and had lost, but Marshall asserted the right of the Supreme Court to review the decisions of the state supreme courts in all questions involving powers of the federal government. The federal government won, the states lost.

- iv. **Gibbons vs. Ogden (1824)**: When New York tried to grant a monopoly of waterborne commerce, Marshall struck it down by saying that only Congress can control interstate commerce, not the states themselves; it was another blow to states' rights.
- XIV. Judicial Dikes Against Democratic Excesses
- i. **Fletcher vs. Peck (1810)**: After Georgia fraudulently granted 35 million acres in the Yazoo River country (Mississippi) to privateers, the legislature repealed it after public outcry, but Marshall ruled that it was a contract, and that states couldn't impair a contract. It was one of the earliest clear assertions of the right of the Supreme Court to invalidate state laws that conflicted with the Constitution.
  - ii. **Dartmouth College vs. Woodward (1819)**: Dartmouth had been granted a charter by King George III, but New Hampshire had tried to change it. Dartmouth appealed, using alum **Daniel Webster** to work as lawyer, and Marshall ruled that the original charter must stand. It was a contract, and the Constitution protected those and overruled state rulings.
  - iii. Marshall's rulings gave the Supreme Court its powers and greatly strengthened the federal government, giving it power to overrule state governments sometimes.
- XV. Sharing Oregon and Acquiring Florida
- i. The **Treaty of 1818** put the northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase at the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel and provided for a ten-year joint occupation of the Oregon Territory with Britain, without a surrender of rights and claims by neither Britain nor America.
  - ii. When revolutions broke out in South and Central America, Spanish troops in Florida were withdrawn to put down the rebellions, and Indian attacks ravaged American land while the Indians would then retreat back to Spanish territory.
  - iii. Andrew Jackson swept across the Florida border, hanged two Indian chiefs without ceremony, executed two British subjects for assisting Indians, and seized St. Marks and Pensacola.
  - iv. Monroe consulted his cabinet as to what to do against Jackson; all wanted to punish him except for John Quincy Adams, who demanded huge concessions from Spain.
  - v. The **Florida Purchase Treaty** of 1819 had Spain cede Florida and shadowy claims to Oregon in exchange for Texas. The U.S. paid \$5 million to Spain for Florida.
- XVI. The Menace of Monarchy in America
- i. Monarchs in Europe now were determined to protect the world against democracy, and crushed democratic rebellions in Italy (1821) and in Spain (1823), much to the alarm of Americans.
  - ii. Also, Russia's claims to North American territory were intruding and making Americans nervous that Russia might claim territory that was "rightfully American."
  - iii. Then, in August 1823, the British foreign secretary, **George Canning**, approached the American minister in London proposing that the U.S. and Britain combine in a joint declaration renouncing any interest in acquiring Latin American territory, and specifically warning the European despots to keep their hands off of Latin American politics.
- XVII. Monroe and His Doctrine
- i. Sly and careful John Q. Adams sensed a joker in the proposal, correctly assumed that the European powers weren't going to invade America anytime soon, and knew that a self-denouncing alliance with Britain would morally tie the hands of the U.S.
  - ii. He knew that the British boats would need to protect South America to protect their merchant trade, and presumed it safe to blow a defiant, nationalistic blast at all Europe.
  - iii. Late in 1823, the **Monroe Doctrine** was born, incorporating non-colonization and nonintervention.
  - iv. Dedicated primarily to Russia in the West, Monroe said that no colonization in the Americas could happen anymore and also, European nations could not intervene in Latin American affairs.
  - v. In return, the U.S. would not interfere in the Greek democratic revolt against Turkey.
- XVIII. Monroe's Doctrine Appraised
- i. The monarchs of Europe were angered, but couldn't do anything about it, since the British navy would be there to stop them, further frustrating them.
  - ii. Monroe's declaration made little splash in Latin America, since those who knew of the message also recognized that it was the British navy and not America that was protecting them, and that the U.S. was doing this only to protect its own hide.
  - iii. Not until 1845 did President Polk revive it.
  - iv. In the **Russo-American Treaty** of 1824, the Russian tsar fixed the southern boundary of his Alaskan territory at 54°40' and it stayed at that.
  - v. The Monroe Doctrine might better be called the Self-Defense Doctrine, since Monroe was concerned about the safety of his own country, not Latin America.
  - vi. The doctrine has never been law, a pledge, or an agreement.

- vii. It was mostly an expression of post-1812 U.S. nationalism, gave a voice of patriotism, and added to the illusion of isolationism.
- viii. Many Americans falsely concluded that the Republic was in fact insulated from European dangers simply because it wanted to be and because, in a nationalistic outburst, Monroe had publicly warned the Old World powers to stay away.

## Chapter 12 Vocabulary

**James Madison** -- The author of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, Madison was also the father of the Federalist party and the fourth president of the United States. He was president during the War of 1812 and was also vice-president under Jefferson. He was a great statesman, but was not a strong president.

**Oliver Hazard Perry** – He was an American naval officer who managed a fleet on the shores of Lake Erie in 1813. He captured a British fleet on Lake Erie. His victory slogan, "We have met the enemy and they are ours," brought new life and inspiration to the American troops, and helped make him a hero during the war.

**Tecumseh** – Tecumseh was a Shawnee Indian twin brother to the Prophet. They made a stand against western movement of white settlers by uniting other tribes. He died in the Battle of Thames while fighting for the British. He was one of the most gifted and noble Indian leaders in American history.

**Francis Scott Key** – Key was the poet who wrote "The Star Spangled Banner" in 1814 during the War of 1812. It was written while watching the Americans defend Fort McHenry at Baltimore. The poem has become an important part of the American identity.

**The Prophet** – Prophet was the twin brother of the Shawnee Indian Tecumseh. The two banded together many of the tribes along the Mississippi River in 1811 to stop the white settlers from pushing farther into the western wilderness. The groups of braves forswore firewater in order to be fit for the last-ditch battle with the whites. The War Hawk Congress which sent General William H. Harrison to repel a surprise attack at Tippecanoe and burn the settlement. The War Hawks began to feel that the only way to remove Indian menace was to wipe out their Canadian base. William Henry Harrison killed the Prophet at Tippecanoe.

**Andrew Jackson** – He was the seventh president of the United States, having been born in New Lancaster County, South Carolina. He became a general in 1812 and was the leader in the Battle of New Orleans. Two weeks after he had won the battle, the diplomats that returned from Britain came back with a treaty, thus the Americans had believed that the British had once again surrendered and Jackson was largely to thank. As president, he introduced the spoils system, used the veto often, and fought the Bank of the U.S.

**William H. Harrison** – Harrison was a general, Indian fighter, president, hero of the Battles of Tippecanoe & Thames in the War of 1812. These were major assets to America by keeping Indians at bay, redcoats from massacre, and gaining/clearing land in West

**John Quincy Adams** – Adams was the Puritan son of President John Adams. He led five American peacemakers to Ghent to draw up a treaty between America and Britain to end the War of 1812. The treaty was signed by both sides on Christmas Eve in 1814 and was basically a cease-fire. Adams was also Monroe's Secretary of State and the real author of Monroe's Doctrine which established isolationism.

**Sectionalism** – This is a concern or a devotion to the interests of one section of the country. This began to occur in 1796 and caused the development of two political parties. Washington disagreed with sectionalism. The country split politically and the North voted for Adams and the South voted for Jefferson. Sectionalism took off after the War of 1812, largely over the tariff and internal improvements.

**USS Constitution** – This was an American warship, nicknamed "Old Ironsides." In 1812, the Americans created the super-frigate which had thicker sides, heavier fire power, and a larger crew than the original British frigate. It was a notable ship in the war of 1812 against the British Navy

**Battle of Thames** – This battle was fought at the River Thames in Canada on October 13, 1813. In this battle, the Redcoats were overtaken by General William Henry Harrison and his army after they had withdrawn from Fort Malden. A Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, fought for the British and lost his life. With his death came the death of his confederacy.

**Treaty of Ghent** -- It was a treaty signed by the Americans and the British that agreed to stop fighting ended the War of 1812. It was signed before the Battle of New Orleans, but Americans did not learn of the treaty until after the victory at New Orleans. Americans assumed the "victory" for the war was due to New Orleans and Andrew Jackson. The British signed quickly because they were more concerned with European affairs.

**Hartford Convention** -- In 1814, a regional secret convention was held in Hartford, Connecticut due to the Federalist discontent. They were unhappy because of the lessened voting weight of New England in Congress and Electoral College due to adding western states to the union, and also they were not happy with the War of 1812. They were meeting to discuss their minority status in the union and some Federalists even suggested secession. These Federalists were seen as traitors by the public. They met to secure assistance from Washington, due to the blockading British squadrons on the shores of New England. They proposed Constitutional Amendments, one to eliminate the 3/5 clause and in turn lessen the South's voting power. When



delegates arrived in Washington to present the proposals, they found that the capital was celebrating Jackson's victory at New Orleans and the treaty of peace. They were shunned into disgrace which led to the downfall of their party.

**Washington Irving** – He was the first American to win international recognition as an author, and serves as an example of the post-war nationalism from the revolution and War of 1812. His *Knickerbocker Tales* were seen as uniquely American literature.

**James Monroe** – Monroe was the president of the United States of America during the Era of Good Feelings. He delivered a speech to Congress which came to be called the Monroe Doctrine. The doctrine's two main points were: 1) There would be no colonization of the western hemisphere, 2) nonintervention from the rest of the world in the western hemisphere. Monroe showed a strong sense of nationalism, thus creating national pride. He also helped establish America as a world power.

**James Fenimore Cooper** – Cooper was one of the nation's first writers of importance. He attained recognition in the 1820's and wrote in the Romantic style. This helped change the mood of national literature. He started textbooks in America being written by Americans. Two pieces of his literature include *The Spy* and the *Last of the Mohicans*. These works held purely American themes and were examples of the nationalism after the Revolution and War of 1812.

**John Marshall** – He was Chief Justice and represented the Federalist belief for a strong central government. He turned the judicial branch from weak to strong while popularizing judicial review. He set the standard for future Chief Justices.

**John C. Calhoun** – Calhoun was part of the New Southern Congress of 1811. He was a representative for South Carolina and one of the original War Hawks. Calhoun supported the Tariff Bill of 1811 because he thought the bill would lead to manufacturing in the South and cultivation of cotton. He later changed his mind, though, and opposed it because the bill was being used to enrich Northern manufacturers.

**Daniel Webster** – Webster was known as "Black Dan" and was a "War Hawk" in Congress in 1816 and was a strong spokesman for New England. He opposed the Tariff of 1816, because it was not in the interest of the shippers that were the majority and that he represented, but was in the interest of manufacturers. He eventually became the leading spokesman for the North and spoke on behalf of the nation against nullification. Then, the South tried to nullify the tariff but Webster argued the tariff and national law must stand.

**Andrew Jackson** – Jackson was the hero of the Battle of New Orleans. In the eyes of many people he helped end the War of 1812. He also was a well-known Indian fighter. He took military control of Spanish Florida which encouraged the 1819 treaty with Spain.

**Henry Clay** – Clay was a young War Hawk and Congressman from Kentucky. He developed the American System which the U.S. adopted after the War of 1812. The American System created a protective tariff to American markets, encouraged a bank system, and also used the tariff to build roads and canals for better transportation.

**George Canning** – He was the British foreign secretary circa 1823. He wanted America to join Britain in a declaration for the protection of the Latin America states. He wanted to keep other European countries out of the western Hemisphere. John Adams thought it was best that the U.S. make this declaration which became the Monroe Doctrine.

**Nationalism** – Nationalism is a popular sentiment that places the existence and well-being of the nation highest in the scale of political loyalties. Its significance lay in its role of supplying the ties that bind the nation. An important and impressive result of post-Revolutionary period and the War of 1812, it grew rapidly and began to create a national unity the United States had not seen until this point. Citizens began calling themselves "Americans" over citizens of their states. Nationalism helped further stabilize our newly formed nation on all accounts, including financially.

**"Peculiar Institution"** – This is another term for slavery.

**Protective Tariff** – This was a tariff imposing 8% on the value of dutiable imports. It was passed by the first Congress. Raising revenue was the main goal, but it was also designed to protect small industries that were just getting started. Hamilton wanted more protection for the well-to-do manufacturing groups. Congress still had agriculture and commercial interest dominating. This was part of Hamilton's economic plan to support the industrialists.

**Non-colonization** – This idea is part of the Monroe Doctrine that was written in 1823. Non-colonization said that America was closed to any more European colonization. A colonization attempt by anyone would be deemed a threat to the United States. It was created by the U.S. to protect the Western Hemisphere.

**Non-intervention** – Non-intervention was one of the two features located in the Monroe Doctrine. Monroe declared a new policy on foreign intervention. The policy declared that the United States would not become involved in European affairs, and likewise, Europe should stay out of the Western Hemisphere as well.

**Internal Improvements** – "Internal improvements" refers to building roads and canals (then later, dams, power lines, etc.). Henry Clay developed a plan for profitable home markets called the American System in 1824. It enforced a protective tariff to get funding for transportation improvements. These improvements would be the construction of better roads and canals. This would allow industrialization to prosper since the raw materials of the South and West could easily and inexpensively get to the North and East to be manufactured. The manufactured goods could then be shipped back out to the South and West. This caused sectional rivalries as generally the North and West liked internal improvements, the South disliked them. Largely, the South was not interested in paying for roads and canals in other sections—the South had lazy rivers it used for transportation and didn't need the improvements.

**Virginia Dynasty** – The presidents from Virginia (Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe) made up the Virginia dynasty. The people wondered if all of the presidents were going to be from Virginia. This "dynasty" ended in 1824 when John Q. Adams won.

**Isolationism** -- Isolationism dealt with the Americans trying to separate themselves from foreign affairs. Washington tried to separate the Americans from all British and foreign continents. Washington displayed this in 1793 by the Proclamation of Neutrality and Washington's Farewell Address in 1796. Both John Adams and Thomas Jefferson followed this precedent.

**2nd Bank of the United States** – The 2<sup>nd</sup> B.U.S. was a federal establishment operated by the government as an attempt to save the welfare of the economy after the War of 1812. It was part of Henry Clay's American System and forced state banks to call in their loans which led to foreclosures and the Panic of 1819.

**McCulloch v. Maryland** – This was a Supreme Court trial during chief Justice John Marshall's reign. It involved the state of Maryland & their right to tax the federal bank. It set precedent for the "loose interpretation" by championing the "elastic clause" and thus increased power of federal government.

**Tariff of 1816** – This tariff was initiated because the British were cutting prices below cost in an effort to strangle the American war-baby factories in the cradle. Americans saw the British seeking to crush Yankee factories. The Nationalist Congress passed the tariff which created taxes on imports to protect national manufactures, while at the same time earning revenue. It was the first tariff in American history with aims that were primarily protective to merchants. It was a bold beginning to adequate safeguards. A strong protective trend was started that stimulated the appetites of the protected for more protection. This Tariff hurt farmers, especially Southerners. It was part of Clay's American System.

**Cohens v. Virginia** -- The Cohens were a Virginia family accused of selling lottery tickets illegally. The Virginia Supreme Court found the Cohens guilty, so they appealed to the Supreme Court in 1821. Virginia won in having the Cohens conviction upheld. Virginia lost in that Judge Marshal made it so that the federal Supreme Court had the right to review any decision involving powers of the federal government. This was a major blow on states' rights.

**The American System.** – The American System was a plan proposed by Henry Clay, in 1824, to work on economic reform. Henry Clay wanted to help stabilize the country and begin the pursuit for world recognition. The plan called for (1) a protective tariff to be put in place for the manufacturers, (2) a new Federal Bank to be put in place, and (3) to begin work on many internal improvements.

**Gibbons v. Ogden** -- This case involved New York trying to grant a monopoly on waterborne trade between New York and New Jersey. Justice Marshal, of the Supreme Court, sternly reminded the state of New York that the Constitution gives Congress alone the control of interstate commerce. Marshal's decision, in 1824, was a major blow on states' rights.

**Bonus Bill of 1817** – This bill secured funding for roads and canals. This bill was passed by Congress to give states \$1.5 million for internal improvements, but it was immediately vetoed by President Madison. In his opinion, like most Southerners, states should pay for their own improvements.

**Fletcher v. Peck** -- *Fletcher v. Peck* was a Supreme Court case in 1810. The Georgia legislature, swayed by a bribe, gave 35 million acres of Mississippi land to private speculators. The next legislature cancelled the original ruling. Then the Supreme Court decided the grant was a contract and state law cannot impair contracts. This was one of the first court cases to illustrate the power of the Supreme Court to invalidate state laws conflicting with the federal Constitution. Their decision protected the peoples' rights against popular pressures.

**Era of Good Feelings** – This time period occurred during the years of Monroe's presidency, 1817-1825. Supposedly, people had good feelings caused by the nationalistic pride after the Battle of New Orleans and second war for independence with Britain and due to the fact that only one political party was present. On the surface everything looked fine, but underneath everything was troubled. Conflict over slavery was appearing and sectionalism was inevitable, the Missouri Compromise also had a very dampening effect on those good feelings.

**Treaty of 1818** – This treaty was negotiated between the Monroe administration and England. This treaty came after the War of 1812 to settle disputes between Britain and U.S. It permitted Americans to share Newfoundland fisheries with the Canadians, and fixed the vague northern limits of Louisiana from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains at the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel. It also provided for a 10-year joint occupation of the untamed Oregon country. Surprisingly, neither Britain nor America had to surrender rights or claims for this to occur.

**Land Act of 1820** -- The Land Act of 1820 was an act replacing the Land Act of 1800. It was a result of the depression, bank failures, bankruptcies, soup kitchens, unemployment, etc. of 1819. The original Land Act allowed Americans to buy 160 acres of land (minimum) at \$2.00 an acre over a period of four years. The Land Act of 1820 offered less acreage, but it also cost less. It allowed Americans to buy 80 acres at \$1.25 per acre. This helped to calm the westerners when they demanded cheaper land.

**Monroe Doctrine** – The Monroe Doctrine was an expression of the post-1812 nationalism energizing the U.S. It proved to be the most famous of the long-lived offspring of that nationalism. It might have been called the Self-Defense Doctrine. It was a response to Russia's threat on the Northwest coast. It was incorporated into President Monroe's annual message to Congress in 1823. Its two basic features were: (1) Non-Colonization and (2) Non-Intervention. Colonization's era had ended and foreign powers needed to keep their monarchial systems out of the U.S. The Old World powers could not gain any more settlements in the Americas. Conversely, the U.S. would not intervene in the Greek's war for independence. The doctrine gave vent to patriotism, but deepened the illusion of isolationism. Many Americans falsely concluded that the republic was isolated from the European dangers because it wanted to be. Monroe, it seemed, had warned the Old Powers to stay away.

# Chapter 13

## The Rise of Mass Democracy

### I. The “Corrupt Bargain” of 1824

- i. After the Era of Good Feelings, politics was transformed. The big winner of this transformation was the common man. Specifically, the common white man as **universal white manhood suffrage** (all white men could vote) became the norm.
- ii. In the election of 1824, there were four towering candidates: **Andrew Jackson** of Tennessee, **Henry Clay** of Kentucky, **William H. Crawford** of Georgia, and **John Q. Adams** of Massachusetts.
  1. All four called themselves Republicans.
  2. Three were a “favorite son” of their respective region but Clay thought of himself as a national figure (he was Speaker of the House and author of the “American System”).
- iii. In the results, Jackson got the most popular votes and the most electoral votes, but he failed to get the majority in the Electoral College. Adams came in second in both, while Crawford was fourth in the popular vote but third in the electoral votes. Clay was 4<sup>th</sup> in the electoral vote.
- iv. By the **12<sup>th</sup> Amendment**, the top three electoral vote getters would be voted upon in the House of Reps. and the majority (over 50%) would be elected president.
- v. Clay was eliminated, but he was the Speaker of the House, and since Crawford had recently suffered a paralytic stroke and Clay hated Jackson, he threw his support behind John Q. Adams, helping him become president.
  1. When Clay was appointed **Secretary of the State**, the traditional stepping-stone to the presidency, Jacksonians cried foul play and corruption. Jackson said he, the people’s choice, had been swindled out of the presidency by career politicians in Washington D.C.
  2. **John Randolph** publicly assailed the alliance between Adams and Clay.
- vi. Evidence against any possible deal has never been found in this “**Corrupt Bargain**,” but both men flawed their reputations.

### II. A Yankee Misfit in the White House

- i. John Quincy Adams was a man of puritanical honor, and he had achieved high office by commanding respect rather than by boasting great popularity. Like his father, however, he was able but somewhat wooden and lacked the “people’s touch” (which Jackson notably had).
- ii. During his administration, he only removed 12 public servants from the federal payroll, thus refusing to kick out efficient officeholders in favor of his own, possibly less efficient, supporters.
- iii. In his first annual message, Adams urged Congress on the construction of roads and canals, proposed a national university, and advocated support for an astronomical observatory.
  1. Public reaction was mixed: roads were good, but observatories weren’t important, and Southerners knew that if the government did anything, it would have to continue collecting tariffs.
- iv. With land, Adams tried to curb over-speculation of land, much to Westerners’ anger even though he was doing it for their own good, and with the **Cherokee Indians**, he tried to deal fairly with them although the state of Georgia successfully resisted federal attempts to help the Cherokees.

### III. Going “Whole Hog” for Jackson in 1828”

- i. Jacksonians argued, “Should the people rule?” and said that the Adams-Clay bargaining four years before had cheated the people out of the rightful victor.
  1. They successfully turned public opinion against an honest and honorable president.
- ii. However, Adams’ supporters also hit below the belt, even though Adams himself wouldn’t stoop to that level.
  1. They called Jackson’s mother a prostitute, called him an adulterer (he had married his wife Rachel thinking that her divorce had been granted, only to discover two years later that it hadn’t been), and after he got elected, Rachel died. Jackson blamed Adams’ men who had slandered Andrew Jackson for Rachel Jackson’s death—he never forgave them.
- iii. John Q. Adams had purchased, with his own money and for his own use, a billiard table and a set of chessmen, but the Jacksonians had seized this, criticizing Adams’ incessant spending.

### IV. “Old Hickory” as President

- i. When he became president, Andrew Jackson had already battled dysentery, malaria, tuberculosis, and lead poisoning from two bullets lodged somewhere in his body.
- ii. He personified the new West: rough, a jack-of-all-trades, a genuine folk hero.

- iii. Born in the backwoods of the Carolinas (we're not even sure if it was North or South Carolina, and both states still claim to be his home), Jackson had been early orphaned, was interested in cockfighting as a kid, and wasn't really good with reading and writing, sometimes misspelling the same word twice in one letter.
- iv. He went to Tennessee, where he became a judge and a congressman, and his passions were so profound that he could choke up on the floor.
- v. A man with a violent temper, he got into many duels, fights, stabbings, etc...
- vi. He was a Western aristocrat, having owned many slaves, and lived in a fine mansion, the Hermitage, and he shared many of the prejudices of the masses.
- vii. He was called "**Old Hickory**" by his troops because of his toughness.
- viii. He was anti-federalist, believing that the federal government was for the privileged only, although he maintained the sacredness of the Union and the federal power over the states. Still, he welcomed the western democracy.
- ix. Jackson commanded fear and respect from his subordinates, and ignored the Supreme Court on several occasions; he also used the veto 12 times (compared to a combined 10 times by his predecessors) and on his inauguration, he let commoners come into the White House.
  1. They wrecked the china and caused chaos until they heard that there was spiked punch on the White House front lawn; thus was the "inaugural bowl."
  2. Conservatives condemned Jackson as "King Mob" and berated him greatly.

#### V. The Spoils System

- i. The **spoils system** rewarded supporters with good positions in office.
- ii. Jackson believed that experience counted, but that loyalty and young blood and sharp eyes counted more, and thus, he went to work on overhauling positions and erasing the old.
- iii. Not since the election of 1800 had a new party been voted into the presidency, and even then, many positions had stayed and not changed.
- iv. Though he wanted to "wipe the slate clean," only 1/5 of the men were sent home, and clean sweeps would come later, but there were always people hounding Jackson for positions, and those who were discharged often went mad, killed themselves, or had a tough time with it.
- v. The spoils system denied many able people a chance to contribute.
- vi. **Samuel Swartwout** was awarded the lucrative post of collector of the customs of the port of New York, and nearly nine years later, he fled for England, leaving his accounts more than a million dollars short, and thus becoming the first person to steal a million dollars from the government.
- vii. The spoils system was built up by gifts from expectant party members, and the system secured such a tenacious hold that it took more than 50 years before its grip was even loosened.

#### VI. The Tricky "Tariff of Abominations"

- i. In 1824, Congress had increased the general tariff from 23% to 37%, but wool manufactures still wanted higher tariffs.
- ii. In the **Tariff of 1828**, the Jacksonians (who disliked tariffs) schemed to drive up duties to as high as 45% while imposing heavy tariffs on raw materials like wool, so that even New England, where the tariff was needed, would vote the bill down and give Adams another political black eye.
  1. However, the New Englanders backfired the plan and passed the law (amended).
  2. **Daniel Webster** and **John C. Calhoun** reversed their positions from 1816, with Webster supporting the tariff and Calhoun being against it.
  3. The Southerners immediately branded it as the "**Tariff of Abominations.**"
- iii. In the South at this time, **Denmark Vesey**, a free Black, led an ominous slave rebellion in Charleston. This raised fears by Southern whites and led to a tightening of control over slaves.
  1. The South mostly complained because it was now the least expanding of the sections.
  2. Cotton prices were falling and land was growing scarce.
- iv. Southerners sold their cotton and other products without tariffs, while the products that they bought were heavily taxed. The South said all tariffs did for them was hike up prices.
- v. Tariffs led the U.S. to buy less British products and vice versa, but it did help the Northeast prosper so that it could buy *more* of the South's products.
- vi. **John C. Calhoun** secretly wrote "**The South Carolina Exposition**" in 1828, boldly denouncing the recent tariff and calling for nullification of the tariff by all states.
- vii. However, South Carolina was alone in this nullification threat, since Andrew Jackson had been elected two weeks earlier, and was expected to sympathize with the South against the tariff.

#### VII. "Nullies" in South Carolina

- i. South Carolinians, still scornful toward the **Tariff of 1828**, attempted to garner the necessary two-thirds majority to nullify it in the S.C. legislature, but determined Unionists blocked them.

- ii. In response to the anger at the "Tariff of Abominations," Congress passed the **Tariff of 1832**, which did away with the worst parts of the Tariff of 1828, such as lowering the tariff down to 35%, a reduction of 10%, but many southerners still hated it.
  - iii. In the elections of 1832, the **Nullies** came out with a two-thirds majority over the **Unionists**, met in the state legislature, and declared the Tariff of 1832 to be void within S.C. boundaries.
    - 1. They also threatened with secession against the Union, causing a huge problem.
    - 2. **President Jackson** issued a ringing proclamation against S.C., to which governor Hayne issued a counter-proclamation, and civil war loomed dangerously.
    - 3. To compromise and prevent Jackson from crushing S.C. and becoming more popular, the president's rival, **Henry Clay**, proposed a compromise bill that would gradually reduce the Tariff of 1832 by about 10% over a period of eight years, so that by 1842 the rates would be down to 20% to 25%.
      - i. The **Tariff of 1833** narrowly squeezed through Congress.
      - ii. However, to save face, Congress also passed the **Force Bill** (AKA the "Bloody Bill") that authorized the president to use the army and navy, if necessary, to collect tariffs.
  - iv. No other states had supported South Carolina's stance of possible secession, though Georgia and Virginia toyed with the idea.
  - v. Finally, S.C. repealed the nullification ordinance.
- VIII. The Trail of Tears
- i. By 1830, the U.S. population stood at 13 million, and as states emerged, the Indians were stranded.
  - ii. Federal policy officially was to acquire land from the Indians through formal treaties, but too many times, they were tricked.
  - iii. Many people respected the Indians, though, and tried to Christianize them.
    - 1. i.e. the **Society for Propagating the Gospel Among Indians** (est. 1787).
  - iv. Some Indians violently resisted, but the Cherokees were among the few that tried to adopt the Americans ways, adopting a system of settled agriculture, devising an alphabet, legislating legal code in 1808, and adopting a written constitution in 1827.
  - v. The **Cherokees**, the **Creeks**, **Choctaws**, **Chickasaws**, and the **Seminoles** were known as the "Five Civilized Tribes."
  - vi. However, in 1828, Congress declared the Cherokee tribal council illegal, and asserted its own jurisdiction over Indian lands and affairs, and even though the Cherokees appealed to and won in the Supreme Court, Jackson refused to recognize the decision.
  - vii. Jackson, though, still harbored some sentiment of Indians, and proposed that they be bodily transferred west of the Mississippi, where they could preserve the culture, and in 1830, Congress passed the **Indian Removal Act**, in which Indians were moved to Oklahoma.
    - 1. Thousands of Indians died on the "**Trail of Tears**" after being uprooted from their sacred lands that had been theirs for centuries.
    - 2. Also, the **Bureau of Indian Affairs** was established in 1836 to deal with Indians.
  - viii. In 1832, in Illinois and Wisconsin, the Sauk and Fox tribes revolted but were crushed.
  - ix. From 1835 to 1842, the Seminole waged guerrilla warfare against the U.S., but were broken after their leader, **Osceola**, was seized; some fled deeper into the Everglades of Florida; others moved to Oklahoma.
- IX. The Bank War
- i. Andrew Jackson, like most westerners, distrusted big banks, especially the **BUS—Bank of the United States**.
    - 1. To Jackson and westerners, the BUS was simply a tool of the rich to get richer.
    - 2. The BUS minted coin money ("hard money"), but not paper money. Farmers out west wanted paper money which caused inflation, and enabled them to more easily pay off their debts.
    - 3. Jackson and westerners saw the BUS and eastern banks as being in a conspiracy to keep the common man down economically. This conspiracy was carried out through hard money and debt.
  - ii. The BUS, led by **Nicholas Biddle**, was harsh on the volatile western "**wildcat**" banks that churned out unstable money and too-lenient credit for land (which the westerners loved). The BUS seemed pretty autocratic and out of touch with America during its **New Democracy** era, and it was corrupt.
  - iii. Nicholas Biddle cleverly lent U.S. funds to friends, and often used the money of the BUS to bribe people, like the press.

- iv. However, the bank was financially sound, reduced bank failures, issued sound notes, promoted economic expansion by making abundant credit, and was a safe depository for the funds of the Washington government.
  - v. It was highly important and useful, though sometimes not necessarily pure and wholesome.
  - vi. In 1832, Henry Clay, in a strategy to bring Jackson's popularity down so that he could defeat him for presidency, rammed a bill for the re-chartering of the BUS—four years early.
  - vii. He felt that if Jackson signed it, he'd alienate his followers in the West and South, and if he vetoed it, he'd lose the supports of the "best people" of the East.
  - viii. He failed to realize that the West held more power now, not the East.
  - ix. The re-charter bill passed through Congress easily, but Jackson demolished it in a scorching veto that condemned the BUS as unconstitutional (despite political foe **John Marshall's** ruling that it was okay), and anti-American.
  - x. The veto amplified the power of the president by ignoring the Supreme Court and aligned the West against the East.
- X. "Old Hickory" Wallops Clay in 1832
- i. Jackson's supporters again raised the hickory pole while Clay's men detracted Jackson's dueling, gambling, cockfighting, and fast living.
  - ii. However, a new third party, the **Anti-Masonic Party**, made its entrance for the first time.
    1. Opposed to the fearsome secrecy of the Masonic order, it was energized by the mysterious murder of someone who threatened to expose the Freemason's secrets.
    2. While sharing Jacksonian ideals, they were against Jackson, a Mason.
    3. Also, they were supported by churches hoping to pass religious reform.
  - iii. Also for the first time, national conventions were held to nominate candidates.
  - iv. Clay had the money and the "support" of the press, but the poor people voted too, and Jackson won handily, handing Clay his third loss in three tries.
- XI. Burying Biddle's Bank
- i. Hoping to kill the BUS, Jackson now began to withdraw federal funds from the bank, so as to drain it of its wealth; in reaction, Biddle began to call for unnecessary loans, personally causing a mini panic.
  - ii. Jackson won, and in 1836, the BUS breathed its last breath, but because it had been the only source of sure credit in the United States, hard times fell upon the West once the BUS died, since the wildcat banks were very unreliable.
- XII. The Birth of the Whigs
- i. Under Jackson, the modern two-party system of politics came to be.
  - ii. Opponents of Jackson despised his iron-fisted nature and called him "King Andrew." This wide group coalesced into the **Whig party**, united only by dislike of Jackson.
  - iii. Generally, the Whigs:
    1. Disliked Jackson
    2. Supported Henry Clay's American System and internal improvements.
  - iv. Once formed, American would have at least two major political parties thenceforth.
- XIII. The Election of 1836
- i. "King Andrew" was too old to run again, but offered Martin van Buren to follow in his coattails.
  - ii. The Whigs suffered from disorganization. They tried to offer a **favorite son** candidate from each section of the country—their hopes were that no one would win a majority of electoral votes, the election would thus be thrown to the House of Representatives, and they could win there. Their scheme failed, and van Buren won.
- XIV. Big Woes for the "Little Magician"
- i. Van Buren was the first president to have been born in America, but he lacked the support of many Democrats and Jackson's popularity.
  - ii. A rebellion in Canada in 1837 threatened to plunge America into war, and Van Buren also inherited the depression caused by Jackson's BUS killing.
- XV. Depression Doldrums and the Independent Treasury
- i. The **Panic of 1837** was caused by the "wildcat banks" loans, the over-speculation, the "Bank War," and the **Specie Circular** stating that debts must be paid in specie (gold or silver), which no one had.
  - ii. Failures of wheat crops caused by the Hessian fly also worsened the situation, and the failure of two large British Banks in 1836 had already started the panic going.
  - iii. Hundreds of banks fell, including some of Jackson's "**pet banks**," banks that had received the money that Jackson had withdrawn from the BUS to kill it.
  - iv. The Whigs proposed expansion of bank credit, higher tariffs, and subsidies for internal improvements, but Van Buren spurned such ideas.

- v. Instead, he proposed the "**Divorce Bill**" (separating the bank from the government and storing money in some of the vaults of the larger American cities, thus keeping the money safe but also unavailable) that advocated the **independent treasury**, and in 1840, it was passed.
    1. The next year, the victorious Whigs repealed it, but in 1846, it was brought back; it finally merged with the **Federal Reserve System** in the next century.
- XVI. Gone to Texas
- i. Americans continued to covet **Texas**, and in 1823, after Mexico had gained independence from Spain, **Stephen Austin** had made an agreement with the Mexican government to bring about 300 families into a huge tract of granted land to settle.
  - ii. The stipulations were: (1) they must become Mexican citizens, (2) they must become Catholic, and (3) no slavery allowed. These stipulations were largely ignored by the new settlers.
- XVII. The Lone Star Rebellion
- i. The Texans (among them **Davy Crockett** and **Jim Bowie**) resented the "foreign" government, but they were led by **Sam Houston**, a man whose wife had left him.
  - ii. In 1830, Mexico freed its slaves and prohibited them in Texas, much to the anger of citizens.
  - iii. In 1833, Stephen Austin went to Mexico City to clear up differences and was jailed for 8 months.
  - iv. In 1835, dictator **Santa Anna** started to raise an army to suppress the Texans; the next year, they declared their independence.
  - v. After armed conflict and slaughters at the **Alamo** and at **Goliad**, Texan war cries rallied citizens, volunteers, and soldiers, and the turning point came after Sam Houston led his army for 37 days eastward, then turned on the Mexicans, taking advantage of their siesta hour, wiping them out, and capturing Santa Anna.
  - vi. The treaty he was forced to sign was later negated by him on grounds that the treaty was extorted under duress.
  - vii. Texas was supported in their war by the United States, but Jackson was hesitant to formally recognize Texas as an independent nation until he had secured Martin Van Buren as his successor, but after he succeeded, Jackson did indeed recognize Texas on his last day before he left office, in 1837.
  - viii. Many Texans wanted to become part of the Union, but the slavery issue blocked this.
  - ix. The end was an unsettled predicament in which Texans feared the return of Santa Anna.
- XVIII. Log Cabins and Hard Cider of 1840
- i. In 1840, William Harrison was nominated due to his being issueless and enemyless, with **John Tyler** as his running mate.
  - ii. He had only been popular from **Tippecanoe** (1811) and the **Battle of the Thames** (1813).
  - iii. A stupid Democratic editor also helped Harrison's cause when he called the candidate a poor old farmer with hard cider and inadvertently made him look like many poor Westerners.
  - iv. With slogans of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," the Whigs advocated this "poor man's president" idea and replied, to such questions of the bank, internal improvements, and the tariff, with answers of "log cabin," "hard cider," and "Harrison is a poor man."
  - v. The popular election was close, but Harrison blew Van Buren away in the Electoral College.
  - vi. Basically, the election was a protest against the hard times of the era.
- XIX. Politics for the People
- i. When the Federalists had dominated, democracy was not respected, but by the 1820s, it was widely appealing.
    1. Politicians now had to bend to appease and appeal to the masses, and the popular ones were the ones who claimed to be born in log cabins and had humble backgrounds.
    2. Those who were aristocratic (too clean, too well-dressed, too grammatical, to highly intellectual) were scorned.
  - ii. Western Indian fighters and/or militia commanders, like **Andrew Jackson**, **Davy Crockett**, and **William Henry Harrison**, were quite popular.
  - iii. Jacksonian Democracy said that whatever governing that was to be done should be done directly by the people.
  - iv. This time was called the **New Democracy**, and was based on **universal white manhood suffrage**.
    1. In 1791, Vermont became the first state admitted to the union to allow all white males to vote in the elections.
  - v. While the old bigwigs who used to have power sneered at the "coonskin congressmen" and the "bipeds of the forest," the new democrats argued that if they messed up, they messed up together and were not victims of aristocratic domination.
- XX. The Two-Party System

- a. The Democrats had so successfully absorbed the Federalist ideas before, that a true two party system had never emerged—until now.
- b. The Democrats
  - i. Glorified the liberty of the individual.
  - ii. Clung to states' rights and federal restraint in social and economic affairs.
  - iii. Mostly more humble, poorer folk.
  - iv. Generally from the South and West.
- c. The Whigs
  - i. Trumpeted the natural harmony of society and the value of community.
  - ii. Berated leaders whose appeals and self-interest fostered conflict among individuals.
  - iii. Favored a renewed national bank, protective tariffs, internal improvements, public schools, and moral reforms.
  - iv. Mostly more aristocratic and wealthier.
  - v. Generally from the East.
- d. Things in Common
  - i. Based on the people, with "catchall" phrases for popularity.
  - ii. Both also commanded loyalties from all kinds of people.

## Chapter 13 Vocabulary

**John Quincy Adams** -- He was the sixth president of the United States. He was a Republican from Massachusetts who was the first minority president (less than 50% of Americans did not vote for him). He served only four years, from 1824-1828. He could never gain the support of the Americans because he was a minority president. He was in favor of funding national research and he appointed Henry Clay as his Secretary of State in the infamous "Corrupt Bargain" election. During his presidency, the National-Republicans were formed in support of him.

**Andrew Jackson** -- Andrew Jackson was a Democratic-Republican who was voted into office in 1828. The people wanted representation and reform from the administration of John Quincy Adams. Jackson believed that the people should rule. He was the first president from the west, and he represented many of the characteristics of the west. Jackson appealed to the common man as he was said to be one. He believed in the strength of the Union and the supremacy of the federal government over the state government.

**William Crawford** -- Originally from Georgia, Crawford ran in the 1824 election representing the South. He was forced to drop out of the race due to a stroke.

**Peggy Eaton** -- Peggy married Sec. of War John Eaton. She was snubbed by ladies of the White House, especially VP Calhoun's wife, for allegedly being disreputable. Jackson tried to help her be accepted, but failed. This helped in the dissolution of Jackson and Calhoun, and moved Calhoun down a states' rights path.

**Daniel Webster** -- Daniel Webster was a nationalist and was involved in the Webster-Hayne debate over states' rights. He served as Secretary of State under the Tyler administration. In 1836, he ran for the presidency as a member of the Whig party, losing to Martin Van Buren. He was also America's greatest orator.

**Denmark Vesey** -- Denmark Vesey was a black man who lived in the Carolinas. Vesey led a slave rebellion in Charleston in 1822. This slave rebellion was part of what led to the anxieties of the South, especially in South Carolina. The Missouri Compromise and the slave rebellion both caused the South to worry about federal government interference in slavery issues.

**Robert Hayne** -- Hayne was a senator from South Carolina, a major player in the sectional debate during 1829 and 1830. A great orator, he denounced New England. He pointed out New England's treasonous activities during the War of 1812. He also spoke out against the "Tariff of Abominations," which hurt the South. He supported Calhoun's idea of nullification. While he did not want secession, he did add fuel to the sectional flames, and this led to secession.

**"Common Man"** -- This concept held that a political leader who worked his way up to the top from the bottom was desirable. Andrew Jackson was the model common man. Born in the Carolina backwoods, he had been orphaned, so he fought in the Revolutionary War at age thirteen. In the War of 1812, he became a hero and launched his political career soon after. He was like the rest of the country, and was liked for that fact. The common man began to take over during the Jacksonian Democracy thanks mostly to "universal white manhood suffrage."

**New Democracy** -- The New Democracy got more people involved in the government. There were also fewer voter restrictions and voter turnout increased. The #1 factor was "universal white manhood suffrage" (all white men could vote).

**Nullification** -- In the "compact theory," the states said that since the states had formed the federal government, any law passed by the federal government could be declared null and void by the states. The South was extremely upset about the extremely high Tariff of Abominations. "The South Carolina Exposition," written by John C. Calhoun, denounced the tariff as unjust and unconstitutional. The document bluntly proposed that the states should nullify the tariff. The even more dangerous doctrine of secession was foreshadowed.

**Spoils system** -- This system was set up by Andrew Jackson not long after his election into the presidency in 1828. It had already developed a strong hold in the industrial states such as New York and Pennsylvania. It gave the public offices to the



political supporters of the campaign, to those loyal to Jackson. The name came from Senator Marcy's remark in 1832, "to the victor belong the spoils."

**Rotation in Office** – This idea was supported by the New Democracy. Rotation said that it was good to clean out government officials every so often. This was part of the spoils system used by Jackson. Jackson felt it made the government more democratic by having more participation, and avoided long term laziness.

**"King Caucus"** -- Rather than a few "bigwhigs" choosing a bigwhig candidate, in a caucus, the people choose the candidate they want. This new and more democratic method of nominating presidential candidates led to having national nominating conventions.

**Democratic-Republicans** -- Once shortened to "Republicans" under Jefferson, when Andrew Jackson came into power he renamed the party "Democrats." The Jacksonian Democrats were very democratic and were opposed to the Whigs. Jackson was a real common man and believed in the common man. They opposed to very strong national bank. When he was president the Whigs called him "King Jackson". This party is the present day Democratic party.

**Anti-Masonic Party** -- The Anti-Masonic Party was basically against elite groups such as the Masons (a private, secret organization). They were also opposed to Jackson, who was a Mason. The Anti-Masonic party did not hold much bearing while they existed.

**Revolution of 1828** – This was the election of 1828. The candidates for president were John Q. Adams and Andrew Jackson. The election of 1828 is often called the "Revolution of 1828" because there was an increased turnout of voters at this election (50% of eligible voters, twice the number of four years prior). The large turnout proved that the common people now had the vote and the will to use it for their ends. The results of the election show that the political center of gravity was shifting away from the conservative eastern seaboard and toward the emerging states across the mountains. The revolution was peaceful and achieved by ballots. America had been ruled by the elite brains and wealthy class. In this sense, it was similar to Jefferson's "Revolution of 1800." Jackson's victory accelerated the transfer of national power from the countinghouse to the farmhouse, from the East to the West, and from the snobs to the mobs.

**King Mob** -- Nickname for all the new participants in government that came with Jackson's presidency. This nickname was negative and proposed that Jackson believed in too much democracy, perhaps leading to anarchy.

**Corrupt Bargain** -- Immediately after John Quincy Adams became president in 1824, he appointed Henry Clay as Secretary of State. Jacksonians were furious because all former Secretaries of State became presidents. This "corrupt bargain" occurred after the Election of 1824 when Andrew Jackson had the most electoral votes, but not a majority. Then, Speaker of the House Henry Clay (having the least of the electoral votes and thereby being eliminated) gave his support to John Q. Adams, giving him the winning vote and making him president. Jacksonians question whether John Q. Adams made Henry Clay Sec. of State for payback in giving his votes.

**Kitchen Cabinet** -- President Jackson had an official cabinet, but its members were used more as executive clerks than anything else. Jackson had a private cabinet of about thirteen members that were always changing. The cabinet grew out of Jackson's unofficial meetings and was known as "the Kitchen Cabinet." Jackson's adversaries and enemies gave the group of advisors this name.

**Tariff of Abominations** -- (1) An extremely high tariff (45%) that Jacksonian Democrats tried to get Adams to veto. (2) caused a sectional split and began the nullification crisis led by John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. (3) Prelude to the Civil War.

**Eaton Affair** – John Eaton, Secretary of War, married the daughter of a Washington boardinghouse keeper, Peggy O'Neal. She had rumors spread about her and the male boarders. She was snubbed by ladies in Jackson's cabinet and especially Vice President Calhoun's wife. The president wanted to help her because his wife had been the object of many rumors. He tried to force the social acceptance of Peggy. This was called the "Petticoat War." The Eaton scandal played into the hands of Secretary of State Van Buren. He paid attention to Mrs. Eaton so he could get on Jackson's good side. Jackson turned against Calhoun and in 1831 Calhoun's supporters broke away from cabinet. Calhoun resigned the vice presidency the next year and entered the Senate for South Carolina.

**South Carolina Exposition** -- A pamphlet published by the South Carolina legislature, written secretly by Vice President John C. Calhoun. It spoke against the "Tariff of Abominations," and proposed nullification of the tariff. Calhoun wished to use nullification to prevent secession, yet address the grievances of sectional Southerners. These sectional ideas helped lead to the Civil War.

**Maysville Road** – The Maysville road was a road built within Kentucky and was considered an individual state road, but was connected to an interstate. Andrew Jackson withheld funds from localized roads and vetoed a bill for improving the Maysville road. This was a great setback for the internal improvements of the American society.

**Twelfth Amendment** – Cleans up the electoral process for electing the president. Was made to avoid a situation like what occurred in 1800 with Thomas Jefferson and with Andrew Jackson/John Q. Adams in 1824's "Corrupt Bargain" election.

**Nicholas Biddle** – Biddle was nicknamed "Czar Nicholas I" and was president of the Bank of the United States. Jackson wanted to weaken the Bank and Biddle, so Jackson gradually began to withdraw federal money and stowed the money in his "pet banks." Jackson destroyed the Bank in 1832 with his veto of the Bank's re-charter and withdrawals.

**Osceola** – Osceola was a leader of the Seminole. The Seminole Indians in Florida were engaged in a bitter guerrilla war that proved to be the costliest Indian conflict. Fifteen hundred American soldiers lost their lives in the battle. The war ended when the Americans captured Osceola. Osceola eventually died in captivity. The ordeal split up the Seminole tribe, some fled into the

Everglades and others were herded to Oklahoma. He led one of the many Indian conflicts that furthered westward expansion for the Americans.

**Andrew Jackson** – Jackson was the seventh president and supported mostly by the West and South (the common people). He had no formal education. His beliefs were simple, and his military background often influenced him. He introduced the spoils system into American government, or rotation in office as he called it. His unofficial advisors were called the "kitchen cabinet" because they were thought of as Jackson's friends, not political office holders. Mostly though, he represented the common man both in his life and presidency.

**Martin Van Buren** – Van Buren was Andrew Jackson's own choice as his successor. Van Buren became our eighth president in 1836. He was doomed from the start, though, as the people thought he was only "mediocre" and the Democrats hated him. He was also left to deal with some very difficult situations, such as a developing Panic of 1837 for which he was blamed. Van Buren tried to do his best in the circumstances, as with the controversial "Divorce Bill," but Martin Van Buren's efforts were futile.

**Stephen Austin** -- Stephen Austin was an American colonizer and pioneer from Virginia led the first settlers into Texas. His father, Moses Austin, secured a land grant from Spain, and Stephen later renewed this grant with the independent Mexico. Austin succeeded in bringing over 20,000 Americans to Texas by 1830. He requested self-government for the territory, and was subsequently thrown into a Mexican prison. In 1835 he returned, and took the command of a Texan army ready to fight for independence. He soon resigned. After Texas became a republic in 1836, Austin worked for the U.S.' annexation of Texas as a state.

**William Henry Harrison** – Harrison was a war hero fighting Indians back in the War of 1812 and was not nominated for president in 1840 based mostly on his war record. He won the 1840 presidential election with his log cabin and hard cider campaign. He became the 1<sup>st</sup> Whig president & 1st president to die in office.

**Henry Clay** – Clay was a National-Republican and chief player in the presidential contest of 1832. He threw himself behind the Senate's move to re-charter the bank. He was able to pass a compromise bill that would slowly reduce the 1832 Tariff. He came from Kentucky and strongly disliked Jackson, his western rival. Clay had 50,000 dollars in funds for "life insurance" with the Bank of the United States. He lost the presidential election in 1832 because the rich people did not create enough support to elect him president. The loss of the election crushed Clay, but his American System and other ideas had helped the United States. Clay had previously been a War Hawk and later formed the "American System." He helped to form the "Whigs" in the Senate to defend the Bank of the United States.

**Sam Houston** – Houston was the president of Texas. Mexicans and Texans were in conflict over issues such as slavery and immigration. In 1836, the Texans declared their independence from Mexico and made Sam Houston their commander in chief. Santa Anna, the dictator of Mexico, resented this American decree and charged into Texas with Mexican forces. Houston and his troops initially retreated, but eventually they defeated the Mexican army and captured Santa Anna.

**John Tyler** – Tyler ran as Vice-President to William Henry Harrison in the election of 1840 as a Whig. Harrison was elected, but shortly died, so Tyler became the first Vice-President to take the office of a dead president.

**John C. Calhoun** -- Calhoun was Vice President under Andrew Jackson although he continually moved away from Jackson and his national policies and toward his native South Carolina and a states' rights position. This is best seen in his writing of the South Carolina Exposition calling for nullification of the Tariff of Abominations, the Peggy Eaton Scandal, and the icy toast against Jackson, and then his resignation from the VP job. In 1834, Calhoun joined with Henry Clay against President Jackson, forming the beginnings of the Whig Party.

**Santa Anna** -- Santa Anna was a Mexican dictator who in 1835 wiped out all local rights in Texas and started to raise an army to put down the Texans. With six thousand men he swept through Texas until he was finally defeated by Sam Houston's army. He then signed two treaties dealing with the border of Texas and the withdrawal of Mexican troops.

**Black Hawk** – Black Hawk was the leader of the Illinois tribes of Indians in the 1830's. When the Indians were uprooted, and forced out of their homes, Black Hawk led the Indians in resisting the move. However, he wasn't powerful enough, because in 1832, they were brutally defeated, and forced to move into Oklahoma.

**William Travis** -- William Travis was a colonel during the Texas Revolution. He fought on the side of the Texans against the Mexicans in 1836 at the Alamo in San Antonio, Texas. Colonel Travis and two hundred Texans were trapped at the Alamo by Santa Anna and his six thousand men. During this two week siege, all but one of the Texans was killed.

**Annexation** – Annexation was a method used by the government to acquire and establish sovereignty over new territory. Sometimes force was used in annexation, but other times it is done through a legal system, such as a purchase. The U.S. annexed Texas in 1845.

**Antislavery** -- Antislavery was a widespread idea (with most of its supporters being in the New England areas) in the 1800s. The North readily opposed the idea of slavery, because it was abusive and their economy didn't rely on it. But even in the South, in the 1820's, there were numerous antislavery societies. These societies were actually more numerous south of Mason and Dixon line.

**favorite son** -- The term "favorite son" referred to the Whig candidates of 1836 that were not nationally known. They were only popular in their home states. The Whigs tried to use these men to scatter the vote and force the House of Representatives to choose the president.

**Specie Circular** -- Jackson authorized the U.S. Treasury to issue the Specie Circular in 1836. It was a decree which stated that all public lands must be purchased with gold or silver money, because the B.U.S. was collapsing and the paper money floating around was almost worthless. This decree caused a run on the banks for gold and silver and, in turn, ignited the Panic of 1837.

**Slavocracy** – The term “slavocracy” was the northerners' idea of the South trying to gain slave land. The idea had to do with Texas joining the union. People from the north thought the Southern slavocracy was involved in a conspiracy to bring new slave states to America.

**Tariff of 1833** -- This was a compromise bill. It would gradually reduce the tariff of 1832 by 10% over an 8 year period. It would be a 20-25% tax on dutiable goods. Henry Clay wrote the bill. It ended the nullification crisis over the “Tariff of Abominations” when South Carolina accepted the compromise.

**Panic of 1837** – This was the nation’s first economic depression. Banks loaned too much money out for Western expansion and they began to fail one by one. Hardship was acute and widespread and hundreds of banks collapsed. Martin Van Buren (who was president at the time) tried to “divorce” the government from banking altogether. This idea was not highly supported but the Independent Treasury Bill passed Congress in 1840. Although the Whigs repealed it the next year, the scheme was reenacted by the Democrats in 1846.

**Force Bill** – The Force Bill was passed by the Congress in 1833. It was also known as the “Bloody Bill” to the Southerners. This bill allowed the president to use the Army and the Navy to collect federal tariff duties (if necessary). It was an result to the Nullification Crisis during this time and illustrated the stand-off between the federal government and states.

**Seminole Indians** – This Indian tribe lived in Florida and waged a seven year war against the Americans in attempt to halt their being forcibly removed to the west. They were tricked into a truce where their chief Osceola was captured. Most were moved to Oklahoma while others remained hidden in the Everglades.

**Divorce Bill** – This was a bill proposed by Martin Van Buren to move federal monies into a separate bank vault so it would not be connected with the ups and downs of the federal economy. It barely passed in 1840 by the Democrats, then repealed when the Whigs came into power a year later. It was, however, a predecessor of today’s Federal Reserve System.

**Bank of United States** -- The federal Bank of the U.S. was first created in 1791 under Hamilton's economic plan. In 1816, the Bank of the U.S.'s charter was renewed. Because of the economic recession of the 1810's, the bank suffered great mismanagement until 1822 when Nicholas Biddle, a Philadelphia financier, became its president. Andrew Jackson, in 1831, vetoed the act to renew the bank's charter due to expire in 1836. Jackson then set out to kill the bank by withdrawing money and putting it in his “pet banks.” Because of the lack of the federal bank in 1836, the U.S. suffered through its first major economic depression. Banks went bankrupt, paper money became worthless, and the Panic of 1837 struck.

**Lone Star State**—Texas, was first ruled by Spain for over 300. When Mexico became an independent country in 1821, Texas became a Mexican state and new settlers from the United States were welcomed. The large influx of Americans led to skirmishes with Mexican troops. After a successful war of independence against Mexico, Texans raised the Lone Star flag over their own republic in 1836. Their government was recognized by the United States and several other European countries. In 1845 Texas accepted annexation by the United States and was admitted as the 28th state.

**Independent Treasury** -- Martin Van Buren passed the “Divorce Bill” in 1840 which created an independent treasury that took the government's funds out of the pet banks that Jackson had created and put them in vaults in several of the largest cities. This way the funds would be safe from inflation and denied to the state banks as revenue.

**Anti-Masonic Party** -- The Anti-Masonic Party was a third political party that developed during the campaign of 1832 because of the fierce debate between Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson. This party also developed as opposition to the Masons (a secret society). It gained support from evangelical Protestant groups and people who were neglected by Jackson. However, it never took a majority position in elections.

**Pet Banks** – These were state banks that existed in the 1830's and which received federal funds from Jackson. These funds were from the removal of the deposits in the B.U.S. in order to ensure the B.U.S.’s demise even before its charter ran out. These banks then loaned money and printed paper money to increase spending, which led to inflation. Jackson attempted to stop this inflation with the Specie Circular, which led to the Panic of 1837.

**Whig Party** -- The Whig party was a party that formed for those who opposed Jackson's views. It was created in the 1830s and the 1840s. When Jackson was elected, Clay and Calhoun formed a party for those who opposed Democratic views. The first Whig to become president was William Henry Harrison in the 1840 election. This fulfilled the re-emergence of the two-party system.

# Chapter 14

## Forging the National Economy

### I. The Westward Movement

- a. The U.S. marched quickly toward the West which proved to be very hard with disease and loneliness.

- b. Frontier people were individualistic, superstitious and ill-informed of current matters.
- II. Shaping the Western Landscape
- a. The westward movement molded the environment.
    - Tobacco overuse had exhausted the land forcing settlers to move on, but "Kentucky bluegrass" thrived.
    - Settlers trapped beavers, sea otters, and bison for fur to ship back East
  - b. The spirit of nationalism led to an appreciation of the American wilderness.
    - Artist George Catlin pushed for national parks and later achieved it with Yellowstone in 1872.
- III. The March of the Millions
- a. In the mid-1800s, the population continued to double every 25 years.
  - b. By 1860, the original 13 states now had become 33 states; the American population was 4<sup>th</sup> in the world (behind Russia, France, Austria).
  - c. Urban growth continued explosively.
    - In 1790, only New York & Philadelphia had more than 20,000 people, but by 1860, 43 cities had.
    - With growth came poor sanitation → later, sewage systems and piped-in water came about.
  - d. A high birthrate had accounted for population growth, but near 1850s, millions of Irish and German came.
    - They came due to a surplus population in Europe, but not all came to the U.S.
    - The appeal of the U.S. was for land, freedom from church, no aristocracy, 3 meat meals a day.
    - Also, transoceanic steamships were used meaning travel time dropped to 12 days and it was safer.
- IV. The Emerald Isle Moves West
- a. The **Irish** potato famine in the mid-1840s led to the death of 2 million and saw many flee to the U.S.
    - "Black Forties"—they mainly came to cities like Boston and especially New York (biggest Irish city).
    - They were illiterate, discriminated against by older Americans, and received lowest-paying jobs (railroad-building).
    - They were hated by Protestants because they're Catholic.
    - Americans hated the Irish (such as "NINA"—No Irish Need Apply); the Irish hated competition with blacks for the low-paying jobs.
    - The Ancient Order of Hibernians was established to aid the Irish.
    - Gradual property ownership came about, and their children earned education.
    - The Irish were attracted to politics, and often filled police departments as officers.
    - The politicians tried to appeal to the Irish by yelling at London ("Twisting the Lion's Tail").
- V. The **German** Forty-Eighters
- a. 1 million Germans poured in between 1830s-1860s because crop of failures and revolution/war of 1848.
    - Liberals such as Carl Schurz contributed to the elevation of the U.S. political scene.
    - They had more money than the Irish, so they bought land in West, especially in Wisconsin.
    - Their votes were crucial, so they were wooed by U.S. politicians, yet they lacked potency because they were rather spread out.
    - The Germans contributed to the U.S. culture (i.e. the Christmas tree) and isolationism.
    - They urged public education (started kindergarten) and freedom (they were enemies of slavery).
    - They faced resentment from old Americans because the Germans grouped themselves together, were aloof, clung to their old ways and kept speaking the German language and religion, and brought beer to the U.S.
- VI. Flare-ups of Antiforeignism
- a. "**nativists**" – older Americans who were prejudiced against newcomers in jobs, politics religion
  - b. Catholicism became a major faith due to the immigration of the 1840s and 50s; they also set out to build Catholic schools
  - c. nativists feared that Catholicism challenged Protestantism (Popish idols) so they formed the "**Order of Star-Spangled Banner**" AKA, "**The Know-Nothings**"
    - they met in secrecy - "I Know-Nothing" was their response to any inquiries
    - fought for restrictions on immigration, naturalization & deportation of alien paupers
    - wrote fiction books about corruption of churches
    - there was mass violence, i.e. Philadelphia in 1844, which burnt churches, schools, and saw people killed
    - it made America a pluralistic society with diversity
    - as time passed, immigrants were less disliked since they were crucial to economic expansion & more jobs were becoming available (although they were low-paying)
- VII. Creeping Mechanization
- a. The industrial revolution spread to U.S. The U.S. was destined to become an industrial giant because...

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- land was cheap, money for investment plentiful, raw materials were plentiful
- Britain lacked consumers for factory-scale manufacturing whereas America had the growing numbers
- But, Britain's long-established factory system was in competition with the infant U.S. industries
- the Brits kept textile industry secrets as a monopoly (forbade travel of craftsmen & export of machines)

b. Still, the U.S. remained very rural and was mostly a farming nation

#### VIII. Whitney Ends the Fiber Famine

a. **Samuel Slater** – "Father of the Factory System"

- learned of textile machinery when working in British factory → he escaped to U.S., was aided by Moses Brown and built 1<sup>st</sup> cotton thread spinner in the U.S. located in Pawtucket, Rhode Island (1791)

b. **Eli Whitney** built a cotton gin (which was 50 times more effective than separating cotton seed by hand)

- cotton economics were now profitable and saved the South with "**King Cotton**"
- the South flourished and expanded the cotton kingdom westward
- the Northern factories manufactured textiles (cloth), especially in New England due to its poor soil, dense labor, access to sea, and fast rivers for water power)

#### IX. Marvels in Manufacturing

a. The Embargo Act of the War of 1812 encouraged home manufacturing

b. after the peace treaty at Ghent, the British poured in a surplus of cheap goods, forcing the close of many American factories who could not compete with long-established British companies

c. Congress then passed Tariff of 1816 to protect U.S. economy

d. **Eli Whitney** introduced machine-made inter-changeable parts (on muskets) - 1850

- this was the base of the assembly line which flourished in the North, while the cotton gin flourished South

e. **Elias Howe & Issac Singer** (1846) made the sewing machine (the foundation of clothing industry)

f. The decade of 1860 had 28,000 patents while 1800 only had 306

g. The principle of limited liability in a corporation (can't lose more than invested) stimulated the economy

h. Laws of "free incorporation" came about saying there was no need to apply for a charter from a legislature to start a corporation

i. **Samuel Morse's** telegraph connected the business world when he asked, "What hath God wrought?"

#### X. Workers and "Wage Slaves"

a. The factory system led to impersonal relations

b. The benefit went to factory owner; hours were long, wages low, conditions unsafe and unhealthy, no unions existed to address these issues

c. child labor was heavy; 50% of the industrial labor force were children

d. adult working condition improved in the 1820s & 30s with the mass vote given to workers

- 10 hour day, higher wages, tolerable conditions, public education, a ban of imprisonment for debt

- in the 1840s, President Van Buren established 10 hour day for federal employees

- many went on strike, but lost because employers simply imported more workers (the much-hated immigrants)

e. labor unions formed in the 1830s, but were hit by Panic of 1837

- case of **Commonwealth v. Hunt** in Massachusetts Supreme Court (1842) legalized unions for peaceful and honorable protest

- however, the effectiveness of unions was small (due mostly to their threat of a strike was always undermined by the management's ability to simply call in "scabs", plentiful immigrants eager to work)

#### XI. Women and the Economy

a. women toiled in factories under poor conditions

b. in Lowell, Massachusetts, a model textile mill employed young, single women under a watchful eye.

c. opportunities were rare and women mainly worked in nursing, domestic service, teaching (encouraged by Catharine Beecher)

d. women usually worked before marriage, after marriage they became housewives and mothers

e. arranged marriages died down; marriages due to love tied family closer

f. families grew smaller (average of 6); the fertility rate dropped sharply; this "domestic feminism" was crude a crude form of birth control

g. child-centered families emerged with less children and discipline

h. the home changed from a place of labor, to a place of refuge and rest from labor at the mill

i. women were in charge of family: small, affectionate, child-centered families. This was a small arena for talented women

XII. Western Farmers Reap a Revolution in the Fields

- a. the trans-Allegheny region (Ohio-Indiana-Illinois) became the nation's breadbasket
  - they planted corn and raised hogs (Cincinnati was known as "the porkopolis" of the west)
- b. inventions that boomed agriculture
  - **John Deere** – invented the steel plow that cut through hard soil and could be pulled by horses
  - **Cyrus McCormick** – invented the mechanical mower-reaper to harvest grain
- c. this led to large-scale production and growth of cash crops
- d. The North produced more food than the South (who grew cotton); products flowed from the North to the South via sea and rivers, not East to West which need transportation revolution in roads and canals

XIII. Highways and Steamboats

- a. improvements in transportation were needed for raw material transport
- b. **Lancaster Turnpike** – a hard road from Philadelphia to Lancaster, PA which brought economic expansion westward
- c. The federal government constructed the **Cumberland Road** AKA **The National Road** (Maryland - Illinois) with state and federal money
- d. **Robert Fulton** invented the first steamboat, the *Clermont* in 1807; steamboats were common by the 1830s
  - this caused an increase of U.S. trade because there was no concern for weather and water current
  - this contributed to the development of Southern and Western economies

XIV. "Clinton's Big Ditch" in New York

- a. **Gov. DeWitt Clinton's** Big Ditch was the **Erie Canal** between Lake Erie and the Hudson River
  - it shortened the expense and time of transportation (to one twentieth what it was before); cities grew along the canal and the price of food was reduced
  - farmers were unable to compete in the rocky soils of the East, so they went to the West

XV. The Iron Horse

- a. The 1<sup>st</sup> railroad in U.S. was introduced in 1828; by 1860, 30,000 miles of railroad tracks had been laid in the U.S. (3/4 of those tracks were up North)
- b. The railroads were 1<sup>st</sup> opposed because financiers were afraid of losing money from Erie Canal traffic; railroads also caused fires to houses from their embers.
- c. Early trains were poorly constructed (with bad brakes) and the gauge of tracks varied

XVIII. Cables, Clippers, and Pony Riders

- a. foreign exports
  - South → cotton account for 50% of exports
  - North → after the repeal of the British Corn Law of 1846, wheat became an important commodity in trade with England
- b. Americans imported more than they exported (causing substantial debt to foreign creditors)
- c. In 1858, **Cyrus Field** laid a telegraph cable between the U.S. & Europe (but died in 3 weeks); a better one was laid in 1866. This provided instant communication with Europe—a monumental step forward.
- d. American vessels had been idle due to embargoes and panics; the U.S. Navy made little progress
  - the golden age of the American merchant marine came in 1840s and 50s – Donald McKay built the **clipper ships** which dominated the seas for a brief time (they were very fast, sleek, and long)
  - tea trade with the British grew and carried many to California
  - America's brief dominance at sea with the clipper ships was crushed by British iron steamers, "Tea kettles" that were more reliable and could haul heavier loads, though slower.
- e. speedy communication popped up from Missouri to California, in the **Pony Express** (going 2,000 miles in 10 days). The Pony Express was short-lived though, lasting but 2 years, and was replaced by the telegraph wire.

XIX. The Transport Web Binds the Union

- a. the steamboat allowed reverse transport of South to East and served to bind them together
- b. more canals led to more trade with East from the West (the South was left out with canals)
- c. New York became the queen port of the country, replacing New Orleans, thanks to the Erie Canal
- d. Principle of divided labor emerged with each region specializing in its own economic activity
  - South → cotton to New England; West → grain & livestock for the East & Europe; East → machines, textiles for South and West
- e. The South thought the Mississippi River linked them to other states and the world; therefore, the South didn't care much for paying for national road systems or canals (internal improvements)
- f. Transformed the home, it was once the center of economics, but now served as a refuge from work.

XXI. The Market Revolution

- a. Just as the political landscape of America changed, the economic scene did too. Essentially, business began to grow up.

- b. The era of the self-supported farm was changing to a more modern, specialty driven economy.
- c. These times widened the gap between the rich and poor.
- d. Cities saw the greatest extremes
  - i. unskilled workers were "drifters" from town to town looking for jobs (1/2 of industrial population)
  - ii. social mobility existed, although rags-to-riches stories were rare
  - iii. the standard of living did rise, however, as wages did rise (this helped diffuse any potential class conflict)

## Chapter 14 Vocabulary

**Samuel Slater** -- He was a British mechanic that memorized the design of a textile mill then secretly moved to America. Then in 1791, with financial help from Moses Brown, he built the first textile factory in America. He is known as "the Father of the Factory System."

**Cyrus McCormick** -- McCormick was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia in 1809, and was very interested in helping out the fellow farmer. In 1831, he revolutionized the farming industry by inventing the mechanical reaper. He later improved upon it and patented it in 1834. He then started a company that manufactured this reaper and sold it on the market. He became tremendously rich doing this and later married. He was very generous to his nearby churches and schools.

**Eli Whitney** -- Eli Whitney was born in Massachusetts. He was a mechanical genius who graduated from Yale. After college, he traveled to Georgia to be a tutor while preparing for law. While in Georgia, he was told that the South would make a lot of money if someone could invent a machine to separate the seed from cotton. In 1793, within ten days of being told this, Whitney had constructed a rough machine fifty times more effective than the handpicking process. The cotton gin was so simple, people were able to copy it without violating his patent, and therefore Whitney didn't make much profit on his machine. He was also just as important in starting inter-changeable parts, parts that could be snapped in and out and easily replaced. This gave rise to the assembly lines in factories and began the end of the master craftsman who built something from start to finish.

**Robert Fulton** -- Fulton was a painter/engineer who got financial backing to build a powerful steam engine and later steamboat (*Clermont*). Skeptics called it "Fulton's Folly." But in 1807, the boat made the 150 mile run from New York City up the Hudson River to Albany in 32 hours. Within a few years Fulton changed all of America's navigable streams into two-way arteries and forever changed the way the West and the South could transport their goods.

**Industrial Revolution** -- The Industrial Revolution began in the 1750's in Britain with a group of inventors perfecting textile machines. These British developments eventually found their way into American industry. Factories were made to work with the South's raw textiles. Industrialization started in the North because of its dense population, reliance of shipping, and its number of seaports. The rapid rivers of the North also provided power for turning the cogs of machinery. The majority of the industrialization occurred between the 1790's and the 1860's.

**Limited Liability** -- This is a term that applies to the principles of the corporation. It basically refers to the fact that a business with public stock (corporation) can fail without any one person losing all of his or her money. It lowers the risk of new business ventures, and therefore attracts many investors.

**Cotton Gin** -- The cotton gin is a machine that would separate the seed from the short-staple cotton fiber. It was 50 times more effective than the handpicking process. It was constructed by Eli Whitney. It was developed in 1793 in Georgia. It was used all over the South. The cotton gin brought a miraculous change to the U.S. and the world. Practically overnight, the production of the cotton became very profitable. Not only did the South prosper, but the North as well since they wove the cloth in Northern mills. Many acres were cleared westward to make more room for cotton.

**"Boston Associates"** -- They were a group of Boston families who joined to form one of the earliest and most powerful joint-capital ventures. They eventually came to dominate the textile industry, the railroads, the insurance industry, and banking in all of Massachusetts. With pride, the Boston Associates considered their textile mill in Lowell, Massachusetts a showplace factory. The labor there was mostly New England farm girls who were supervised on and off the job and worked from "dark to dark."

**Clipper ships** -- American boats, built during the 1840's in Boston, that were sleek and fast, but inefficient in carrying a lot of cargo or passengers. They were famous for trading with Asia. For a brief period, their speed gave America a dominance at sea. New British steamers (called "Tea Kettles") were more efficient than clippers at hauling cargo however, so Britain remained the top naval power.

**General Incorporation Law** -- This was a law created to greatly help in "building" capitalism. It stated that business people could create a corporation if they complied with the terms of the law. It was a great boost to capitalism. It was signed in New York in 1848 to save business people the need to apply for charters from the legislature.

**Pony Express** -- The Pony Express was a mail carrying service that ran from 1860-1861. It was established to carry mail speedily along the 2,000 miles from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Sacramento, California. Wiry boys could make the trek in 10 days. It lasted only a brief period though, because the telegraph wire was constructed in 1861, making the need for the Pony Express null and void.

# Chapter 15

## The Ferment of Reform and Culture

### I. Reviving Religion

- a. Church attendance was regular in 1850 (3/4 of population attended)
- b. Many relied on **Deism** (reason rather revelation); Deism rejected original sin of man, denied Christ's divinity but believed in a supreme being that created universe with an order, similar to a clockmaker.
- c. **Unitarian** faith begins (New England)
  - believed God existed in only 1 person, not in the orthodox trinity; stressed goodness of human nature
  - believed in free will and salvation through good works; pictured God as a loving father
  - appealed to intellectuals with rationalism and optimism
- d. These perversions of Christianity ignited Christians to "take back their faith" and oppose these new beliefs
- e. Liberalism in religion started in 1800 spawned the **2<sup>nd</sup> Great Awakening**
  - a tidal wave of spiritual fervor that resulted in prison reform, church reform, temperance movement (no alcohol), women's rights movement, abolition of slavery in 1830s
  - it spread to the masses through huge "camp meetings"
  - the East went to the West to Christianize Indians
  - **Methodists** and **Baptists** stressed personal conversion, democracy in church affairs, emotionalism
  - **Peter Cartwright** – was best known of the "circuit riders" or traveling preachers
  - **Charles Grandison Finney** – the greatest revival preacher who led massive revivals in Rochester, NY

### II. Denominational Diversity

- a. The revival furthered fragmentation of religious faiths
  - New York, with its Puritans, preached "hellfire" and was known as the "**Burned-Over District**"
  - **Millerites (Adventists)** – predicted Christ to return to earth on Oct 22, 1844. When this prophesy failed to materialize, the movement lost credibility.
- b. The Awakening widened lines between classes the region (like 1<sup>st</sup> Great Awakening)
  - conservatives were made up of: propertied Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Unitarians
  - the less-learned of the South the West (frontier areas) were usually Methodists or Baptists
- c. Religion further split with the issue of slavery (i.e. the Methodists and Presbyterians split)

### III. A Desert Zion in Utah

- a. **Joseph Smith** (1830) claimed to have found golden tablets in NY with the Book of Mormon inscribed on them. He came up with **Mormon or Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints**
  - antagonism toward Mormons emerged due to their polygamy, drilling militia, and voting as a unit
  - Smith was killed, but was succeeded by **Brigham Young**, who led followers to Utah
  - they grew quickly by birth and immigration from Europe
  - they had a federal governor and marched to Utah when Young became governor
  - the issue of polygamy prevented Utah's entrance to U.S. until 1896

### IV. Free School for a Free People

- a. The idea of tax-supported, compulsory (mandatory), primary schools was opposed as a hand-out to paupers
- b. Gradually, support rose because uneducated "brats" might grow up to be rabble with voting rights
- c. Free public education, triumphed in 1828 along with the voting power in the Jackson election
  - there were largely ill-taught and ill-trained teachers, however
  - **Horace Mann** fought for better schools and is the "Father of Public Education"
  - school was too expensive for many community; blacks were mostly left out from education
- d. Important educators - **Noah Webster** (dictionary and *Blueback Speller*); **William H. McGuffey** -- *McGuffey's Readers*)

### V. Higher Goals for Higher Learning

- a. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Great Awakening led to the building of small schools in the South the West (mainly for pride)
  - the curriculum focused mainly on Latin, Greek, Math, moral philosophy



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- b. The 1<sup>st</sup> state-supported university was founded in the Tar Heel state, the **Univ. of North Carolina**, in 1795; Jefferson started the University of Virginia shortly afterwards (UVA was to be independent of religion or politics)
- c. women were thought to be corrupted if too educated and were therefore excluded
- d. **Emma Willard** -- established Troy Female Seminary (1821) and Mount Holyoke Seminary (1837)
- e. Libraries, public lectures, and magazines flourished

#### VI. An Age of Reform

- a. reformers opposed tobacco, alcohol, profanity, and many other vices, and came out for women's rights
- b. women were very important in motivating these reform movements
- c. reformers were often optimists who sought a perfect society
  - some were naïve and ignored the problems of factories
  - they fought for no imprisonment for debt (the poor were sometimes locked in jail for less than \$1 debt); this was gradually abolished
  - reformers wanted criminal codes softened and reformatories created
  - the mentally insane were treated badly. **Dorothea Dix** fought for reform of the mentally insane in her classic petition of 1843
  - there was agitation for peace (i.e. the **American Peace Society**) - **William Ladd** had some impact until Civil War and Crimean war

#### VII. Demon Rum—The "Old Deluder"

- a. drunkenness was widespread
- b. The **American Temperance Society** was formed at Boston (1826) – the "Cold Water Army" (children), signed pledges, made pamphlets, and an anti-alcohol novel emerged called *10 nights in a Barroom and What I Saw There*
- c. Attack on the demon drink adopted 2 major lines attack...
  - stressed temperance (individual will to resist)
  - legislature-removed temptation - Neal S. Dow becomes the "Father of Prohibition"
    - sponsored Maine Law of 1851 which prohibited making and sale of liquor (followed by others)

#### VIII. Women in Revolt

- a. Women stayed home, without voting rights. Still, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, American women were generally better off than in Europe.
- b. many women avoided marriage altogether becoming "spinsters"
- c. gender differences increased sharply with different economic roles
  - women were perceived as weak physically and emotionally, but fine for teaching
  - men were perceived as strong, but crude and barbaric, if not guided by the purity of women
- d. home was the center of the female's world (even for reformer **Catharine Beecher**) but many felt that was not enough
- e. they joined the movement to abolish of slavery
- f. the women's movement was led by **Lucretia Mott**, **Susan B. Anthony** (Suzy Bs), **Elizabeth Candy Stanton**, **Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell** (1<sup>st</sup> female medical graduate), **Margaret Fuller**, the **Grimke sisters** (anti-slavery advocates), and **Amelia Bloomer** (semi-short skirts)
- g. **The Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention** (1848) – held in NY, it was a major landmark in women's rights
  - **Declaration of Sentiments** – was written in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence saying that "all Men *and Women* are created equal"
  - demanded ballot for women
  - launched modern women's rights movement
- h. the women's rights movement was temporarily eclipsed by slavery when the Civil War heated up, but served as a foundation for later days

#### IX. Wilderness Utopias

- a. **Robert Owen** founded New Harmony, IN (1825) though it failed in confusion
- b. **Brook Farm** – Massachusetts experiment (1841) where 20 intellectuals committed to Transcendentalism (it lasted until '46)
- c. **Oneida Community** -- practiced free love, birth control, eugenic selection of parents to produce superior offspring; it survived ironically as a capitalistic venture, selling baskets and then cutlery.
- d. **Shakers** – a communistic community (led by Mother Ann Lee); they couldn't marry so they became extinct

#### X. The Dawn of Scientific Achievement

- a. Early Americans were interested in practical science rather than pure science (i.e., Jefferson and his newly designed plow).

- **Nathaniel Bowditch** – studied practical navigation and oceanography
  - **Matthew Maury** - ocean winds, currents
  - b. Writers were concerned with basic science.
  - c. The most influential U.S. scientists...
    - **Benjamin Silliman** (1779-1864) - pioneer in chemistry geologist (taught in Yale)
    - **Louis Agassiz** (1807-1873) - served at Harvard, insisted on original research
    - **Asa Gray** (1810-1888) Harvard, was the Columbus of botany
    - **John Audubon** (1785-1851) painted birds with exact detail
  - d. Medicine in the U.S. was primitive (i.e., bleeding used for cure; smallpox, yellow fever though it killed many).
  - e. Life expectancy was unsurprisingly low.
  - f. Self-prescribed patent medicines were common, they were usually were mostly alcohol and often as harmful as helpful.
  - g. The local surgeon was usually the local barber or butcher.
- XI. Artistic Achievements
- a. U.S. had traditionally imitated European styles of art (aristocratic subjects, dark portraits, stormy landscapes)
  - b. 1820-50 was a Greek revival, as they'd won independence from Turks; Gothic forms also gained popularity
  - c. Thomas Jefferson was the most able architect of his generation (**Monticello** and University of Virginia)
  - d. Artists were viewed as a wasters of time; they suffered from Puritan prejudice of art as sinful pride
  - e. **Gilbert Stuart** (1755-1828) - painted Washington and competed with English artists  
**Charles Willson Peale** (1741-1827) painted 60 portraits of Washington  
**John Trumbull** (1756-1843) - captured the Revolutionary War in paint in dramatic fashion
  - f. During the nationalism upsurge after War of 1812, U.S. painters portrayed human landscapes and Romanticism
  - g. Music was shunned because Puritans frowned on non-religious singing
    - "darky" tunes became popular
    - **Stephen Foster** wrote *Old Folks at Home* (AKA *Suwannee River*, his most famous)
- XII. The Blossoming of a National Literature
- a. Literature was imported or plagiarized from England
  - b. Americans poured literature into practical outlets (i.e. *The Federalist Papers*, *Common Sense* (Paine), Ben Franklin's *Autobiography*, *Poor Richard's Almanack*)
  - c. literature was reborn after the War of Independence and especially after War of 1812
  - d. The **Knickerbocker group** in NY wrote the first truly American literature
    - **Washington Irving** (1783-1859) - 1<sup>st</sup> U.S. internationally recognized writings, *The Sketch Book*
    - **James Fenimore Cooper** (1789-1851) - 1<sup>st</sup> US novelist, *Leatherstocking Tales* (which included *The Last of the Mohicans* which was popular in Europe)
    - **William Cullen Bryant** (1794-1878) – *Thanatopsis*, the 1<sup>st</sup> high quality poetry in U.S.
- XIII. Trumpeters of Transcendentalism
- a. Literature dawned in the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century with the transcendentalist movement (circa 1830)
    - transcendentalism clashed with John Locke (who argued knowledge came from reason); for transcendentalists, truth came not by observation alone, from with inner light
    - it stressed individualism, self-reliance, and non-conformity
    - **Ralph Waldo Emerson** was popular since the ideal of the essay reflected the spirit of the U.S.
      - he lectured the Phi Beta Kappa Address "The American Scholar"
      - he urged U.S. writers throw off European tradition
      - influential as practical philosopher (stressed self-government, self-reliance, depending on self)
      - most famous for his work, *Self Reliance*
    - **Henry David Thoreau**
      - He condemned slavery and wrote *Walden: Or life in the Woods*
      - He also wrote *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*, which was idealistic in thought, and a forerunner of Gandhi and then Martin Luther King Jr., saying it is not wrong to disobey a wrong law
    - **Walt Whitman** wrote *Leaves of Grass* (poetry) and was "Poet Laureate of Democracy"
- XIV. Glowing Literary Lights (not associated with transcendentalism)
- a. **Henry Wadsworth Longfellow** - wrote poems popular in Europe such as *Evangeline*
  - b. **John Greenleaf Whittier** - poems that cried against injustice, intolerance, inhumanity
  - c. **James Russell Lowell** - political satirist who wrote *Biglow Papers*

- d. **Oliver Wendell Holmes** - *The Last Leaf*
  - e. Women writers
    - **Louisa May Alcott** - with transcendentalism wrote *Little Women*
    - **Emily Dickinson** – wrote of the theme of nature in poems
  - f. Southern literary figure – **William Gillmore Simms** - “the cooper of the south”; wrote many books of life in frontier South during the Revolutionary War
- XV. Literary Individualists and Dissenters
- a. **Edgar Allan Poe** - wrote “*The Raven*” and many short stories
    - invented modern detective novel and “psychological thriller”
    - he was fascinated by the supernatural and reflected a morbid sensibility (more prized by Europe)
  - b. reflections of Calvinist obsession with original sin and struggle between good & evil
    - **Nathaniel Hawthorne** - *The Scarlet Letter* (psychological effect of sin)
    - **Herman Melville** - *Moby Dick*, and allegory between good and evil told of a whaling captain
- XVI. Portrayers of the Past
- a. **George Bancroft** – founded the naval academy; published U.S. history book and was known as the “Father of American History”
  - b. **William H. Prescott** - published on the conquest of Mexico, Peru
  - c. **Francis Parkman** - published on the struggle between France and England in colonial North America
  - d. Historians were all from New England because they had the most books. Therefore, there became an anti-South bias.

## Chapter 15 Vocabulary

**Carl Shurz** -- He was a zealous German liberal who contributed to the elevation of American political life. Shurz was a relentless foe of slavery and public corruption. Shurz could be considered one of the liberal German "Forty-eighters" who left Germany and came to America, distraught by the collapse of the democratic revolutions of 1848, and in search of a stable democratic society.

**Horace Mann** -- He was an idealistic graduate of Brown University and Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. He was involved in the reformation of public education (1825-1850). He campaigned for better schoolhouses, longer school terms, higher pay for teachers, and an expanded curriculum. He caused a reformation of the public schools since many of the teachers were untrained for that position. His actions led to educational advances in textbooks by Noah Webster and William H. McGuffey.

**Peter Cartwright** -- Born in 1785, he was the best known of Methodist "Circuit riders." He was a traveling frontier preacher. Ill-educated but still powerful, he preached for 50 years going from Tennessee to Illinois. He converted thousands of people doing this. He also was not opposed to picking a fight if someone spoke against his religion.

**Noah Webster** -- Born in Connecticut, Webster was educated at Yale. He was called the "Schoolmaster of the Republic." He wrote reading primers and texts for school use. He was most famous for his dictionary, first published in 1828, which standardized the English language in America.

**Joseph Smith** – Smith reported to being visited by an angel and given golden plates in 1840. The plates, when deciphered, brought about the Church of Latter Day Saints and the Book of Mormon. He ran into opposition from Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri when he attempted to spread the Mormon beliefs. He was killed by those who opposed him, due to the “odd” ways of the Mormons.

**Brigham Young** -- A Mormon leader that led his oppressed followers to Utah in 1846. Under Young's management, his Mormon community became a prosperous frontier theocracy and a cooperative commonwealth. He became the territorial governor in 1850. **Catharine Beecher** – Beecher was the unmarried daughter of a famous preacher and sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe. She urged women to enter the teaching profession. She succeeded because school teaching became a thoroughly "feminized" occupation. Other work "opportunities" for women beckoned in domestic service. Beecher helped get women jobs that would allow them to be self-supported.

**Phineas T. Barnum** – P. T. Barnum was the most famous showman of his era. He was a Connecticut Yankee who earned the title, "the Prince of Humbug." Beginning in New York City, he "humbugged" the American public with bearded ladies and other freaks. Under his golden assumption that a "sucker is born every minute," Barnum made several prize hoaxes, including the 161-year-old (actually 80) wizened black "nurse" of George Washington.

**Nativism** – Nativism was anti-foreignism. It was a fear of new immigrants coming to America. It was feared the newcomers would bring a higher birthrate and more poverty to America, while lowering wage rates.

**Cult of Domesticity** – This was a widespread cultural creed that glorified the traditional functions of the homemaker around 1850. The idea held that married women commanded immense moral power, and they increasingly made decisions that altered the family. Therefore, the ideal place for a woman was at home, married and motherly.

**Unitarianism** – The Unitarians were a "spin-off" faith from the severe Puritanism of the past. Unitarians believed that God existed in only one person and not in the orthodox trinity. They also denied the divinity of Jesus, stressed the essential goodness

of human nature, proclaimed their belief in free will and the possibility of salvation through good works, and pictured God as a loving father rather than a stern creator. The Unitarian movement began in New England at the end of the eighteenth century and was embraced by many of the leading "thinkers" or intellectuals of the day. It appealed to them because of the rationalism and optimism which contrasted sharply with the strict doctrines of Calvinism.

**Tammany Hall** – Tammany was a political machine in New York, run mostly by the Irish. It was led by Boss Tweed. The Tammany machine, called the Tammany Tiger, exchanged help to the people for votes. However, much corruption was entwined in the Tammany machine.

**Burned-over District** -- This term refers to western New York during the Second Great Awakening. Revival preachers were preaching "hell-fire and damnation."

**Mormons** – The Mormon church was a religion, newly established by Joseph Smith, who claimed to have had a revelation from an angel. The Mormons faced much persecution from their neighbors due to their practices of polygamy, voting as a block, and military drilling. They were eventually forced to move westward, settling in Salt Lake City.

**Dorothea Dix** – Dix was a New England teacher and author who spoke against the inhumane treatment of insane prisoners, ca. 1830's. People who suffered from insanity were treated worse than normal criminals. Dorothea Dix traveled over 60,000 miles in 8 years gathering information for her reports, reports that brought about changes in treatment, and also the concept that insanity was a disease of the mind, not a willfully perverse act by an individual.

**Stephen Foster** -- Stephen Foster was a white Pennsylvanian that wrote, ironically, the most famous black songs. He lived from 1826 to 1864. His one excursion into the South occurred in 1852, after he had published *Old Folks at Home*. Foster made a valuable contribution to American Folk music by capturing the plaintive spirit of the slaves.

**James Russell Lowell** -- Lowell lived from 1819 to 1891. He was an American poet, essayist, diplomat, editor, and literary critic. He is remembered for his political satire, especially in the *Biglow Papers* (which condemned president Polk's policy for expanding slavery). He succeeded professor Henry Wadsworth Longfellow as teacher of modern languages at Harvard.

**Neal Dow** -- Mayor of Portland, Maine and one of the leaders against alcohol; 1850s; helped pass laws against manufacturing of intoxicating liquor.

**Washington Irving** -- Irving published *Knickerbockers History of New York* in 1809 which had interesting caricatures of the Dutch. Washington Irving's *The Sketch Book*, published in 1819-1820, was an immediate success. This book made Irving world renown. *The Sketch Book* was influenced by both American and English themes, and therefore popular in the Old and New World.

**Oliver Wendell Holmes** -- An anatomy teacher at Harvard Medical school who was regarded as a prominent poet, essayist, novelist, lecturer and wit from 1809-1894. Poem *The Last Leaf* was in honor of the last "white Indian" at the Boston Tea Party, which really applied to himself.

**Lucretia Mott** -- A Quaker who attended an anti-slavery convention in 1840 and her party of women was not recognized. She and Stanton called the first women's right convention in New York in 1848

**James Fenimore Cooper** -- Writer who lived in New York in 1789-1851. Historical Significance: first novelist to gain world fame and make New World themes respectable. Author of *The Leatherstocking Tales*.

**William Gilmore Simms** -- Novelist, "the Cooper of the South" mostly wrote about southern frontier and revolutionary war

**Elizabeth Cady Stanton** -- Elizabeth Cady Stanton was a member of the women's right's movement in 1840. She was a mother of seven, and she shocked other feminists by advocating suffrage for women at the first Women's Right's Convention in Seneca Falls, New York 1848. Stanton read a "Declaration of Sentiments" which declared "all men *and women* are created equal."

**William Cullen Bryant** -- He was a journalist, literary critic, public speaker, and the first significant poet in 19th century American literature. He supported Andrew Jackson and the Democrats, defended the rights of workers to strike, spoke out against slavery, proposed a central park for the city, helped to organize the Republican party, and fought the Tweed ring.

**Edgar Allan Poe** -- Edgar Allan Poe lived from 1809-1849 and was cursed with hunger, cold, poverty, debt, and alcoholism. He was orphaned as a child and when he married his fourteen year old wife, she died of tuberculosis. He wrote stories that dealt with the ghostly and ghastly, such as *The Fall of the House of Usher*, *The Tell Tale Heart*, *The Raven*. He died, drunk, in a Baltimore gutter.

**Susan B. Anthony** -- Susan B. Anthony was a lecturer for women's rights. She was a Quaker. Many conventions were held for the rights of women in the 1840s, especially the right to vote. Susan B. Anthony was a strong woman who believed that men and women were equal. She fought for her rights even though people objected. Her followers were called Suzy B's.

**Nathaniel Hawthorne** -- He wrote *The Scarlet Letter* in 1850. This was his masterpiece about a woman. *The Scarlet Letter* is about a woman who commits adultery in a Puritan village. He also wrote *The Marble Faun*. Many of his works had early American themes. Hawthorne's upbringing was heavily influenced by his Puritan ancestors.

**Robert Owen** -- Robert Owen was a wealthy and idealistic Scottish textile manufacturer. He sought to better the human race and set up a communal society in 1825. There were about a thousand persons at New Harmony, Indiana. The enterprise was not a success.

**Henry David Thoreau** -- He was a poet, a mystic, a transcendentalist, a nonconformist, and a close friend of Ralph Waldo Emerson who lived from 1817-1862. He condemned government for supporting slavery and was jailed when he refused to pay his Mass. poll tax. He is well known for his novel about the two years of simple living he spent on the edge of Walden Pond called *Walden, Or Life in the Woods*. This novel furthered many idealistic thoughts. He was a great transcendentalist writer who

not only wrote many great things, but who also encouraged, by his writings, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. to react toward things as they did.

**Herman Melville** -- Herman Melville was an author born in New York in 1819. He was uneducated and an orphan. Melville served eighteen months as a whaler. These adventuresome years served as a major part in his writing. Melville wrote *Moby Dick* in 1851 which was much less popular than his tales of the South seas. Herman Melville died in 1891.

**Louis Agassiz** -- Louis Agassiz was a professor at Harvard College. He was a student of biology who insisted on original research. He hated the overemphasis on memory work. Agassiz was one of the most influential American scientists in the nineteenth century.

**Walt Whitman** -- Walt Whitman was a poet who lived in Brooklyn from 1819-1892. His most famous collection of poems entitled *Leaves of Grass*, gained him the title "Poet Laureate of Democracy."

**John J. Audubon** -- He was of French descent, and an artist who specialized in painting wild fowl. He had such works as *Birds of America* and *Passenger Pigeons*. Ironically, he shot a lot of birds for sport when he was young. He is remembered as America's greatest ornithologist.

**Henry Wadsworth Longfellow** -- American poet and professor of modern languages at Harvard. Lived 1807-1882. During the period which was dominated in the literary field by transcendentalists, Longfellow was an urbane poet who catered to the upper classes and the more educated of the citizens. He was also popular in Europe, and is the only American poet to have a bust in Westminster Abbey.

**William H. Prescott** -- He was an historian who lived from 1796-1859. He published classic accounts of the conquest of Mexico and Peru. Prescott lost sight in one eye during college

**Gilbert Stuart** -- (1755-1828) A painter from Rhode Island who painted several portraits of Washington, creating a sort of idealized image of Washington, even though when Stuart was painting these portraits, the former president had grown old and lost some teeth.

**John Greenleaf Whittier** -- Poet. He was insulted and stoned for writing against slavery. Whittier raised the awareness of the people of America about slavery through his poems.

**American Temperance Society** -- An organization in which reformers tried to help the ever present drinking problem. This group was formed in Boston in 1826, and it was the first well-organized group created to deal with the problems drunkards had on societies well-being, and the possible well-being of the individuals that are heavily influenced by alcohol.

**Hudson River School** -- A style of painting with a romantic, heroic, mythic style that flourished in the 19th century. It tended to paint American landscapes as beautiful and brooding.

**Seneca Falls Convention** -- women's rights convention New York, 1848; First meeting for women's rights, helped in long struggle for women to be equal to men. Wrote *Declaration of Sentiments* saying "all men, and women, are created equal"

**Transcendentalism** -- The transcendentalist movement of the 1830's consisted of mainly modernizing the old Puritan beliefs. This system of beliefs owed a lot to foreign influences, and usually resembled the philosophies of John Locke. Transcendentalists believed that truth transcends the body through the senses, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau were two of the more famous transcendentalists.

# Chapter 16

## The South and the Slavery Controversy

- I. "Cotton's Is King!"
  - i. Before the 1793 invention of **Eli Whitney's** cotton gin, slavery was a dying business, since the South was burdened with depressed prices, unmarketable goods, and over-cropped lands.
    - a. After the gin was invented, growing cotton became wildly profitable and easier, and more slaves were needed.
  - ii. The North also transported the cotton to England and the rest of Europe, so they were in part responsible for the slave trade as well.
  - iii. The South produced more than half the world's supply of cotton, and held an advantage over countries like England, an industrial giant, which needed cotton to make cloth, etc...
  - iv. The South believed that since England was so dependent on them that, if civil war was to ever break out, England would support the South that it so heavily depended on.
- II. The Planter "Aristocracy"
  - i. In 1850, only 1733 families owned more than 100 slaves each, and they were the wealthy aristocracy of the South, with big houses and huge plantations.

- ii. The Southern aristocrats widened the gap between the rich and the poor and hampered public-funded education by sending their children to private schools.
  - a. Also, a favorite author among them was **Sir Walter Scott**, author of *Ivanhoe*, who helped them idealize a feudal society with them as the kings and queens and the slaves as their subjects.
- iii. The plantation system shaped the lives of southern women.
  - a. Mistresses of the house commanded a sizable household of mostly female slaves who cooked, sewed, cared for the children, and washed things.
  - b. Mistresses could be kind or cruel, but all of them did at one point or another abuse their slaves to some degree; there was no "perfect mistress."
- III. Slaves of the Slave System
  - i. Cotton production spoiled the earth, and even though profits were quick and high, the land was ruined, and cotton producers were always in need of new land.
  - ii. The economic structure of the South became increasingly monopolistic because as land ran out, smaller farmers sold their land to the large estate owners.
  - iii. Also, the temptation to over-speculate in land and in slaves caused many planters to plunge deep into debt.
    - a. Slaves were valuable, but they were also a gamble, since they might run away or be killed by disease.
  - iv. The dominance of **King Cotton** likewise led to a one-crop economy whose price level was at the mercy of world conditions.
  - v. Southerners resented the Northerners who got rich at their expense while they were dependent on the North for clothing, food, and manufactured goods.
  - vi. The South repelled immigrants from Europe, who went to the North, making it richer.
- IV. The White Majority
  - i. Beneath the aristocracy were the whites that owned one or two, or a small family of slaves; they worked hard on the land with their slaves and the only difference between them and their northern neighbors was that there were slaves living with them.
  - ii. Beneath these people were the slaveless whites (a full 3/4 of the white population) that raised corn and hogs, sneered at the rich cotton "snobocracy" and lived simply and poorly.
    - a. Some of the poorest were known as "poor white trash," "hillbillies" and "clay-eaters" and were described as listless, shiftless, and misshapen.
    - b. It is now known that these people weren't lazy, just sick, suffering from malnutrition and parasites like hookworm (which they got eating/chewing clay for minerals)
  - iii. Even the slaveless whites defended the slavery system because they all hoped to own a slave or two some day, and they could take perverse pleasure in knowing that, no matter how bad they were, they always "outranked" Blacks.
  - iv. Mountain whites, those who lived isolated in the wilderness under Spartan frontier conditions, hated white aristocrats and Blacks, and they were key in crippling the Southern secessionists during the Civil War.
- V. Free Blacks: Slaves Without Masters
  - i. By 1860, free Blacks in the South numbered about 250,000.
  - ii. In the upper South, these Blacks were descended from those freed by the idealism of the Revolutionary War ("all men were created equal").
  - iii. In the deep South, they were usually mulattoes (Black mother, White father who was usually a master) freed when their masters died.
  - iv. Many owned property; a few owned slaves themselves.
  - v. Free Blacks were prohibited from working in certain occupations and forbidden from testifying against whites in court; and as examples of what slaves could be, Whites resented them.
  - vi. In the North, free Blacks were also unpopular, as several states denied their entrance, most denied them the right to vote and most barred them from public schools.
  - vii. Northern Blacks were especially hated by the Irish, with whom they competed for jobs.
  - viii. Anti-black feeling was stronger in the North, where people liked the race but not the individual, than in the South, where people liked the individual (with whom they'd often grown up), but not the race.
- VI. Plantation Slavery
  - i. Although slave importation was banned in 1808, smuggling of them continued due to their high demand and despite death sentences to smugglers
  - ii. However, the slave increase (4 million by 1860) was mostly due to their natural reproduction.
  - iii. Slaves were an investment, and thus were treated better and more kindly and were spared the most dangerous jobs, like putting a roof on a house, draining a swamp, or blasting caves.

- a. Usually, Irishmen were used to do that sort of work.
  - iv. Slavery also created majorities or near-majorities in the Deep South, and the states of South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana accounted for half of all slaves in the South.
  - v. Breeding slaves was not encouraged, but thousands of slaves were "sold down the river" to toil as field-gang workers, and women who gave birth to many children were prized.
    - a. Some were promised freedom after ten children born.
  - vi. Slave auctions were brutal, with slaves being inspected like animals and families often mercilessly separated; **Harriet Beecher Stowe** seized the emotional power of his scene in her *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.
- VII. Life Under the Lash
- i. Slave life varied from place to place, but for slaves everywhere, life meant hard work, no civil or political rights, and whipping if orders weren't followed.
  - ii. Laws that tried to protect slaves were difficult to enforce.
  - iii. Lash beatings weren't *that* common, since a master could lower the value of his slave if he whipped him too much.
  - iv. Forced separation of spouses, parents and children seem to have been more common in the upper South, among smaller plantations.
  - v. Still, most slaves were raised in stable two-parent households and continuity of family identity across generations was evidenced in the widespread practice of naming children for grandparents or adopting the surname of a forebear's master.
  - vi. In contrast to the White planters, Africans avoided marriage of first cousins.
  - vii. Africans also mixed the Christian religion with their own native religion, and often, they sang Christian hymns as signals and codes for news of possible freedom; many of them sang songs that emphasize bondage. ("*Let my people go.*")
- VIII. The Burdens of Bondage
- i. Slaves had no dignity, were illiterate, and had no chance of achieving the "American dream."
  - ii. They also devised countless ways to make trouble without getting punished too badly.
    - a. They worked as slowly as they could without getting lashed.
    - b. They stole food and sabotaged expensive equipment.
    - c. Occasionally, they poisoned their masters' food.
  - iii. Rebellions, such as the 1800 insurrection by a slave named **Gabriel** in Richmond, Virginia, and the 1822 Charleston rebellion led by **Denmark Vesey**, and the 1831 revolt semiliterate preacher **Nat Turner**, were never successful. However, they did scare the jeppers out of whites, which led to tightened rules.
  - iv. Whites became paranoid of Black revolts, and they had to degrade themselves, along with their victims, as noted by distinguished Black leader **Booker T. Washington**.
- IX. Early Abolitionism
- i. In 1817, the **American Colonization Society** was founded for the purpose of transporting Blacks back to Africa, and in 1822, the **Republic of Liberia** was founded for Blacks to live.
    - a. Most Blacks had no wish to be transplanted into a strange civilization after having been partially Americanized.
    - b. By 1860, virtually all slaves were not Africans, but native-born African-Americans.
  - ii. In the 1830s, abolitionism really took off, with the **Second Great Awakening** and other things providing support.
  - iii. **Theodore Dwight Weld** was among those who were inflamed against slavery.
  - iv. Inspired by **Charles Grandison Finney**, Weld preached against slavery and even wrote a pamphlet, *American Slavery As It Is*.
- X. Radical Abolitionism
- i. On January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1831, **William Lloyd Garrison** published the first edition of *The Liberator* triggering a 30-year war of words and in a sense firing one of the first shots of the Civil War.
  - ii. Other dedicated abolitionists rallied around Garrison, such as **Wendell Phillips**, a Boston patrician known as "abolition's golden trumpet" who refused to eat cane sugar or wore cotton cloth, since both were made by slaves.
  - iii. **David Walker**, a Black abolitionist, wrote *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* in 1829 and advocated a bloody end to white supremacy.
  - iv. **Sojourner Truth**, a freed Black woman who fought for black emancipation and women's rights, and **Martin Delaney**, one of the few people who seriously reconsidered Black relocation to Africa, also fought for Black rights.
  - v. The greatest Black abolitionist was an escaped black, **Frederick Douglass**, who was a great speaker and fought for the Black cause despite being beaten and harassed.

- a. His autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, depicted his remarkable struggle and his origins, as well as his life.
  - b. While Garrison seemed more concerned with his own righteousness, Douglass increasingly looked to politics to solve the slavery problem.
  - c. He and others backed the Liberty Party in 1840, the Free Soil Party in 1848, and the Republican Party in the 1850s.
  - vi. In the end, many abolitionists supported war as the price for emancipation.
- XI. The South Lashes Back
- i. In the South, abolitionist efforts increasingly came under attack and fire.
  - ii. Southerners began to organize a campaign talking about slavery's positive good, conveniently forgetting about how their previous doubts about "**peculiar institution**'s" (slavery's) morality.
  - iii. Southern slave supporters pointed out how masters taught their slaves religion, made them civilized, treated them well, and gave them "happy" lives.
  - iv. They also noted the lot of northern free Blacks, now were persecuted and harassed, as opposed to southern Black slaves, who were treated well, given meals, and cared for in old age.
  - v. In 1836, Southern House members passed a "gag resolution" requiring all antislavery appeals to be tabled without debate, arousing the ire of northerners like **John Quincy Adams**.
  - vi. Southerners also resented the flood of propaganda in the form of pamphlets, drawings, etc...
- XII. The Abolitionist Impact in the North
- i. For a long time, abolitionists like the extreme Garrisonians were unpopular, since many had been raised to believe the values of the slavery compromises in the Constitution.
    - a. Also, his secessionist talks contrasted against Webster's cries for union.
  - ii. The South owed the North \$300 million by the late 1850s, and northern factories depended on southern cotton to make goods.
  - iii. Many abolitionists' speeches provoked violence and mob outbursts in the North, such as the 1834 trashing of **Lewis Tappan**'s New York House.
  - iv. In 1835, Garrison miraculously escaped a mob that dragged him around the streets of Boston.
  - v. Reverend **Elijah P. Lovejoy** of Alton, Illinois, who impugned the chastity of Catholic women, had his printing press destroyed four times and was killed by a mob in 1837; he became an abolitionist martyr.
  - vi. Yet by the 1850s, abolitionist outcries had been an impact on northern minds and were beginning to sway more and more toward their side.

## Chapter 16 Vocabulary

**David Walker** -- He was a black abolitionist who called for the immediate emancipation of slaves. He wrote the *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*. It called for a bloody end to white supremacy. He believed that the only way to end slavery was for slaves to physically revolt.

**Nat Turner** -- Turner was a black slave and prophet who led a revolt in Virginia in 1831 which killed 60 people (mostly women and children). This scared the Southerners because it was the first really violent action of the slaves. As a result, slave codes were made more strict.

**Sojourner Truth** -- Sojourner Truth was a freed slave who lived in America during the late 1800's. She was also known as Isabella. From her home in New York she waged a constant battle for the abolition of slavery. She was also a prominent figure in the fight for women's rights.

**Theodore Dwight Weld** -- Theodore Dwight Weld was a prominent abolitionist in the 1830's. He was self-educated and very outspoken. Weld put together a group called the "Lane Rebels." He and his group traveled across the Old Northwest preaching the antislavery gospel. Weld also put together a propaganda pamphlet called *American Slavery As It Is*.

**Frederick Douglass** -- Douglass was a former slave who was an abolitionist and was gifted with eloquent speech and self-educated. In 1838 he was "discovered" as a great abolitionist to give antislavery speeches. He swayed many people to see that slavery was wrong by publishing *Narrative of the Life of Fredrick Douglass* which depicted slavery as being cruel. He also looked for ways politically to end slavery.

**Lane Rebels** -- In 1832, Theodore Dwight Weld went to the Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio. The Seminary was presided over by Lyman Beecher. Weld and some of his comrades were kicked out for their actions of anti-slavery. The young men were known as the "Lane Rebels." They helped lead and continue the preaching of anti-slavery ideas.



# Chapter 17

## Manifest Destiny and Its Legacy

- I. The Accession of “Tyler Too”
  - i. The Whig leaders, namely **Henry Clay** and **Daniel Webster**, had planned to control newly elected President **William H. Harrison**, but their plans hit a snag when he contracted pneumonia and died—only four weeks after he came to the White House.
  - ii. The new president was **John Tyler**, a Virginian gentleman who was a lone wolf.
    1. He did not agree with the Whig party, since the Whigs were pro-bank and pro-protective tariff, and pro-internal improvements, but hailing from the South, he was not. Tyler was really more of a Democrat.
- II. John Tyler: A President Without a Party
  - i. After their victory, the Whigs unveiled their platform for America:
    1. Financial reform would come in the form of a law ending the independent treasury system; Tyler agreeably signed it.
    2. A new bill for a new Bank of the U.S. was on the table, but Clay didn’t try hard enough to conciliate with Tyler and get it passed, and it was vetoed.
  - ii. Whig extremists now started to call Tyler “his accident.”
    1. His entire cabinet resigned, except for Webster.
  - iii. Also, Tyler vetoed a proposed Whig tariff.
    1. The Whigs redrafted and revised the tariff, taking out the dollar-distribution scheme and pushing down the rates to about the moderately protective level of 1832 (32%), and Tyler, realizing that a tariff was needed, reluctantly signed it.
- III. A War of Words with Britain
  - i. At this time, anti-British sentiment was high because the pro-British Federalists had died out, there had been two wars with Britain, and the British travelers in America scoffed at the “uncivilized” Americans.
  - ii. American and British magazines ripped each other’s countries, but fortunately, this war was only of words and not of blood.
  - iii. In the 1800s, America with its expensive canals and railroads was a borrowing nation while Britain was the one that lent money, but when the Panic of 1837 broke out, the Englishmen who lost money assailed their rash American borrowers.
  - iv. In 1837, a small rebellion in Canada broke out, and Americans furnished arms and supplies.
  - v. Also in 1837, an American steamer, the *Caroline*, was attacked in N. and set afire by a British force.
  - vi. Tensions were high afterwards, but later calmed; then in 1841, British officials in the Bahamas offered asylum to some 130 revolting slaves who had captured the ship *Creole*.
- IV. Manipulating the Maine Maps
  - i. Maine had claimed territory on its northern and eastern border that was also claimed by England, and there were actually small skirmishes in the area (the “Aroostook War” of feuding lumberjacks).
  - ii. Luckily, in 1842 Britain sent **Lord Ashburton** to negotiate with Daniel Webster, and after talks, the two agreed to what is now called the **Webster-Ashburton Treaty**, which gave Britain their desired Halifax-Quebec route for a road while America got a bit more land north of Maine.
    1. The U.S. also got, as a readjustment of the U.S.—Canadian border, the unknowingly priceless **Mesabi Range** of iron ore in Minnesota. It later provided the iron for steel in the boom of industry.
- V. The Lone Star of Texas Shines Alone
  - i. Ever since it had declared independence in 1836, Texas had built up reinforcements because it had no idea if or when Mexico would attack again to reclaim her “province in revolt,” so it made treaties with France, Holland, and Belgium. These alliances worried the U.S.
    1. If Texas buddied up to Europe, Britain especially, it’d cause big problems...
      - a. Monroe Doctrine (Europe told to stay away) would be undermined
      - b. Economics of southern cotton could be undermined too
  - ii. America could not just boldly annex Texas without a war, and overseas, Britain wanted an independent Texas to check American expansionism—plus, Texas could be good for cotton.
- VI. The Belated Texas Nuptials
  - i. **James K. Polk** and his expansionist ideas won the election of 1844, and the following year, Texas was formally invited to become the 28<sup>th</sup> state of the Union.

- ii. Mexico complained that Americans had despoiled it of Texas, which was partly true, but as it turned out, Mexico would not have been able to reconquer their lost province anyway.

#### VII. Oregon Fever Populates Oregon

- i. Oregon was a great place, stretching from the northern tip of California to the 54° 40' line.
- ii. Once claimed by Russia, Spain, England, and the U.S., now, only the latter two claimed it; England had good reasons for its claims north of the **Columbia River**, since it was populated by British and by the Hudson's Bay Company.
- iii. However, Americans had strong claims south of the Columbia River (named after his ship by **Robert Gray** when he discovered the river), since they populated it much more. Plus, the Americans occupied and had explored the *interior* of the land, thanks to Lewis and Clark.
- iv. The **Oregon Trail**, an over 2000-mile trail across America, was a common route to Oregon during the early 1840s.

#### VIII. A Mandate (?) for Manifest Destiny

- i. In 1844, the two candidates for presidency were Henry Clay, the popular Whig who had been defeated twice before, and a dark-horse candidate, James K. Polk, who had been picked because the Democrats couldn't agree on anyone else.
- ii. Polk, having been Speaker of the House for four years and governor of Tennessee for two terms, was no stranger to politics, was called "Young Hickory" (in fact, Polk was born in Pineville, N.C., only some 15 miles from Jackson's birthplace) and Polk was sponsored by former president Andrew Jackson.
- iii. He and the Democrats advocated "**Manifest Destiny**," a concept that stated that the U.S. was destined to expand across the continent and get as much land as possible.
- iv. On the issue of Texas, Clay tried to say two things at once, and thus, it cost him, since he lost the election (170 to 105 in the Electoral; 1,338,464 to 1,300,097 in the popular) by 5000 votes in New York.

#### IX. Polk the Purposeful

- i. Polk laid out a 4-point mission (then achieved all 4 points in 4 years)
  1. lower the tariff
  2. restore the independent treasury
  3. clear up and get Oregon
  4. get California
- ii. One of Polk's acts was to lower the tariff, and his secretary of the treasury, **Robert J. Walker**, did so, lowering the tariff from 32% to 25% despite complaints by the industrialists.
  1. Despite warnings of doom, the new tariff was followed by good times.
- iii. He also restored the independent treasury in 1846 and wanted to acquire California and settle the Oregon dispute.
- iv. While the Democrats had promoted acquiring all of Oregon during their campaign, after the annexation of Texas, the Southern Democrats didn't much care anymore.
- v. Luckily, the British proposed a treaty that would separate British and American claims at the **49<sup>th</sup> parallel** (excluding Vancouver), a proposal that Polk threw to the Senate, which accepted.
- vi. Those angry with the deal cried, "Why all of Texas but not all of Oregon?" The cold, hard answer was that because Mexico was weak and that England was strong.

#### X. Misunderstandings with Mexico

- i. Polk wanted California, but this was difficult due to strained U.S.-Mexican relations.
  1. After the annexation of Texas, Mexico had recalled its foreign minister, and before, it had been forced to default on its payments of \$3 million to the U.S.
  2. Also, when Texas claimed its southern boundary to be the **Rio Grande** and not the **Nueces River** like Mexico said, Polk felt that he had to defend Texas and did so.
- ii. The U.S. then sent **John Slidell** to Mexico City as an envoy instructed to buy California for \$25 million, however, once he arrived, the Mexican government, pressured by its angry people, refused to see him, thus "snubbing" him.

#### XI. American Blood on American (?) Soil

- i. A frustrated Polk now forced a showdown, and on Jan. 13, 1846, he ordered 4000 men under Zachary Taylor to march from the Nueces River to the Rio Grande, provocatively near Mexican troops.
- ii. As events would have it, on April 25, 1846, news of Mexican troops crossing the Rio Grande and killing of wounding 16 Americans came to Washington, and Polk pushed for a declaration of war
  1. A group of politicians, though, wanted to know where exactly was the spot of the fighting; among them was Abraham "Spotty" Lincoln because of his "Spot Resolution."
  2. Pushed by Polk, Congress declared war, and so began the Mexican-American War.

XII. The Mastering of Mexico

- i. Polk hoped that once American had beaten Mexico enough, he could get California and end the war, and the recently dethroned **Santa Anna** told the U.S. that if he could return to Mexico, he would take over the government, end the war, and give California to the U.S. He lied.
- ii. In the Southwest, U.S. operations led by **Stephen W. Kearny** (led 1700 troops from Leavenworth to Santa Fe) and **John C. Fremont** (leader of the **Bear Flag Revolt** in California) were successful.
- iii. "Old Rough and Ready" Zachary Taylor, a general, he fought into Mexico, reaching Buena Vista, and repelled 20,000 Mexicans with only 5000 men, instantly becoming a hero.
- iv. **General Winfield Scott** led American troops into Mexico City.

XIII. Fighting Mexico for Peace

- i. Polk sent **Nicholas Trist** to negotiate an armistice with Mexico at a cost of \$10,000 (Santa Anna took the bribe and then used it for his defenses).
- ii. Afterwards, Trist was recalled, but he refused to leave and negotiated the **Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo** on February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1848, which gave to America all Mexican territory from Texas to California that was north of the Rio Grande, and the U.S. only had to pay \$15 million to Mexico for it.
- iii. In America, there were people clamoring an end to the war (the Whigs) and those who wanted all of Mexico (but the leaders of the South like **John C. Calhoun** realized the political nightmare that would cause and decided not to be so greedy), so Polk speedily passed the bill to the Senate, which approved it, 38 to 14.
- iv. Polk had originally planned to pay \$25 million just for California, but he only paid \$18,250,000; some people say that American paid even that much because it felt guilty for having bullied Mexico into a war it couldn't win.

XIV. Profit and Loss in Mexico

- i. In the war, America only had 13,000 dead soldiers, most taken by disease, and the war was a great practice for the Civil War, giving men like **Robert E. Lee** and **Ulysses S. Grant** invaluable battle experience.
- ii. Outside countries now respected America more, since it had made no major blunders during the war and had proven its fighting prowess.
- iii. However, it also paved the way to the Civil War by attaining more land that could be disputed over slavery.
- iv. **David Wilmot** of Pennsylvania introduced his **Wilmot Proviso** (and amendment), which stated that slavery should never exist in any of the territories that would be taken from Mexico; the amendment was passed twice by the House but never got passed the Senate (where southern states equaled northern).
- v. Bitter Mexicans, resentful of the land that was taken from them, land that halved their country's size while doubling America's, took small satisfaction when the same land caused disputes that led to the Civil War, a fate called Santa Anna's revenge.

## Chapter 17 Vocabulary

**John Tyler** – Tyler was an after-thought Vice President to William Henry Harrison in the election of 1840. He was a Democrat but switched over to the Whig Party because he didn't like Andrew Jackson. After Harrison died after a month in office, Tyler took over. Since he was a Democrat in his principles, he was against many of the things the Whigs tried to do. He became the first Vice President to take office because of a president's death.

**John Slidell** – After the Texas Revolution and annexation by the U.S., America and Mexico were on unfriendly terms with each other. The disagreement came to head over boundaries along Texas and in California. John Slidell was sent to Mexico in 1845 as a minister to quell these problems. He was given instructions to offer \$25 million to the Mexicans for California. He was rejected by the Mexicans and they called this offer "insulting." After Mexico refused, it led to the Mexican-American War.

**Winfield Scott** – Scott was known as "Old Fuss and Feathers" and led American troops into Mexico City during the Mexican American War. The Mexicans surrendered to him

**Lord Ashburton** -- Lord Ashburton was sent by England to Washington in 1842 to work things out with Secretary Webster over boundary disputes. He was a nonprofessional diplomat that was married to a wealthy American woman. Ashburton and Webster finally compromised on the Maine boundary in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. They split the area of land and Britain kept the Halifax-Quebec overland route.

**Zachary Taylor** – Taylor was major general from 1846-1847 in the Mexican War. Known as "Old Rough and Ready," he defeated the Mexicans in a campaign that took him to Buena Vista in Mexico. The victorious campaign helped pressure the Mexicans into peace. He later became president due mostly to his military victories.

**Nicolas P. Trist** – Trist was chief clerk of the State Department in 1848. He arranged the armistice with Santa Anna during the Mexican War and signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

**Stephen Kearny** – Kearny was an American Army officer in the Mexican War. In 1846, he led 1,700 troops over the Santa Fe Trail to Santa Fe. He conquered New Mexico and moved his troops over to Los Angeles. He was defeated by the Mexicans at San Pascual in 1846. He was arrested for refusing to carry out orders and sent into Mexico, where he died in 1848.

**Robert Gray** – Gray was a ship captain who explored the Oregon territory in the late 1700's. He discovered the Columbia River in 1792 and named the river after his ship

**John C. Fremont** – Fremont was a captain and an explorer who was in California with several dozen well-armed men when the Mexican War broke out. He helped to overthrow the Mexican rule in 1846 by collaborating with Americans who had tried to raise the banner of the California Bear Republic. Fremont helped to take California from the inside.

**Manifest Destiny** -- Manifest Destiny was an emotional upsurge of certain beliefs in the U.S. in the 1840's and 1850's. Citizens of the U.S. believed they should spread their democratic government over the entire of North America and possibly extend into South America. The campaign of 1844 was included in this new surge. James K. Polk represented the Democrats while Henry Clay was nominated by the Whigs. Polk ran mostly on a Manifest Destiny platform and since he was elected, America essentially voted for Manifest Destiny and for expansion.

**Aroostook War** – The Aroostook War was over the Maine boundary dispute. The British wanted to build a road from Halifax to Quebec. The proposed road ran through land already claimed by Maine. Fights started on both sides and they both got their local militia. It could have been a real war, but it never proceeded that far beyond fighting lumberjacks.

**Webster-Ashburton Treaty** – This was a compromise over the Maine boundary. America received more land in the deal but England got the Halifax-Quebec route. The deal patched up the *Caroline* Affair of 1837. The U.S. also got the valuable Mesabi Range of iron ore in Minnesota.

**Spot Resolution** – This was a notion proposed by Abraham Lincoln in the spring of 1846. After news from president James K. Polk that 16 American service men had been killed or wounded on the Mexican border in American territory, Abraham Lincoln, then a congressman from Illinois, proposed these resolutions to find out exactly on what spot the American soldier's blood had been shed. In Polk's report to Congress the president stated that the American soldiers fell on American soil, but they actually fell on disputed territory that Mexico had historical claims to. To find out where the soldiers fell was important because Congress was near to declaring war on Mexico.

**The Tariff of 1842** – This was a protective tax that was used to create more money for the government. It was reluctantly passed by President John Tyler. The tariff was made to get the government out of a recession.

**Bear Flag Revolt** – This was a revolt in which John C. Fremont was the military leader. Americans in California wanted to be independent of Mexican rule, so when the war with Mexico began, these Californians revolted and established an independent republic where they hoisted the short lived California Bear Flag Republic.

**Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo** – This treaty with Mexico ended the Mexican American War. It sold the United States all of the southwest for 15 million dollars in agreement that the rights and religion of the Mexican inhabitants of this land would be recognized by the United States government. It was drawn up by Nicholas P. Trist and sent to Congress.

**Creole** – The *Creole* was an American ship captured by 130 Virginian slaves in the Bahamas in 1841. British officials offered refuge to these slaves because there was immense tension between the Americans and British. Other acts of unlawful invasion had occurred because of the British and the possibility of yet another U.S./England war was at hand.

**Wilmot Proviso** – In 1848, the main dispute was over whether or not any Mexican territory that America had won during the Mexican War should be free or a slave territory. A representative named David Wilmot introduced an amendment stating that any territory acquired from Mexico would be free. This amendment passed the House twice (where northerners outnumbered southerners), but failed to ever pass in Senate (where southerners equaled northerners). The "Wilmot Proviso", as it became known as, became a symbol of how intense the dispute over slavery was in the U.S.

# Chapter 18

## Renewing the Sectional Struggle

- I. The Popular Sovereignty Panacea
  - i. The **Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo** ended the **Mexican-American War**, but it started a whole new debate about the extension of slavery, with Northerners rallying around the **Wilmot Proviso** (which proposed that the Mexican Cession lands be free soil); however, the Southerners shot it down.
  - ii. Before, the two national parties, the **Democrats** and the **Whigs**, had had strong support from all over the nation; now, that was in jeopardy.

- iii. In 1848, Polk, due to tremendous overworking and chronic diarrhea, did not seek a second term, and the Democrats nominated **General Lewis Cass**, a veteran of the **War of 1812**, a senator and diplomat of wide experience and considerable ability, and the originator of **popular sovereignty**, the idea that issues should be decided upon by the people (specifically, it applied to slavery, stating that the people in the territories should decide to legalize it or not).
  1. It was good (and liked by politicians) because it was a compromise between the extremes of the North and the South, and it stuck with the idea of self-determination, but it could spread slavery.
- II. Political Triumphs for General Taylor
  - i. The Whigs nominated **General Zachary Taylor**, the hero of Buena Vista in the Mexican War, a man with no political experience, but a popular man, and they avoided all picky issues in his campaign.
  - ii. Disgusted antislavery Northerners organized the **Free Soil Party**, a party committed against the extension of slavery in the territories and one that also advocated federal aid for internal improvements and urged free government homesteads for settlers.
    1. This party appealed to people angry over the half-acquisition of Oregon, people who didn't like Blacks in the new territory, as well as "conscience Whigs" who condemned slavery on moral grounds.
    2. The Free-Soilers nominated Martin Van Buren.
  - iii. Neither major party talked about the slavery issue, but Taylor won narrowly.
- III. "Californy Gold"
  - i. In 1848, gold was discovered in California, and thousands flooded into the state, thus blowing the lid off the slavery issue.
  - ii. Most people didn't "strike it rich," but there were many lawless men and women.
  - iii. As a result, California (privately encouraged by the president) drafted a constitution and then applied for free statehood, thus bypassing the usual territorial stage and avoiding becoming a slave state.
- IV. Sectional Balance and the Underground Railroad
  - i. In 1850, the South was very well off, with a Southerner as president (Taylor), a majority in the cabinet and on the Supreme Court, and equality in the Senate meaning that its 15 states could block any proposed amendment that would outlaw slavery. Still, the South was worried.
  - ii. The balance of 15 free states and 15 slave states was in danger with the admission of free California (which would indeed destroy the equilibrium forever) and other states might follow California as free states.
  - iii. The South was also agitated about Texas' claims on disputed territory and the prospect of no slavery in Washington D.C., thus putting a piece of non-slavery land right in the middle of slave-holding Virginia and Maryland.
  - iv. Finally the **Underground Railroad**, a secret organization that took runaway states north to Canada, was taking more and more slaves from the South.
    1. **Harriet Tubman** freed more than 300 slaves during 19 trips to the South.
  - v. The South was also demanded a stricter fugitive slave law.
- V. Twilight of the Senatorial Giants
  - i. In 1850, the South was confronted with catastrophe, with California demanding admission as a free state.
  - ii. Thus, the three giants met together for the last time to engineer a compromise.
    1. **Henry Clay**, AKA "The Great Compromiser," now 73 years old, urged concession from both the North and the South (the North for a fugitive slave law, the South for others) and was seconded by **Stephen Douglas**, the "Little Giant" and fine senator.
    2. Southern spokesman **John C. Calhoun**, dying of tuberculosis, pleaded for states' rights, for slavery to be left alone, for the return of runaway slaves, the restoration of the rights of the South as a minority, and the return for political balance.
    3. Northerner **Daniel Webster** proclaimed that the new land could not hold slaves anyway, since it couldn't cultivate cotton, etc... and his **Seventh of March speech** helped move the North into compromise.
  - iii. As a result of the popular speech, though, Webster was also proclaimed a traitor to the North, since he had called for ignoring the slavery subject.
- VI. Deadlock and Danger on Capitol Hill
  - i. A new group of politicians, the "**Young Guard**," seemed more interested in purifying the Union rather than patching it up.
  - ii. **William H. Seward**, a young senator from New York, was flatly against concession and hated slavery, but he didn't seem to realize that the Union was built on compromise, and he said that

Christian legislators must adhere to a "higher law" and not allow slavery to exist; this might have cost him the 1860 presidential election.

- iii. President Taylor also appeared to have fallen under the influence of the "higher law," vetoing every compromise sent to him by Congress.

VII. Breaking the Congressional Logjam

- i. Then, in 1850, Zachary Taylor suddenly died of an acute intestinal disorder, and portly **Millard Fillmore** took over the reigns.
  - 1. Impressed by arguments of conciliation, he signed a series of agreements that came to be known as the Compromise of 1850.
  - 2. Clay, Webster, and Douglas orated on behalf of the compromise for the North, but the South hated it; fortunately, they finally accepted it after much debate.

VIII. Balancing the Compromise Scales

- i. What the North got... (the North got the better deal in the **Compromise of 1850**)
  - 1. California was admitted as a free state, permanently tipping the balance.
  - 2. Texas lost its disputed territory to New Mexico and (now) Oklahoma.
  - 3. The District of Columbia could not have slave trade, but slavery was still legal. This was symbolic only. It was symbolic in that the nation's capital "took a stance" against the trade. However, it was impractical because the *trade* only was illegal, not slavery and because a person could easily buy a slave in next-door Virginia.
- ii. What the South got...
  - 1. Popular sovereignty in the Mexican Cession lands. This was good for the South because prior to this, there was to be no new slave lands (the 36°30' Missouri Compromise line had drawn that). On paper, this opened a *lot* of land to slavery, possibly. This was bad for the South because those lands were too dry to raise cotton anyway and therefore would never see slaves.
  - 2. Texas was paid \$10 million for the land lost to New Mexico.
  - 3. A new, tougher Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was drastic, and it stated that (1) fleeing slaves couldn't testify on their own behalf, (2) the federal commissioner who handled the case got \$5 if the slave was free and \$10 if not, and (3) people who were ordered to help catch slaves had to do so, even if they didn't want to.
    - a. Angry Northerners pledged not to follow the new law, and the Underground Railroad stepped up its timetable.
    - b. It turns out that the new Fugitive Slave Law was a blunder on behalf of the South, since it inflamed both sides, but a civil war didn't occur, and this was better for the North, since with each moment, it was growing ahead of the South in population and wealth—in crops, factories, foundries, ships, and railroads.

IX. Defeat and Doom for the Whigs

- i. In 1852, the Democrats, unable to agree, finally nominated dark horse **Franklin Pierce**, a man who was unknown and enemyless.
- ii. The Whigs nominated "Old Fuss and Feathers," **Winfield Scott**, the old veteran of the War of 1812 and the Mexican-American War.
- iii. Both parties boasted about the Compromise of 1850, though the Democrats did more.
- iv. The Whigs were hopelessly split, and thus, Pierce won in a landslide; the death of the Whigs ended the *national* political arguments and gave rise to *sectional* political alignments.

X. Expansionist Stirrings South of the Border

- i. Pierce tried to be another Polk, and he impressed followers by reciting his inaugural address from memory, but his cabinet was filled with Southerners like **Jefferson Davis** and he was prepared to be a Southerners' tool.
- ii. In July of 1856, a brazen American adventurer, **William Walker**, grabbed control in Nicaragua and proclaimed himself president, then legalized slavery, but a coalition of Latin American states overthrew him. This threw some fuel on the "Slavocracy" theory (a conspiracy theory where the South was always seeking new slave land).
- iii. America also eyed Cuba with envy.
  - 1. Although America wanted Cuba, Spain wouldn't sell it to the U.S. at any price.
  - 2. So after two attempts to take Cuba failed, and after Spain captured the American steamer *Black Warrior* on a technicality, three U.S. foreign ministers met in Ostend, Belgium and drew up the **Ostend Manifesto** which stated that the U.S. was to offer \$120 million to Spain for Cuba, and if it refused and Spain's ownership of Cuba continued to endanger the U.S., then America would be justified in seizing the island (sell it or it'll be taken).

3. Northerners were outraged once this "secret" document was leaked, and the South could not get Cuba (and obtain another slave state). Pierce was embarrassed and more fuel thrown on the Slavocracy theory.
- XI. The Allure of Asia
- i. Over on the Pacific, America was ready to open to Asia.
  - ii. Caleb Cushing was sent to China on a goodwill mission.
    1. The Chinese were welcoming since they wanted to counter the British.
    2. U.S.—China trade began to flourish.
    3. Missionaries also sought to save souls; they largely kindled resentment however.
  - iii. Relations opened up Japan when **Commodore Matthew C. Perry** steamed into the harbor of Tokyo in 1854 and asked/coerced/forced them to open up their nation.
    1. Perry's Treaty of Kanagawa formerly opened Japan.
    2. This broke Japan's centuries-old traditional of isolation, and started them down a road of modernization and then imperialism and militarism.
- XII. Pacific Railroad Promoters and the Gadsden Purchase
- i. Though the U.S. owned California and Oregon, getting out there was very difficult, since the sea routes were too long and the wagon route overland was dangerous, so the only real feasible solution lay in a transcontinental railroad.
  - ii. The Southerners wanted a route through the South, but the best one would go through Mexico, so Secretary of War Jefferson Davis arranged to have **James Gadsden** appointed minister to Mexico.
    1. Two reasons this was the best route: (1) the land was organized meaning any Indian attacks could be repelled by the U.S. Army and (2) geography—the plan was to skirt south of the Rocky Mtns.
    2. Finding Santa Anna in power again, he bought the **Gadsden Purchase** for \$10 million, and despite clamor about the "rip-off," Congress passed the sale.
  - iii. The South now appeared to have control of the location of the transcontinental railroad, but the North said that if the organization of territories was the problem, then Nebraska should be organized.
- XIII. Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Scheme
- i. To do this, Senator Stephen Douglas proposed the **Kansas-Nebraska Act**, which would let slavery in Kansas and Nebraska be decided upon by popular sovereignty (a concession to the South in return for giving up the railroad).
    1. The problem was that the Missouri Compromise had banned any slavery north of the 36°30' line, so the act would have to repeal it.
    2. Southerners had never thought of Kansas as a possible slave state, and thus backed the bill, but Northerners rallied against it.
    3. Nevertheless, Douglass rammed the bill through Congress, and it was passed, repealing the Missouri Compromise.
- XIV. Congress Legislates a Civil War
- i. The Kansas-Nebraska Act directly wrecked the Missouri Compromise of 1820 (by opening slavery up above the 36°30' line) and indirectly wrecked the Compromise of 1850 (when everyone thought the issue was settled and done).
  - ii. Northerners no longer enforced the Fugitive Slave Law at all, and Southerners were still angry.
  - iii. The Democratic Party was hopelessly split into two, and after 1856, it would not have a president elected for 28 years.

## Chapter 18 Vocabulary

**Lewis Cass** – Cass was named father of "popular sovereignty." He ran for president in 1848, but Gen. Taylor won. The north was against Cass because popular sovereignty made it possible for slavery to spread.

**Stephen Douglas** -- Stephen Douglas took over for Henry Clay in the Compromise of 1850. Clay could not get the compromise passed because neither party wanted to pass it as a whole since they would be passing things for the opposite party as well as their own. Douglas split the compromise up to get it passed. He later drew up the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

**Franklin Pierce** -- Franklin Pierce was elected president in the 1852 election as the second Democratic "dark horse." He was a pro-southern northerner who supported the Compromise of 1850 and especially the Fugitive Slave Law. He also tried to gain Cuba for the South as a slave state, but was stopped because of Northern public opinion after the incident in Ostend, Belgium. He also supported the dangerous Kansas-Nebraska Act pushed for by Senator Douglas. He was succeeded in 1856 by James Buchanan.

**Zachary Taylor** -- Taylor was a general and hero of the Mexican-American War. He was elected to the presidency in 1848, representing the Whig party. He was a good soldier but a poor administrator. He was in office during the crisis of California's

admittance to the Union but died in office before a compromise could be worked out, and left Vice President Fillmore to finalize a deal between the hostile north and south.

**John C. Calhoun** – Calhoun was a sixty-eight year old South Carolina senator when he died in 1850 of tuberculosis. The tension between the North and South had begun to build and become unbearable. An associate delivered a speech that he wrote which declared slavery okay. He proposed to leave slavery as it was and return runaway slaves to their owners. He wanted to preserve the Union and he believed in the Constitution.

**Winfield Scott** -- He was the old general-figure that the Whigs used to symbolize them. Scott, however, did not win the election of 1852. His personality did not fit with the masses which cost him the election. Pierce won the election of 1852.

**Matthew C. Perry** -- He was the naval leader who convinced the Japanese to sign a treaty in 1853 with the U.S. The treaty allowed for a commercial foothold in Japan which was helpful with furthering a relationship with Japan.

**Henry Clay** – Clay should have been nominated by the Whigs in the 1848 election because he was the ideal Whig. However, he'd made too many speeches which created too many enemies. He also came up with the Compromise of 1850.

**Free-Soil Party** -- The Free-Soil Party was organized by anti-slavery men in the north, Democrats who were resentful of Polk's actions, and some conscientious Whigs. The Free-Soil Party was against slavery in the new territories. They also advocated federal aid for internal improvements and urged free government homesteads for settlers. This Free-Soil Party foreshadowed the emergence of the Republican Party.

**Fugitive Slave Law** -- This law was passed just before the Civil War and also called the "Bloodhound Bill." Slaves who escaped could not testify in their behalf and were not allowed a trial by jury. If the judge in the case freed the slave, the judge would receive five dollars, if not he would get ten dollars. Officers were expected to help catch runaway slaves. Those found helping slaves would be fined or jailed. This added to the rage in the North.

**Underground Railroad** – The railroad was a secret chain of anti-slavery homes at which slaves were hidden and taken to the north.

**Harriet Tubman** – Tubman was the "conductor" on the Underground Railroad. She repeatedly snuck down South to lead groups of slaves northward.

**Compromise of 1850** -- This compromise signed, by Millard Fillmore, dealt with the controversy of whether California should join as a free state. The results were that California joined as a free state, and what was left of the Mexican Cession land became New Mexico and Utah, and did not restrict slavery. The South got the Mexican Cession lands opened to popular sovereignty and a tougher Fugitive Slave Law. The compromise benefited the North more than the South.

**Ostend Manifesto** -- The Ostend Manifesto took place in 1854. A group of Southerners met with Spanish officials in Belgium to attempt to get more slave territory. They felt this would balance out Congress. They tried to buy Cuba but the Spanish would not sell it. Southerners wanted to take it by force and the Northerners were outraged by this thought of the Slavocracy expanding. The scheme fell apart when the plan went public.

**Kansas-Nebraska Act** -- The Kansas-Nebraska Act, set forth in 1854, said that Kansas and Nebraska should come into the Union under popular sovereignty. This new law repealed the Missouri Compromise. Senator Stephen A. Douglas introduced it, and it pushed the country even closer the Civil War by muddling the slavery issue.

# Chapter 19

## Drifting Toward Disunion

### I. Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries

- i. In 1852, **Harriet Beecher Stowe** published *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a popular book that awakened the passions of the North toward the evils of slavery.
  1. In one line, it's about the splitting up of a slave family and the cruel mistreatment of likeable Uncle Tom by a cruel slave master.
  2. The book sold millions of copies, and overseas, British people were charmed by it.
  3. The South cried foul saying Stowe's portrayal of slavery was wrong and unfair.
  4. The book helped Britain stay out of the Civil War because its people, who had read the book and had now denounced slavery because they sympathized with Uncle Tom, wouldn't allow intervention on behalf of the South.
- ii. Another book, *The Impending Crisis of the South*, written by **Hinton R. Helper**, a non-aristocratic white North Carolinian who tried to prove, by an array of statistics, that the non-slave-holding Southern whites were really the ones most hurt by slavery.
  1. Published in the North, this book and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were both banned in the South, but widely read in the North. They drove the North—South wedge deeper.



## II. The North-South Contest for Kansas

- i. Northerners began to pour into Kansas, and Southerners were outraged, since they had supported the **Compromise of 1850** under the impression that Kansas would become a slave state.
- ii. Thus, on election day in 1855, hordes of Southerners "border ruffians" from Missouri flooded the polls and elected Kansas to be a slave state; free-soilers were unable to stomach this and set up their own government in Topeka.
  1. Thus, confused Kansans had to choose between two governments: one illegal (free government in Topeka) and the other fraudulent (slavery government in Shawnee).
- iii. In 1856, a group of pro-slavery raiders shot up and burnt part of Lawrence, thus starting violence.

## III. Kansas in Convulsion

- i. **John Brown**, a crazy man (literally), led a band of followers to Pottawatomie Creek in May of 1856 and hacked to death five presumable pro-slaveryites.
  1. This brutal violence surprised even the most ardent abolitionists and brought swift retaliation from pro-slaveryites. "**Bleeding Kansas**" was earning its name.
- ii. By 1857, Kansas had enough people to apply for statehood, and those for slavery devised the **Lecompton Constitution**, which provided that the people were only allowed to vote for the constitution "with slavery" or "without slavery."
  1. However, even if the constitution was passed "without slavery," those slaveholders already in the state would still be protected. So, slaves would be in Kansas, despite the vote.
  2. Angry free-soilers boycotted the polls and Kansas approved the constitution with slavery.
- iii. In Washington, **James Buchanan** had succeeded Franklin Pierce, but like the former president, Buchanan was more towards the South, and firmly supported the Lecompton Constitution.
- iv. Senator **Stephen Douglas**, refusing to have this fraudulent vote by saying this wasn't true popular sovereignty, threw away his Southern support and called for a fair re-vote.
- v. Thus, the Democratic Party was hopelessly divided, ending the last remaining national party for years to come (the **Whigs** were dead and the **Republicans** were a sectional party).

## IV. "Bully" Brooks and His Bludgeon

- i. "Bleeding Kansas" was an issue that spilled into Congress: **Senator Charles Sumner** was a vocal anti-slaveryite, and his blistering speeches condemned all slavery supporters.
- ii. Congressman **Preston S. Brooks** decided that since Sumner was no gentleman he couldn't challenge him to a duel, so Brooks beat the Sumner with a cane like a dog, which is just what he did until his cane broke; nearby Senators did nothing but watched, and Brooks was cheered on by the South.
- iii. However, the incident touched off fireworks, as Sumner's "The Crime Against Kansas" speech was reprinted by the thousands, and it put Brooks and the South in the wrong.

## V. "Old Buck" versus "The Pathfinder"

- i. In 1856, the Democrats chose James Buchanan, someone untainted by the Kansas-Nebraska Act and a person with lots of political experience, to be their nomination for presidency against Republican **John C. Fremont**, a fighter in the Mexican-American War.
- ii. Another party, the **American Party**, also called the "**Know-Nothing Party**" because of its secrecy, was organized by "nativists," old-stock Protestants against immigrants, who nominated Millard Fillmore.
  1. These people were anti-Catholic and anti-foreign and also included old Whigs.
- iii. The campaign was full of mudslinging, which included allegations of scandal and conspiracy.
- iv. Fremont was hurt by the rumor that he was a Roman-Catholic.

## VI. The Electoral Fruits of 1856

- i. Buchanan won because there were doubts about Fremont's honesty, capacity, and sound judgment.
- ii. Perhaps it was better that Buchanan won, since Fremont was not as strong as Lincoln, and in 1856, many people were still apathetic about slavery, and the South could have seceded more easily.

## VII. The Dred Scott Bombshell

- i. On March 6, 1857, the **Dred Scott decision** was handed down by the Supreme Court.
  1. Dred Scott was a slave whose master took him north into free states where he lived for many years. After his master's death, he sued for his freedom from his new master, claiming that he had been in free territory and was therefore free. The Missouri Supreme Court agreed, freeing him, but his new master appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which overruled the decision.
- ii. Outcomes or decisions of the case...
  1. **Chief Justice Taney** said that no slave could be a citizen of the U.S. in his justification.
  2. The Court said a legislature/Congress cannot outlaw slavery, as that would go against the 5<sup>th</sup> Amendment saying a person's property cannot be taken without due process of law. This was the bombshell statement.

3. The Court then concluded the Missouri Compromise had been unconstitutional all along (because it'd banned slavery north of the 36° 30' line and doing so was against point #2 above).
  - iii. The case inflamed millions of abolitionists against slavery and even those who didn't care much about it.
  - iv. Northerners complained; Southerners were ecstatic about the decision but inflamed by northern defiance, and more tension built.
  - v. The North—South scoreboard now favored the South undeniably. The South had (1) the Supreme Court, (2) the president, and (3) the Constitution on its side. The North had only Congress (which was now banned from outlawing slavery).
    1. Reasons the Constitution favored the South... (1) the Supreme Court just said so with the Dred Scott decision and it is the Supreme Court that interprets the Constitution, (2) the 5<sup>th</sup> Amendment said Congress could not take away property, in this case, slaves (3) it could be argued that slavery *is* in the Constitution by way of the Three-Fifths Compromise, and (4) it could be argued slavery is *not* in the Constitution since the word "slavery" is not present, but using this argument, the 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment said anything *not* in the Constitution is left up to the states, and the Southern states would vote for slavery.
- VIII. The Financial Crash of 1857
- i. Psychologically, the **Panic of 1857** was the worst of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, though it really wasn't as bad as the **Panic of 1837**. It's causes were (1) California gold causing inflation, (2) over-growth of grain, and (3) over-speculation, as always, this time in land and railroads.
  - ii. The North was especially hard hit, but the South rode it out with flying colors, seemingly proving that cotton was indeed king and raising Southern egos.
  - iii. Also, in 1860, Congress passed a Homestead Act that would provide 160 acres of land at a cheap price for those who were less-fortunate, but it was vetoed by Buchanan.
    1. This plan, though, was opposed by the northeast, which had long been unfriendly to extension of land and had feared that it would drain its population even more, and the south, which knew that it would provide an easy way for more free-soilers to fill the territories.
  - iv. The panic also brought calls for a higher tariff rate, which had been lowered to about 20% only months before.
- IX. An Illinois Rail-Splitter Emerges
- i. In 1858, Senator Stephen Douglas' term was about to expire, and against him was Republican **Abraham Lincoln**, an ugly fellow who had risen up the political ladder slowly but was a good lawyer and a pretty decent debater.
- X. The Great Debate: Lincoln Versus Douglas
- i. Lincoln rashly challenged Douglas, the nation's most devastating debater, to a series of seven debates, which the Senator accepted, and despite expectations of failure, Lincoln held his own.
  - ii. The most famous debate came at Freeport, Illinois, where Lincoln essentially asked, "Mr. Douglas, if the people of a territory voted slavery down, despite the Supreme Court saying that they could not do so (point #2 of the Dred Scott decision), which side would you support, the people or the Supreme Court?"
    1. "Mr. Popular Sovereignty," Douglas replied with his "**Freeport Doctrine**," which said that no matter how the Supreme Court ruled, slavery would stay down if the people voted it down; since power was held by the people.
  - iii. Douglas won the Illinois race for senate, but more people voted for Abe, so he won the moral victory. Plus, Douglas "won the battle but lost the war" because his answer in the Freeport Doctrine caused the South to dislike him even more (they'd loved him prior to this due to his popular sovereignty position, then came the Kansas pro-slavery vote which he'd shot down and then the Freeport Doctrine where he turned his back on the Supreme Court's pro-South decision). This ruined the 1860 election for presidency for him, which was what he really wanted all along.
- XI. John Brown: Murderer or Martyr?
- i. John Brown now had a plan to invade the South, seize its arms, call upon the slaves to rise up and revolt, and take over the South and free it of slaves. But, in his raid of **Harper's Ferry, Virginia**, the slaves didn't revolt, and he was captured and convicted of treason, sentenced to death, and hanged.
  - ii. Brown, though insane, was not stupid, and he portrayed himself as a martyr against slavery, and when he was hanged, he instantly became a martyr for abolitionists; northerners rallied around his memory. Abolitionists were infuriated by his execution (as they'd conveniently forgotten his violent past).
  - iii. The South was happy and saw justice. They also felt his actions were typical of the radical North.
- XII. The Disruption of the Democrats

- i. After failing to nominate a candidate in Charleston, South Carolina, the Democrats split into Northern and Southern factions, and at Baltimore, the Northern Democrats nominated Stephen Douglas for president while the Southern Democrats chose **John C. Breckinridge**.
  - ii. Meanwhile, the "Know-Nothings" chose **John Bell** of Tennessee and called themselves the Constitutional Union party. They tried to mend fences and offered as their platform, simply, the Constitution.
- XIII. A Rail-Splitter Splits the Union
- i. The Republicans, sensing victory against their split opponents, nominated Abraham Lincoln, not William "Higher Law" Seward.
  - ii. Their platform had an appeal to every important non-southern group: for free-soilers it proposed the non-expansion of slavery; for northern manufacturers, a protective tariff; for the immigrants, no abridgement of rights; for the West, internal improvements at federal expense; and for the farmers, free homesteads.
  - iii. Southerners threatened that Lincoln's election would result in Southern secession.
  - iv. Lincoln wasn't an outright abolitionist, since as late as February 1865, he had still favored cash compensation for free slaves.
  - v. Abe Lincoln won the election despite not even being on the ballot in the South.
- XIV. The Electoral Upheaval of 1860
- i. Lincoln won with only 40% of the popular vote, and had the Democratic Party been more organized and energetic, they might have won.
  - ii. It was a very sectional race: the North went to Lincoln, the South to Breckinridge, the "middle-ground" to the middle-of-the-road candidate in Bell, and popular-sovereignty-land went to Douglas.
  - iii. The Republicans did not control the House or the Senate, and the South still had a five-to-four majority in the Supreme Court, but the South still decided to secede.
- XV. The Secessionist Exodus
- i. **South Carolina** had threatened to secede if Lincoln was elected president, and now it went good on its word, seceding in December of 1860.
    1. Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas (the **Deep South**) followed in the next six weeks, before Abe was inaugurated.
  - ii. The seven secession states met in Montgomery, Alabama in February of 1861 and created the **Confederate States of America**, and they chose Jefferson Davis as president.
  - iii. President Buchanan did nothing to force the confederacy back into the Union, partly because the Union troops were needed in the West and because the North was still apathetic toward secession; he simply left the issue for Lincoln to handle when he got sworn in.
- XVI. The Collapse of Compromise
- i. In a last-minute attempt at compromise (again), James Henry Crittenden of Kentucky proposed the **Crittenden Compromise**, which would ban slavery north of the 36°30' line extended to the Pacific and would leave the issue in territories south of the line up to the people; also, existing slavery south of the line would be protected.
  - ii. Lincoln opposed the compromise, which might have worked, because his party had preached against the extension of slavery, and he had to stick to principle.
  - iii. It also seems that Buchanan couldn't have saved the Union no matter what he would have done.
- XVII. Farewell to Union
- i. The seceding states did so because they feared that their rights as a slaveholding minority were being threatened, and were alarmed at the growing power of the Republicans, plus, they believed that they would be unopposed despite what the Northerners claimed.
  - ii. The South also hoped to develop its own banking and shipping, and to prosper.
  - iii. Besides, in 1776, the 13 colonies had seceded from Britain and had won; now the South could do the same thing.

## Chapter 19 Vocabulary

**Hinton Helper** – In 1845, Helper wrote the book entitled *Impending Crisis of the South*. It attempted to prove through statistics that indirectly the non-slave-holding whites were the ones who suffered the most from slavery; the book was banned in the South but countless copies were distributed as campaign material for Republicans.

**John Brown** -- John Brown was a militant abolitionist that took radical extremes to make his views clear. In May of 1856, Brown led a group of his followers to Pottawattamie Creek and launched a bloody attack against pro-slavery men killing five people. This began violent retaliation against Brown and his followers. This violent attack against slavery helped give Kansas

its nickname, "bleeding Kansas." He later led a raid on the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, VA in a wild attempt to free slaves. He was captured and hanged but became a martyr and symbol of abolition.

**Charles Sumner** -- Sumner was an unpopular senator from Massachusetts and a leading abolitionist. In 1856, he made an assault on a pro-slavery congressman of South Carolina. The insult angered Congressmen Preston Brooks of South Carolina. Brooks walked up to Sumner's desk and beat him unconscious with a cane. This violent incident helped touch off the war between the North and the South and showed that compromise and discussion had died.

**Dred Scott** -- Scott was a black slave who had lived with his master for five years in the Illinois and Wisconsin territory. He sued for his freedom on the basis of his long residence in free territory. The Dred Scott decision was handed down by the Supreme Court on March 6, 1857. The Supreme Court ruled that Dred Scott was a black slave and not a citizen. Hence, he could not sue in a federal court. (This part of the ruling denied blacks their citizenship and menaced the position of the South's free blacks). The Court also ruled that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional and that Congress could not ban slavery from the territories regardless of what the territorial legislatures themselves might want. The South was extremely happy about the decision, but Republicans were infuriated.

**Roger Taney** -- Taney was Chief Justice during the Dred Scott case of 1857. Roger Taney ruled against Dred Scott. Scott was suing for freedom because of his long residence in free territory. He was denied freedom because he was property and legislatures were disallowed from banning slavery in the territories. This court ruling was a major cause in starting the Civil War.

**John Breckinridge** -- John Breckinridge was the vice-president elected in 1856. Breckinridge was nominated for the presidential election of 1860 for the Southern Democrats. After the Democrats split, the Northern Democrats would no longer support him. Breckinridge favored the extension of slavery, but was not a secessionist. He won nearly the Southern electoral votes in 1860.

**John Bell** -- Bell was nominated for the presidency in 1860 by the Constitutional Union Party. This party arose due to the division in the nation. They offered the Constitution, only, as their platform since all could agree to that. He was a compromise candidate.

**Abraham Lincoln** -- Lincoln was nicknamed "Old Abe" and "Honest Abe" and was born in Kentucky to impoverished parents and was mainly self-educated. He became a Springfield, IL lawyer. Republicans chose him to run against Senator Douglas (a Democrat) in the senatorial elections of 1858. Although he lost senate race that year, Lincoln came to be one of the most prominent northern politicians and emerged as a Republican nominee for president 2 years later. Although he won the presidential elections of 1860, he was a minority and sectional president (he was not allowed on the ballot in ten southern states). Lincoln's victory gave South Carolinians an excuse to secede from the Union and caused the South to completely break off from the North.

**John Crittenden** -- Crittenden was a Senator of Kentucky responsible for the Crittenden Compromise. This was a last-minute attempt to avoid conflict over slavery. It proposed going back to the old Missouri Compromise line of 36°30' line extended to the Pacific. This failed attempt at compromise showed that the days of compromise had ended. He had two sons—one fought for each side during the Civil War illustrating the absurdity of the war. Kentucky and other states were split up between the Union and Confederacy, and both the North and South sent people to the other side. This suggests that the war is primarily over slavery.

***The Impending Crisis of the South*** -- This was a book written by Hinton Helper. Helper hated both slavery and blacks and used this book to try to prove that non-slave owning whites were the ones who suffered the most from slavery. The non-aristocrat from NC had to go to the North to find a publisher that would publish his book.

**"Bleeding Kansas"** -- Kansas was being disputed as free or slave soil during 1854-1857 period, by popular sovereignty. In 1857, there were enough free-soilers to overrule the slave-soilers. So many people were feuding, that disagreements eventually led to killing in Kansas between pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces.

**American or "Know-Nothing" Party** -- This party developed from the "Order of the Star Spangled Banner" and was made up of nativists (those against immigrants). This party was organized due to its secretiveness and in 1865 nominated the ex-president Fillmore. These super-patriots were anti-foreign and anti-Catholic and adopted the slogan "American's must rule America!" Remaining members of the Whig party also backed Millard Fillmore for President.

**Panic of 1857** -- This economic recession started due to the California gold rush that increased inflation and due to over-speculation in land and railroads that "ripped economic fabric." It hit the North harder than the South because the South had cotton as a staple source of income. Their avoidance of the recession puffed-up the South's belief that cotton was indeed king.

**Lincoln-Douglas Debates** -- In 1858, Lincoln challenged Stephen Douglas to a series of 7 debates. Though Douglas won the IL Senate seat, these debates gave Lincoln fame and helped him to later win the presidency.

**Freeport Doctrine** -- The Freeport Doctrine occurred in Freeport, Illinois during the debates of Lincoln and Douglas for senator. This was the answer to a question that Lincoln asked Douglas. Lincoln asked, "If a territory voted against slavery, which would you support Mr. Douglas, the people's vote or the U.S. Supreme Court who said in the Dred Scott case that a legislature can't outlaw slavery?" Lincoln put Douglas in a tight spot, Douglas had to offend either the people or the Supreme Court in his answer. He sided with the people and their vote (popular sovereignty), but this cost him popularity in the South and the presidential election later.

**Harper's Ferry Raid** -- This raid occurred in October of 1859. John Brown of Kansas attempted to create a major revolt among the slaves. He wanted to ride down the river and provide the slaves with arms from the Northern arsenal, but he failed to get the

slaves organized. Brown was captured. The effects of Harper's Ferry raid were as such: the South saw the act as one of treason and were encouraged to separate from the U.S., and the North saw Brown as a martyr to the abolitionist cause.

**Constitutional Union Party** – This party was also known as the "do-nothings" or "Old Gentlemen's" party in the 1860 election. It was a middle-of-the-road group that feared for the Union's future. It consisted mostly of Whigs and Know-Nothings, met in Baltimore and nominated John Bell from Tennessee as candidate for president. Their slogan was "The Union, the Constitution, and the Enforcement of the laws."

# Chapter 20

## Girding for War: The North and the South

### I. The Menace of Secession

- i. On March 4, 1861, **Abraham Lincoln** was inaugurated president, having slipped into Washington D.C. to thwart assassins, and in his inaugural address, he stated that there would be no conflict unless the South provoked it.
- ii. He marked restoration of the union as his top goal, and offered doubts about it splitting.
  1. He stated that geographically, the United States could not be split (which was true).
  2. A split U.S. brought up questions about the sharing of the national debt and the allocation of federal territories.
  3. A split U.S. also pleased the European countries, since the U.S. was the only major display of democracy in the Western Hemisphere, and with a split U.S., the **Monroe Doctrine** could be undermined as well if the new C.S.A. allowed Europe to gain a foothold with it.

### II. South Carolina Assails **Fort Sumter**

- i. Most of the forts in the South had relinquished their power to the Confederacy, but **Fort Sumter** was among the two that didn't. And since its supplies were running out against a besieging South Carolinian army, Lincoln had a problem of how to deal with the situation.
- ii. Lincoln intelligently chose to send supplies to the fort, and he told the South Carolinian governor that the ship to the fort only held provisions, not reinforcements.
- iii. However, to the South, provisions *were* reinforcements, and on April 12, 1861, cannons were fired onto the fort; after 34 hours of non-lethal firing, the fort surrendered.
- iv. Northerners were inflamed by the South's actions, and Lincoln now called on 75,000 volunteers; so many came that they had to be turned away.
- v. On April 19 and 27, Lincoln also called a blockade that was leaky at first but soon clamped down tight.
- vi. The Deep South (which had already seceded), felt that Lincoln was now waging an aggressive war, and was joined by four more Southern states: **Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina**.
- vii. The capital of the Confederacy was moved from Montgomery, AL to Richmond, VA.

### III. Brother's Blood and Border Blood

- i. The remaining **Border States** (Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland) were crucial for both sides, as they would have almost doubled the manufacturing capacity of the South and increased its supply of horses and mules by half.
  1. They're called "border states" because they are on the North-South border and because they have slaves but had not seceded, though at any time they may.
- ii. Thus, to retain them, Lincoln used moral persuasion...and methods of dubious legality:
  1. In Maryland, he declared martial law in order to retain a state that would isolate Washington D.C. within Confederate territory if it went to the South, and he also sent troops to western Virginia and Missouri.
- iii. At the beginning, in order to hold the remaining Border States, Lincoln repeatedly said that the war was to save the Union, not free the slaves, since a war for the slaves' freedom would have lost the Border States.
- iv. Most of the **Five Civilized Tribes** (Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole) sided with the South, although parts of the Cherokee and most of the Plains Indians were pro-North.
- v. The war was one of brother vs. brother, with the mountain men of what's now **West Virginia** sending some 50,000 men to the Union. The nation's split was very visible here, as Virginia literally split.

- IV. The Balance of Forces
- i. The South, at the beginning of the war, did have many advantages:
    1. It only had to fight to a draw to win, since all it had to do was keep the North from invading and taking over all of its territory.
    2. It had the most talented officers, including **Robert E. Lee** and **Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson**, and most of the Southerners had been trained in a military-style upbringing and education since they were children, as opposed to the tame Northerners. Many top Southern young men attended military schools like West Point, The Citadel, or VMI.
  - ii. However, the South was handicapped by a shortage of factories and manufacturing plants, but during the war, those developed in the South.
  - iii. Still, as the war dragged on, the South found itself with a shortage of shoes, uniforms, blankets, clothing, and food, which didn’t reach soldiers due to supply problems.
  - iv. However, the North had a huge economy, many more men available to fight, and it controlled the sea, though its officers weren’t as well-trained as some in the South.
  - v. As the war dragged on, Northern strengths beat Southern advantages.
- V. Dethroning King Cotton
- i. The South was depending on foreign intervention to win the war, but didn’t get it.
  - ii. While the European countries wanted the Union to be split (which would strengthen their nation, relatively speaking), their people were pro-North and anti-slavery, and sensing that this was could eliminate slavery once and for all, they would not allow any intervention by their nations on behalf of the South. The reason for the pro-North, anti-slavery stance by the people, was the effect of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*—being lowly wage earners, the common people felt Uncle Tom’s pain.
  - iii. Still, the Southern ideas was that the war would produce a shortage of cotton, which would draw England and others into the war, right? Wrong.
    1. In the pre-war years, cotton production had been immense, and thus, England and France had huge surpluses of cotton.
    2. As the North won Southern territory, it sent cotton and food over to Europe.
    3. India and Egypt upped their cotton production to offset the hike in the price of cotton.
  - iv. So, **King Wheat** and **King Corn** (of the North) beat King Cotton, since Europe needed the food much more than it needed the cotton.
- VI. The Decisiveness of Diplomacy
- i. The South still hoped for foreign intervention, and it almost got it on a few occasions.
  - ii. Late in 1861, a Union warship stopped the British mail steamer the *Trent* and forcibly removed two Confederate diplomats bound for Europe.
    1. Britain was outraged at the upstart Americans and threatened war, but luckily, Lincoln released the prisoners and tensions cooled. “One war at a time,” he said.
    2. British-built sea vessels that went to the Confederacy were also a problem.
      - a. In 1862, the *C.S.S. Alabama* escaped to the Portuguese Azores, took on weapons and crew from Britain, but never sailed into a Confederate base, thus using a loophole to help the South.
  - iii. **Charles Francis Adams** persuaded Britain not to build any more ships for the Confederacy, since they might someday be used against England.
- VII. Foreign Flare-Ups
- i. Britain also had two Laird rams, Confederate warships that could destroy wooden Union ships and wreak havoc on the North, but after the threat of war by the U.S., Britain backed down and used those ships for its Royal Navy.
  - ii. Near Canada, Confederate agents plotted (and sometimes succeeded) to burn down American cities, and as a result, there were several mini-armies (raised mostly by British-hating Irish-Americans) sent to Canada.
  - iii. Napoleon III of France also installed a puppet government in Mexico City, putting in the **Austrian Archduke Maximilian** as emperor of Mexico, but after the war, the U.S. threatened violence, and Napoleon left Maximilian to doom at the hands of a Mexican firing squad.
- VIII. President Davis Versus President Lincoln
- i. The problem with the South was that it gave states the ability to secede in the future, and getting Southern states to send troops to help other states was always difficult to do. By definition in a confederacy, national power was weak.
  - ii. Jefferson Davis was never really popular and he overworked himself.
  - iii. Lincoln, though with his problems, had the benefit of leading an established government and grew patient and relaxed as the war dragged on.
- IX. Limitations on Wartime Liberties

- i. Abe Lincoln did make some tyrannical acts during his term as president, such as illegally proclaiming a blockade, proclaiming acts without Congressional consent, and sending in troops to the Border States, but he justified his actions by saying that such acts weren't permanent, and that he had to do those things in order to preserve the Union.
    - ii. Such actions included the advancement of \$2 million to three private citizens for war purposes, the suspension of **habeas corpus** so that anti-Unionists could be arrested without a formal charge, and the intimidation of voters in the Border States.
    - iii. The Confederate states' refusal to sacrifice some states' rights led to the handicapping of the South, and perhaps to its ultimate downfall.
- X. Volunteers and Draftees: North and South
  - i. At first, there were numerous volunteers, but after the initial enthusiasm slacked off, Congress passed its first conscription law ever (the draft), one that angered the poor because rich men could hire a substitute instead of entering the war just by paying \$300 to Congress.
    1. As a result, many riots broke out, such as one in New York City.
  - ii. Volunteers manned more than 90% of the Union army, and as volunteers became scarce, money was offered to them in return for service; still, there were many deserters.
  - iii. The South had to resort to a draft nearly a year before the North, and it also had its privileges for the rich—those who owned or oversaw 20 slaves or more were exempt from the draft.
- XI. The Economic Stresses of War
  - i. The North passed the **Morrill Tariff Act**, increasing tariff rates by about 5 to 10%, but war soon drove those rates even higher.
  - ii. The Washington Treasury also issued greenback paper money totaling nearly \$450 million, but this money was very unstable and sank to as low as 39 cents per gold dollar.
  - iii. The federal Treasury also netted \$2.6 billion in the sale of bonds.
  - iv. The **National Banking System** was a landmark of the war, created to establish a standard bank-note currency, and banks that joined the National Banking System could buy government bonds and issue sound paper money.
    1. The **National Banking Act** was the first step toward a unified national banking network since 1836, when the **Bank of the United States** (B.U.S.) was killed by Andrew Jackson.
  - v. In the South, runaway inflation plagued the Confederates, and overall, in the South inflation went up to 9000%, as opposed to "just" 80% in the North.
- XII. The North's Economic Boom
  - i. The North actually emerged from the Civil War more prosperous than before, since new factories had been formed and a millionaire class was born for the first time in history.
  - ii. However, many Union suppliers used shoddy equipment in their supplies, such as using cardboard as the soles of shoes.
  - iii. Sizes for clothing were invented, and the reaper helped feed millions.
  - iv. In 1859, a discovery of petroleum oil sent people to Pennsylvania.
  - v. Women gained new advances in the war, taking the jobs left behind by men going off to battle, and other women posed as men and became soldiers with their husbands.
  - vi. **Clara Burton** and **Dorothea Dix** helped transform nursing from a lowly service to a respected profession, and in the South, **Sally Tompkins** ran a Richmond infirmary for wounded Confederate soldiers and was awarded the rank of Captain by Jefferson Davis.
- XIII. A Crushed Cotton Kingdom
  - i. The South was ruined by the war, as transportation collapsed and supplies of everything became scarce, and by the end of the war, the South claimed only 12% of the national wealth as opposed to 30% before the war, and its per capita income was now 2/5 that of Northerners, as opposed to 2/3 of Northerners before the war.
  - ii. Still, though many Southerners were resourceful and spirited, the South just couldn't win.

## Chapter 20 Vocabulary

**William Seward** – Seward was a senator from New York who was for anti-slavery, was very religious, and would not compromise. He later became the major rival of Abraham Lincoln for the presidency. When Lincoln won the presidency, he became the Secretary of State. He had a nickname of "Higher Law" due to his religious beliefs in Christianity and unwillingness to compromise on slavery.

**Edwin M. Stanton** -- Stanton was a politician who succeeded Simon Cameron as Secretary of War around 1860. He caused a kind of civil war within Congress by opposing Lincoln at almost every turn. This only added to the problems that Lincoln had to deal with during the Civil War.

**Trent Affair** -- This was an occurrence where a Union warship stopped a British ship, the *Trent*, which was taking two confederate officers to England in 1861 from the coast of Cuba. This event angered the British and nearly caused a war with Britain. This shows the separation between North and South at the time and how Britain had leanings toward the South.

**Robert E. Lee** – Lee was the General of the Confederate troops. Lee was very successful in many battles, but was defeated at Antietam in 1862 when he retreated across the Potomac. This halt of Lee's troops justified Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Lee was later defeated at Gettysburg by General Mead's Union troops. He eventually surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865.

**Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson** – Jackson was Lee's chief lieutenant, killed by own men at Chancellorsville.

**Ulysses Simpson Grant** – Grant was a Northern general who helped gain victory for the Union. His first successful victories came at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers in February, 1862 where he earned the nickname "Unconditional Surrender" Grant to go with his initials, U.S. These victories opened a door for the Union to the rest of the south. Eventually Grant was given command of the Union forces attacking Vicksburg. This would be his greatest victory of the war. Grant was made General-in-Chief after several more impressive victories near Chattanooga. Grant's final victory came when he defeated General Robert E. Lee at Richmond and forced him to surrender at Appomattox Court House in Virginia in April 1865.

**Jefferson Davis** -- From 1860-1865, Davis was the president of the southern Confederate States of America after their secession from the Union. During this time he struggled to form a solid government for the states. From the beginning, he lacked the power necessary for a strong government because the southerners believed in states' rights. Aside from being sick, he worked hard with solidifying the civil government and carrying out military operations. The truth of the matter is that no one could have pulled it off successfully.

**George B. McClellan** -- George B. McClellan was a general for northern command of the Army of the Potomac in 1861. He was nicknamed "Tardy George" because of his failure to move troops to Richmond. He lost the battle vs. General Lee near the Chesapeake Bay then Lincoln fired him, twice. He later ran for president in 1864 against Lincoln and lost.

**William Tecumseh Sherman** -- Sherman commanded the Union army in Tennessee. In September of 1864, his troops captured Atlanta, Georgia. He then headed to take Savannah. This was his famous/infamous "March to the Sea." His troops burnt barns and houses, and destroyed the countryside. His march showed a shift in the belief that only military targets should be destroyed. Civilian centers could also be targets. He is famous for his quote, "War is hell."

**Merrimack** -- The *Merrimack* was a former wooden warship turned into an ironclad. The Confederates plated it with iron railroad rails. They renamed it the *Virginia*. The *Virginia* easily wrecked Union Navy ships and threatened to destroy the whole Navy. The Confederates later destroyed the ship to keep it from the Union. This marked the end of wooden ships.

**Monitor** – This was a small Union ironclad built in about 100 days to stop the Confederate ship, the *Merrimack*. The *Merrimack*, which was a former U.S. wooden warship that destroyed two wooden Union ships in the Chesapeake Bay and threatened the Yankees' plan of blockading all Southern ports. The Union built the *Monitor* and transported it to the Chesapeake. On March 9, 1862, in 4 hours, the *Monitor*, or the "Yankee cheese-box on a raft," fought the *Merrimack* "to a standstill."

**Thirteenth Amendment** -- This Amendment was made to forbid slavery, making slavery and involuntary servitude both illegal. This Amendment was ratified in 1865, after the war was over. The South had to ratify it to be readmitted to the Union.

# Chapter 21

## The Furnace of Civil War

- I. Bull Run Ends the "Ninety-Day War"
  - i. When President **Abraham Lincoln** called for 75,000 militiamen on April 15, 1861, he and just about everyone else in the North expected a swift war lasting about 90 days, with a quick suppression of the South to prove the North's superiority and end this foolishness.
  - ii. On July 21, 1861, ill-trained Yankee recruits swaggered out toward **Bull Run** to engage a smaller Confederate unit. They expected one big battle and a quick victory for the war.
    1. The atmosphere was like that of a sporting event, as spectators gathered in picnics to watch.
    2. However, after initial success by the Union, Confederate reinforcements arrived and, coupled with **Stonewall Jackson's** line holding, sent the Union soldiers into disarray.
  - iii. The **Battle of Bull Run** showed the North that this would not be a short, easy war and swelled the South's already too-large ego.
- II. "Tardy George" McClellan and the Peninsula Campaign



- i. Later in 1861, command of the Army of the Potomac (name of the Union army) was given to 34 year old General **George B. McClellan**, an excellent drillmaster and organizer of troops, but also a perfectionist who constantly believed that he was outnumbered, never took risks, and held the army without moving for months before finally ordered by Lincoln to advance.
- ii. At Lincoln's urging, he finally decided upon a water-borne approach to Richmond (the South's capital), called the **Peninsula Campaign**, taking about a month to capture **Yorktown** before coming to Richmond.
  1. At this moment, President Lincoln took McClellan's expected reinforcements and sent them chasing Stonewall Jackson, and after "**Jeb**" **Stuart's** Confederate cavalry rode completely *around* McClellan's army, Southern General **Robert E. Lee** launched a devastating counterattack—the **Seven Days' Battles**—on June 26 to July 2 of 1862.
  2. The victory at Bull Run ensured that the South, if it lost, would lose slavery as well, and it was after this battle that Lincoln began to draft an emancipation proclamation.
- iii. With the quick-strike plan a failure, the Union strategy now turned to total war. Summed up, the plan was to blockade, divide, and conquer. The plan included...
  1. Suffocate the South through an oceanic blockade.
  2. Free the slaves to undermine the South's very economic foundations.
  3. Cut the Confederacy in half by seizing control of the Mississippi River.
  4. Chop the Confederacy to pieces by marching through Georgia and the Carolinas.
  5. Capture its capital, Richmond, Virginia.
  6. Try everywhere to engage the enemy's main strength and grind it to submission.
  7. This was essentially General Winfield Scott's "Anaconda Plan."

### III. The War at Sea

- i. The Union blockade started with many leaks at first, but it clamped down later.
- ii. Britain, who would ordinarily protest such interference in the seas that she "owned," recognized the blockade as binding, since Britain herself often used blockades in her wars.
- iii. **Blockade-running**, or the process of smuggling materials through the blockade, was a risky but profitable business, but the Union navy also seized British freighters on the high seas, citing "ultimate destination" (to the South) as their reasons; the British relented, since they might have to do the same thing in later wars (as they did in World War I).
- iv. The biggest Confederate threat to the Union came in the form of an old U.S. warship reconditioned and plated with iron railroad rails: the *Virginia* (formerly called the *Merrimack*), which threatened to break the Union blockade, but fortunately, the *Monitor* arrived just in time to fight the *Merrimack* to a standstill, and the Confederate ship was destroyed later by the South to save it from the North.
  1. The lessons of the *Monitor* vs. the *Merrimack* were that boats needed to be steam-powered and armored, henceforth.

### IV. The Pivotal Point: Antietam

- i. In the **Second Battle of Bull Run**, Robert E. Lee crushed the arrogant **General John Pope**.
- ii. After this battle, Lee hoped to thrust into the North and win, hopefully persuading the Border States to join the South and foreign countries to intervene on behalf of the South.
  1. At this time, Lincoln reinstated General McClellan.
- iii. McClellan's men found a copy of Lee's plans (as wrapping paper for cigars) and were able to stop the Southerners at **Antietam Creek** on September 17, 1862 in one of the bloodiest days of the Civil War.
  1. Jefferson Davis was never so close to victory as he was that day, since European powers were very close to helping the South, but after the Union army displayed unexpected power at Antietam, that help faded.
  2. Antietam was also the Union display of power that Lincoln needed to announce his **Emancipation Proclamation**, which didn't actually free the slaves, but gave the general idea; it was announced on January 1, 1863. Lincoln said the slaves would be free in the seceded states (but NOT the border states as doing so might anger them into seceding too).
    - a. Now, the war wasn't just to save the Union, it was to free the slaves as well.
    - b. This gave the war a moral purpose (end slavery) to go with its political purpose (restore the union).

### V. A Proclamation Without Emancipation

- i. The Emancipation Proclamation freed the slaves in not-yet-conquered Southern territories, but slaves in the Border States and the conquered territories were not liberated since doing so might make them go to the South; Lincoln freed the slaves where he couldn't and wouldn't free the slaves where he could.

- ii. The proclamation was very controversial, as many soldiers refused to fight for abolition and deserted.
  - iii. However, since many slaves, upon hearing the proclamation, left their plantations, the Emancipation Proclamation did succeed in one of its purposes: to undermine the labor of the South.
  - iv. Angry Southerners cried that Lincoln was stirring up trouble and trying to incite a slave insurrection.
- VI. Blacks Battle Bondage
- i. At first, Blacks weren't enlisted in the army, but as men ran low, these men were eventually allowed in; by war's end, Black's accounted for about 10% of the Union army.
  - ii. Until 1864, Southerners refused to recognize Black soldiers as prisoners of war, and often executed them as runaways and rebels, and in one case, at Fort Pillow, Tennessee, Blacks who had surrendered were massacred.
    1. Afterwards, vengeful Black units swore to take no prisoners, crying, "Remember Fort Pillow!"
  - iii. Many Blacks, whether through fear, loyalty, lack of leadership, or strict policing, didn't cast off their chains when they heard the Emancipation Proclamation, but many others walked off of their jobs when Union armies conquered territories that included the plantations that they worked on.
- VII. Lee's Last Lunge at Gettysburg
- i. After Antietam, **A. E. Burnside** (known for his sideburns) took over the Union army, but he lost badly after launching a rash frontal attack at **Fredericksburg**, Virginia, on Dec. 13, 1862.
  - ii. "**Fighting Joe**" **Hooker** (known for his prostitutes) was badly beaten at **Chancellorsville**, Virginia, when Lee divided his outnumbered army into two and sent "Stonewall" Jackson to attack the Union flank, but later in that battle, Jackson's own men mistakenly shot him at dusk, and he died.
  - iii. Lee now prepared to invade the North for the second and final time, at **Gettysburg**, Pennsylvania, but he was met by new General **George G. Meade**, who by accident took a stand atop a low ridge flanking a shallow valley and the Union and Confederate armies fought a bloody and brutal battle in which the North "won."
    1. In the **Battle of Gettysburg** (July 1-3, 1863), General **George Pickett** led a hopeless, bloody, and pitiful charge across a field that ended in the pig-slaughter of Confederates.
    2. A few months later, Lincoln delivered his **Gettysburg Address**, which added moral purpose to the war saying a new goal was to make sure those who'd been killed had not died in vain.
- VIII. The War in the West
- i. Lincoln finally found a good general in **Ulysses S. Grant**, a mediocre West Point graduate who drank too much whiskey and also fought under the ideal of "immediate and unconditional surrender."
  - ii. Grant won at **Fort Henry** and **Fort Donelson**, but then muffed-up and lost a tough battle at **Shiloh** (April 6-7, 1862), just over the Tennessee border.
  - iii. In the spring of 1862, a flotilla commanded by **David G. Farragut** joined with a Northern army to seize New Orleans.
  - iv. At **Vicksburg**, Mississippi, U.S. Grant besieged the city and captured it on July 4, 1863, thus securing the important Mississippi River. Grant redeemed himself here after blundering at Shiloh.
    1. The Union victory at the **Battle of Vicksburg** came the day after the Union victory at Gettysburg, and afterwards, the Confederate hope for foreign intervention was lost.
- IX. Sherman Scorches Georgia
- i. After Grant cleared out Tennessee, General **William Tecumseh Sherman** was given command to march through Georgia, and he delivered, capturing and burning down Atlanta before completing his infamous "**March to the Sea**" at Savannah.
    1. His men cut a trail of destruction one-mile wide, waging "**total war**" by cutting up railroad tracks, burning fields and crops, and destroying everything.
- X. The Politics of War
- i. The "Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War" was created in 1861 and was dominated by "radical" Republicans and gave Lincoln much trouble.
  - ii. The Northern Democrats split after the death of **Stephen Douglas**, as "**War Democrats**" supported Lincoln while "**Peace Democrats**" did not.
    1. **Copperheads** were those who were totally against the war, and denounced the president (the "Illinois Ape") and his "nigger war."
    2. The most famous of the Copperheads was **Clement L. Valandigham**, who harshly denounced the war but was imprisoned, then banished to the South, then came back to Ohio illegally, but was not further punished, and also inspired the story *The Man without a Country*.

#### XI. The Election of 1864

- i. In 1864, the Republicans joined the War Democrats to form the **Union Party** and renominated Abe Lincoln despite a bit of opposition, while the Copperheads and Peace Democrats ran George McClellan.
  1. The Union Party chose Democrat **Andrew Johnson** to ensure that the War Democrats would vote for Lincoln, and the campaign was once again full of mudslinging.
  2. Near election day, the victories at New Orleans and Atlanta occurred, and the Northern soldiers were pushed to vote, and Lincoln smoked his opponent in the Electoral College, 212-21.
    - i. The popular vote was closer: 2.2 million to 1.8.

#### XII. Grant Outlasts Lee

- i. Grant was a man who could send thousands of men out to die just so that the Confederates would lose, because he knew that he could afford to lose twice as many men while Lee could not.
  1. In a series of wilderness encounters, Grant fought Lee, with Grant losing about 50,000 men.
  2. At **Cold Harbor**, the Union sent soldiers to battle with papers pinned on their backs showing their names and addresses, and over 7,000 died in a few minutes.
  3. The public was outraged and shocked over this kind of gore and death, and demanded the relief of General Grant, but U.S. Grant stayed. Lincoln wanted somebody who'd keep the "axe to the grindstone," and Grant was his man.
- ii. Finally, Grant and his men captured **Richmond**, burnt it, and cornered Lee at **Appomattox Courthouse** at Virginia in April of 1865, where Lee formally surrendered; the war was over.

#### XIII. The Martyrdom of Lincoln

- i. On April 14, 1865, Abraham Lincoln was shot in the head by **John Wilkes Booth** and died shortly after.
- ii. Before his death, few people had suspected his greatness, but his sudden and dramatic death erased his shortcomings and made people remember him for his good things.
- iii. The South cheered Lincoln's death at first, but later, his death proved to be worse than if he had lived, because he would have almost certainly treated the South much better than they were actually treated during Reconstruction.

#### XIV. The Aftermath of the Nightmare.

- i. The Civil War cost 600,000 men, \$15 billion, and wasted the cream of the American crop.
- ii. However, it gave America a supreme test of its existence, and the U.S. survived, proving its strength and further increasing its growing power and reputation; plus, slavery was also eradicated.
- iii. The war paved the way for the United States' fulfillment of its destiny as the dominant republic of the Western Hemisphere—and later, the world.

## Chapter 21 Vocabulary

**Charles Frances Adams** -- Adams was the son of President John Quincy Adams and foreign prime minister to Britain. In 1863, the British were helping southerners by building battleships. Adams wanted to stop this and to do so he said that if the British built any more ships for the South, it would mean the U.S. would go to war with Britain. Britain backed off.

**Clement L. Vallandigham** – Vallandigham was a Copperhead Democrat and Ohio ex-congressman. Vallandigham was a Southern partisan who publicly demanded an end to the "wicked and cruel" war. He was convicted by a military tribunal in 1863 for treasonable utterance and was sentenced to prison. Lincoln decided to banish Vallandigham to the Confederate lines. Vallandigham ran for governorship of Ohio on foreign soil and polled a substantial but insufficient vote. He returned to his own state before the war ended and was not further prosecuted. The strange case of Vallandigham inspired Edward Everett Hale to write his moving fictional story of Philip Nolan, *The Man without a Country* (1863).

**Andrew Johnson** -- Andrew Johnson was chosen by the Republican Party to run with Abraham Lincoln as vice president in the 1864 election. Johnson was chosen to balance the ticket because he was a Southern Democrat, before the South seceded, and Lincoln was a Northern Republican. He replaced Lincoln after Abe was shot. Johnson repeatedly had trouble with Congress and Reconstruction and ultimately was impeached, but not kicked out of office (by only one vote shy).

**John Wilkes Booth** – Booth was a Southern actor and assassin who shot Abraham Lincoln to death in Ford's Theater in April of 1865.

**C.S.S. Alabama** The *Alabama* was a ship built by the British for the South. It was not originally built to be a warship, but in 1862, the Confederates gave it a crew and armed it with weapons. It captured over sixty union vessels before it accepted a challenge from a union cruiser in 1864 off the coast of France.

**Fenians** -- Fenians were a secret 19th century Irish and Irish-American organization dedicated to the overthrow of British rule in Ireland. Irish-Americans raised an army of several hundred men and launched invasions of Canada in 1866 and 1870. The Fenians were trying to persuade Canada to retaliate against England.

**National Banking Act** – This act gave the banking system the ability to sell government bonds and to establish a uniform bank note currency. The system could purchase government savings bonds and money to back those bonds. The National Banking Act was made during the Civil War, and was the first real step taken toward a singular, unified banking system since 1836, when Andrew Jackson killed the B.U.S.

**Union Party** -- The Union party included all of the Republicans and the war Democrats. It excluded the Copperheads and Peace Democrats. It was formed out of fear of the Republican Party losing control during the war. It was responsible for nominating Lincoln, along with Abe's adage, "You don't switch horses mid-stream."

# Chapter 22 Outline

## The Ordeal of Reconstruction

### I. The Problems of Peace

- i. After the war, there were many questions over what to do with the free Blacks, such as how to reintegrate the Southern states into the Union, what to do with **Jefferson Davis**, and who would be in charge of **Reconstruction**?
- ii. The Southern way of life had been ruined, as crops and farms were destroyed, the slaves had been freed, the cities were burnt down, but still, and many Southerners remained defiant.

### II. Freedmen Define Freedom

- i. At first, the freed Blacks faced a confusing situation, as many slave owners re-enslaved their slaves after Union troops left.
  1. Other planters resisted emancipation through legal means, citing that emancipation wasn't valid until local or state courts declared it.
- ii. Some slaves loyally stuck to their owners while others let out their pent-up bitterness by pillaging their former masters' land, property, and even whipping the old master.
- iii. Eventually, even resisting plantation owners had to give up their slaves, and afterwards tens of thousands of Blacks took to the roads to find new work or look for lost loved ones.
- iv. The church became the focus of the Black community life in the years following the war.
  1. Emancipation also meant education for Blacks, but despite all the gains Blacks made, they still faced severe discrimination and would have to wait a century before truly attaining their rights.

### III. The Freedman's Bureau

- i. In order to train the unskilled and unlettered freed Blacks, the **Freedman's Bureau** was set up on March 3, 1865. Union General **Oliver O. Howard** headed it.
- ii. The bureau taught about 200,000 Blacks how to read (its greatest success), since most former slaves wanted to narrow the literary gap between them and Whites; the bureau also read the word of God.
- iii. However, it wasn't as effective as it could have been, as evidenced by the further discrimination of Blacks, and it expired in 1872 after much criticism by racist Whites.

### IV. Johnson: The Tailor President

- i. **Andrew Johnson** came from very poor and humble beginnings, and he served in Congress for many years (he was the only Confederate congressman not to leave Congress when the rest of the South seceded).
- ii. He was feared for his reputation of having a short temper and being a great fighter, was a dogmatic champion of states' rights and the Constitution, and he was a Tennessean who never earned the trust of the North and never regained the confidence of the South.

### V. Presidential Reconstruction

- i. Since **Abraham Lincoln** believed that the South had never legally withdrawn from the Union, restoration was to be relatively simple. In his plan for restoring the union, the southern states could be reintegrated into the Union if and when they had only 10% of its voters pledge and taken an oath to the Union, and also acknowledge the emancipation of the slaves; it was appropriately called the **Ten Percent Plan**. Like the loving father who welcomed back the prodigal son, Lincoln's plan was very forgiving to the South.
- ii. The **Radical Republicans** felt punishment was due the South for all the years of strife. They feared that the leniency of the 10 % Plan would allow the Southerners to re-enslave the newly freed Blacks,

so they rammed the **Wade-Davis Bill** through Congress. It required 50% of the states' voters to take oaths of allegiance and demanded stronger safeguards for emancipation than the 10% Plan.

- iii. However, Lincoln pocket-vetoed the bill by letting it expire, and the 10% Plan remained.
- iv. It became clear that there were now two types of Republicans: the moderates, who shared the same views as Lincoln and the radicals, who believed the South should be harshly punished.
  1. Sadly though, Lincoln was assassinated. This left the 10% Plan's future in question.
  2. When Andrew Johnson took power, the radicals thought that he would do what they wanted, but he soon proved them wrong by basically taking Lincoln's policy and issuing his own Reconstruction proclamation: certain leading Confederates were disfranchised (right to vote removed), the Confederate debt was repudiated, and states had to ratify the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment.

#### VI. The Baleful Black Codes

- i. In order to control the freed Blacks, many Southern states passed **Black Codes**, laws aimed at keeping the Black population in submission and workers in the fields; some were harsh, others were not as harsh.
- ii. Blacks who "jumped" their labor contracts, or walked off their jobs, were subject to penalties and fines, and their wages were generally kept very low.
- iii. The codes forbade Blacks from serving on a jury and some even barred Blacks from renting or leasing land, and Blacks could be punished for "idleness" by being subjected to working on a chain gang.
- iv. Making a mockery out of the newly won freedom of the Blacks, the Black Codes made many abolitionists wonder if the price of the Civil War was worth it, since Blacks were hardly better after the war than before the war. They were not "slaves" on paper, but in reality, their lives were little different.

#### VII. Congressional Reconstruction

- i. In December, 1865, when many of the Southern states came to be reintegrated into the Union, among them were former Confederates and Democrats, and most Republicans were disgusted to see their former enemies on hand to reclaim seats in Congress.
- ii. During the war, without the Democrats, the Republicans had passed legislation that had favored the North, such as the **Morrill Tariff**, the **Pacific Railroad Act**, and the **Homestead Act**, so now, many Republicans didn't want to give up the power that they had gained in the war.
- iii. Northerners now realized that the South would be stronger politically than before, since now, Blacks counted for a whole person instead of just 3/5 of one, and Republicans also feared that the Northern and Southern Democrats would join and take over Congress and the White House and institute their Black Codes over the nation, defeating all that the Civil War gained.
- iv. On December 6, 1865, President Johnson declared that the South had satisfied all of the conditions needed, and that the Union was now restored.

#### VIII. Johnson Clashes with Congress

- i. Johnson repeatedly vetoed Republican-passed bills, such as a bill extending the life of the Freedman's Bureau, and he also vetoed the **Civil Rights Bill**, which conferred on blacks the privilege of American citizenship and struck at the Black Codes.
- ii. As Republicans gained control of Congress, they passed the bills into laws with a 2/3 vote and thus override Johnson's veto.
- iii. In the **14<sup>th</sup> Amendment**, the Republicans sought to instill the same ideas of the Civil Rights Bill: (1) all Blacks were American citizens, (2) if a state denied citizenship to Blacks, then its representatives in the Electoral College were lowered, (3) former Confederates could not hold federal or state office, and (4) the federal debt was guaranteed while the Confederate one was repudiated (erased).
- iv. The radicals were disappointed that Blacks weren't given the right to vote, but all Republicans agreed that states wouldn't be accepted back into the Union unless they ratified the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment.

#### IX. Swinging 'Round the Circle with Johnson

- i. In 1866, Republicans would not allow Reconstruction to be carried on without the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, and as election time approached, Johnson wanted to lower the amount of Republicans in Congress, so he began a series of 'Round the Circle speeches.
- ii. However, as he was heckled by the audience, he hurled back insults, gave "give 'em hell" speeches, and generally denounced the radicals, and in the process, he gave Republicans more men in Congress than they had before—the opposite of his original intention.

#### X. Republican Principles and Programs

- i. By then, the Republicans had a veto-proof Congress and nearly unlimited control over Reconstruction, but moderates and radicals still couldn't agree with one another.

- ii. In the Senate, the leader of the radicals was **Charles Sumner**, long since recovered from his caning by Preston Brooks, and in the House, the radical leader was **Thaddeus Stevens**, an old, sour man who was an unswerving friend of the Blacks.
- iii. The radicals wanted to keep the South out of the Union as long as possible and totally change its economy and the moderates wanted a quicker Reconstruction. What happened was a compromise between the two extremes.

#### XI. Reconstruction by Sword

- i. The **Reconstruction Act** of March 2, 1867 divided the South into five military zones, temporarily disfranchised tens of thousands of former Confederates, and laid down new guidelines for the readmission of states (Johnson had announced the Union restored, but Congress had not yet formally agreed on this).
  1. All states had to approve the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, making all Blacks citizens.
  2. All states had to guarantee full suffrage of all male former slaves.
- ii. The **15<sup>th</sup> Amendment**, passed by Congress in 1869, gave Blacks their right to vote.
- iii. In the case *Ex parte Milligan* (1866), the Supreme Court ruled that military tribunals could not try civilians, even during wartime, if there were civil courts available.
- iv. By 1870, all of the states had complied with the standards of Reconstruction, and in 1877, the last of the states were given their home rule back, and Reconstruction ended.
  1. The end of Reconstruction was part of the **Compromise of 1877**—the two presidential candidates were at a stalemate and the only way to break the stalemate was with a deal. In the deal, the North got their president (Rutherford B. Hayes) and the South got the military to pull-out (abandon?) the South and the former slaves, thus ending Reconstruction.

#### XII. No Women Voters

- i. Women suffrage advocates were disappointed by the 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments, since they didn't give women suffrage.
  1. After all, women had gathered petitions and had helped Blacks gain their rights.
  2. Frederick Douglass believed in the women's movement, but believed that it was now "the Negro's hour."
- ii. As a result, women advocates like **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** and **Susan B. Anthony** campaigned against the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments—Amendments that inserted the word *male* into the Constitution for the first time ever.

#### XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in the South

- i. Blacks began to organize politically, and their main vehicle was the **Union League**.
  1. It became a network of political clubs that educated members in their civic duties and campaigned for Republican candidates, and later even built Black churches and schools, represented Black grievances, and recruited militias to protect Blacks.
  2. Black women attended the parades and rallies of Black communities.
- ii. Black men also began to hold political offices, as men like **Hiram Revels** and **Blanche K. Bruce** served in Congress (they represented Mississippi).
- iii. Southern Whites hated seeing their former slaves now ranking above them, and they also hated "**scalawags**," Southerners who were accused of plundering Southern treasuries and selling out the Southerners, and "**carpetbaggers**," Northerners accused of parasitically milking power and profit in a now-desolate South.
- iv. One could note that Southern governments were somewhat corrupted during these times.

#### XIV. The Ku Klux Klan

- i. Extremely racist Whites who hated the Blacks founded the "Invisible Empire of the South," or **Ku Klux Klan**, in Tennessee in 1866—an organization that scared Blacks into not voting or not seeking jobs, etc... and often resorted to violence against the Blacks in addition to terror.
- ii. This radical group undermined much of what abolitionists sought to do.

#### XV. Johnson Walks the Impeachment Plank

- i. Radical Republicans were angry with President Johnson, and they decided to try to get rid of him.
- ii. In 1867, Congress passed the **Tenure of Office Act**, which provided that the president had to secure the consent of the Senate before removing his appointees once they had been approved by the Senate (one reason was to keep **Edwin M. Stanton**, a Republican spy, in office).
- iii. However, when Johnson dismissed Stanton early in 1868, the Republicans impeached him.

#### XVI. A Not-Guilty Verdict for Johnson

- i. Johnson was not allowed to testify by his lawyers, who argued that the Tenure of Office Act was unconstitutional and Johnson was acting under the Constitution, not the law.

- ii. On May 16, 1868, Johnson was acquitted of all charges by a single vote, as seven Republican senators with consciences voted "not-guilty" (interestingly, those seven never secured a political office again afterwards).
  - iii. Die-hard radicals were infuriated by the acquittal, but many politicians feared establishing a precedence of removing the president through impeachment.
- XVII. The Purchase of Alaska
- i. In 1867, Secretary of State **William H. Seward** bought Alaska from Russia to the United States for \$7.2 million, but most of the public jeered his act as "Seward's Folly" or "Seward's Ice-box."
  - ii. Only later, when oil and gold were discovered, did Alaska prove to be a huge bargain.
- XVIII. The Heritage of Reconstruction
- i. Many Southerners regarded Reconstruction as worse than the war itself, as they resented the upending of their social and racial system.
  - ii. The Republicans, though with good intentions, failed to improve the South, and the fate of Blacks would remain poor for almost another century before the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s secured Black privileges.

## Chapter 22 Vocabulary

**Oliver O. Howard** – Howard was the head of the Freedmen's Bureau which was intended to be a kind of primitive welfare agency for free blacks. He later founded and served as president of Howard University in Washington D.C.

**Andrew Johnson** – Johnson was president after Lincoln's assassination, between 1864 and 1868. He was an "accidental president" who was an ex-Tennessee Senator, and was Lincoln's vice-president. He was a Southerner who did not understand the North, a Tennessean who had never been accepted by the Republicans, and a president who had never been elected to the office. Republicans feared that Southerners might join hands with Democrats in the North and win control of Congress. If the South ran Congress, blacks might be enslaved once again. To protest, Congress passed the Civil Rights Bill, but Johnson vetoed the bill (it was overridden by a 2/3 vote though. Congress also tried to have Johnson impeached. The impeachment trial failed by one vote in the Senate. The one great achievement that Johnson's administration committed was the purchase of Alaska.

**Alexander Stephens** -- He was the vice-president of the Confederacy, until 1865, when it was defeated and destroyed by the Union. Like the other leaders of the Confederacy, he was under indictment for treason.

**Charles Sumner** -- Charles Sumner was a senator for Massachusetts. He was a leading abolitionist. He spoke against slavery and openly insulted Butler in the wake of the Kansas-Nebraska crisis. Preston S. Brooks was offended by the insults and beat Sumner with a cane. Sumner obtained very serious injuries and had to leave for three and a half years to recover. Massachusetts reelected Sumner, and South Carolina reelected Brooks. This showed how emotional the North and South were and how close they were to war.

**Thaddeus Stevens** -- Thaddeus Stevens was a radical Republican congressman. He orchestrated the Congressional Reconstruction plan, which was very stern toward the South. He also tried to impeach President Andrew Johnson in 1868.

**William Seward** – Seward was Secretary of State under Lincoln and Johnson and purchased Alaska in 1867 for \$7.2 million. It was referred to as "Seward's Folly" or "Seward's Icebox" then, before its oil reserves were known.

**Freedman's Bureau** – The Bureau was to be a primitive welfare agency for freed blacks. It provided food, clothes, and education to freedman. Union General, Oliver O. Howard founded the program. It taught 200,000 blacks how to read, its greatest success, but it expired in 1872.

**10% Plan** -- This was Lincoln's Reconstruction plan. Written in 1863, it proclaimed that a state could be reintegrated into the Union when 10% of its voters in the 1860 election pledged their allegiance to the U.S. and pledged to abide by emancipation, and then formally erect their state governments. This plan was very lenient to the South, and would have meant an easy Reconstruction.

**Moderate vs. Radical Republicans** -- Moderate Republicans agreed with Lincoln's ideals. They believed that the seceded states should be restored to the Union swiftly through lenient terms. The Radical Republicans believed that the South should pay dearly for their crimes. The radicals wanted the social structure of the South to be changed before it was restored to the Union. They wanted the planters punished and the blacks protected by federal power. They were against Abraham Lincoln.

**Black Codes** -- The Black Codes were laws passed in the Southern states after the Civil War. The laws were designed to regulate the affairs of the freed blacks. They were aimed to ensure a stable labor supply and they sought to restore, as closely as possible, the pre-freedom system of racial relations. They recognized freedom and a few other rights, such as the right to marry, but they still prohibited the right to serve on a jury, or renting or leasing land. No blacks were allowed to vote. They mocked the ideal of freedom and created horrible burdens on the free blacks that were desperately struggling to make it. The North viewed it as re-enslaving the freed slaves, only in different words. They thought that if this was true, then the war had been fought in vain. These laws caused Radical Republicans to pass the Civil Rights Act in 1866.

**Sharecropping** -- After the Civil War former landowners "rented" plots of land to blacks and poor whites in such a way that the renters were always in debt and therefore tied to the land. Sharecropping was little better than life as a slave, as they did not own the land but paid shares of the crops. Sharecroppers were often in debt to the landlord.

**Civil Rights Act** -- In 1866, the Civil Rights Act was created to grant citizenship to blacks and it was an attempt to prohibit the black codes. It also prohibited racial discrimination on jury selection. The Civil Rights Act was not really enforced and was really just a political move used to attract more votes. Its greatest achievement was that it led to the creation and passing of the 14th Amendment.

**Fourteenth Amendment** – Preceded by the Civil Rights Bill, the Fourteenth Amendment was proposed by Congress and sent to the states in June of 1866. "It (1) conferred civil rights, including citizenship, but excluding the franchise, for the freedmen; (2) reduced proportionately the representation of a state in Congress and the Electoral College if it denied blacks the ballot; (3) disqualified from federal and state office any rebel until they swore 'to support the Constitution of the U.S.; and (4) guaranteed the federal debt, while repudiating all Confederate debts." It did not grant the right to vote and all Republicans agreed that a state could not be part of the Union again without ratifying the amendment.

**Military Reconstruction Act** – This act divided the South into five military districts that were commanded by Union generals. It was passed in 1867 by Radical Republicans, it ripped the power away from the president to be commander in chief and set up a system of martial law.

**Fifteenth Amendment** -- This amendment was passed in Congress in 1869 and was ratified by the required number of states in 1870 and gave freed black men the right to vote. Before ratification, Northern states withheld the ballot from the black minorities. The South felt that the Republicans were hypocritical by insisting that blacks in the South should vote. The moderates wanted the southern states back in the Union, and thus free the federal government from direct responsibility for the protection of black rights. The Republicans were afraid that once the states were re-admitted they would amend their constitutions and withdraw the ballot from blacks. The only ironclad safeguard to cease the tension was the Fifteenth Amendment.

**Scalawags** – Scalawags were Southerners who were favorable to the North.

**Carpentbaggers** -- During the Reconstruction period after the Civil War, this nickname was given to Northerners who moved south to seek their fortune out of the destruction. Some went southward to help, others to scam.

**Ku Klux Klan** -- In 1866, Tennessee formed one of the most notorious anti-black groups, the KKK. They were against any power or rights a black might have. They were violent and often times they killed blacks "to keep them in their place."

**Force Acts** -- These acts were passed in 1870 and 1871. They were created to put a stop to the torture and harassment of blacks by whites, especially by hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. These acts gave power to the government to use its force to physically end the problems.

**Tenure of Office** -- The Tenure of Office Act was passed by Congress in 1867. It stated that the president could not fire any appointed officials without the consent of Congress. Congress passed this act knowing that Andrew Johnson would break it. Johnson fired Stanton without asking Congress, thus giving Congress a reason to impeach him. Johnson's impeachment trial was 1 vote short in the Senate.

# Chapter 23

## Political Paralysis in the Gilded Age

- I. The "Bloody Shirt" Elects Grant
  - i. The Republicans nominated Civil War **General Ulysses S. Grant**, who was a great soldier but had no political experience.
  - ii. The Democrats could only denounce military Reconstruction and couldn't agree on anything else, and thus, were disorganized.
  - iii. The Republicans got Grant elected (barely) by "waving the bloody shirt," or reliving his war victories, and used his popularity to elect him, though his popular vote was only slightly ahead of rival **Horatio Seymour**. Seymour was the Democratic candidate who didn't accept a redemption-of-greenbacks-for-maximum-value platform, and thus doomed his party.
  - iv. However, due to the close nature of the election, Republicans could not take future victories for granted.
- II. The Era of Good Stealings
  - i. Despite the Civil War, the population still mushroomed, due to incoming immigration, but during this time, politics became very corrupt.
    1. Railroad promoters cheated gullible customers.
    2. Stock-market investors were a cancer in the public eye.
    3. Too many judges and legislators put their power up for hire.
  - ii. Two notorious millionaires were **Jim Fisk** and **Jay Gould**.



1. In 1869, the pair concocted a plot to corner the gold market that would only work if the treasury stopped selling gold, so they worked on President Grant directly and through his brother-in-law, but their plan failed when the treasury sold gold.
  - iii. The infamous **Tweed Ring** (AKA, "**Tammany Hall**) of NYC, headed by "**Boss**" **Tweed**, employed bribery, graft, and fake elections to cheat the city of as much as \$200 million.
    1. Tweed was finally caught when *The New York Times* secured evidence of his misdeeds, and Tweed, despite being defended by future presidential candidate Samuel J. Tilden, was convicted and imprisoned.
    2. **Thomas Nast**, political cartoonist, constantly drew against Tammany's corruption.
- III. A Carnival of Corruption
- i. Grant, an easy-going fellow, apparently failed to see the corruption going on, even though many of his friends wanted offices and his cabinet was totally corrupt (except for Secretary of State Hamilton Fish), and his in-laws, the Dent family, were especially terrible.
  - ii. The **Credit Mobilier**, a railroad construction company that paid itself huge sums of money for small railroad construction, tarred Grant.
    1. A New York newspaper finally busted it, and two members of Congress were formally censured (the company had given some of its stock to the congressmen) and the Vice President himself was shown to have accepted 20 shares of stock.
  - iii. In 1875, the public learned that the **Whiskey Ring** had robbed the Treasury of millions of dollars, and when Grant's own private secretary was shown to be one of the criminals, Grant retracted his earlier statement of "Let no guilty man escape."
    1. Later, in 1876, Secretary of War **William Belknap** was shown to have pocketed some \$24,000 by selling junk to Indians.
- IV. The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872
- i. By 1872, a power wave of disgust at Grant's administration was building, despite the worst of the scandals not having been revealed yet, and reformers organized the Liberal Republican Party and nominated the dogmatic **Horace Greeley**.
    1. The Democratic Party also supported Greeley, even though he had blasted them repeatedly in his newspaper (the *New York Tribune*), but he pleased them because he called for a clasping of hands between the North and South and an end to Reconstruction.
  - ii. The campaign was filled with more mudslinging (as usual), as Greeley was called an atheist, a communist, a vegetarian, and a signer of Jefferson Davis's bail bond (that part was true) while Grant was called an ignoramus, a drunkard, and a swindler.
    1. Still, Grant crushed Greeley in the electoral vote and in the popular vote was well.
  - iii. In 1872, the Republican Congress passed a general **amnesty act** that removed political disabilities from all but some 500 former Confederate leaders.
- V. Depression, Deflation, and Inflation
- i. In 1873, a paralyzing panic broke out, the **Panic of 1873**, caused by too many railroads and factories being formed than existing markets could bear and the over-loaning by banks to those projects.
    1. Essentially, the causes of the panic were the same old ones that'd caused recessions every 20 years that century: (1) over-speculation and (2) too-easy credit.
    2. It first started with the failure of the New York banking firm Jay Cooke & Company, which was headed by the rich Jay Cooke, a financier of the Civil War.
  - ii. Before, the greenbacks that had been issued in the Civil War were being recalled, but now, during the panic, the "**cheap-money**" supporters wanted greenbacks to be printed en masse again, to create inflation.
  - iii. However, supporters of "**hard-money**" (actual gold and silver) persuaded Grant to veto a bill that would print more paper money, and the **Resumption Act** of 1875 pledged the government to further withdraw greenbacks and made all further redemption of paper money in gold at face value, starting in 1879.
  - iv. Debtors now cried that silver was under-valued (another call for inflation), but Grant refused to coin more silver dollars, which had been stopped in 1873, and besides, new silver discoveries in the later 1870s shot the price of silver way down.
    1. Grant's name remained fused to sound money, though not sound government.
    2. As greenbacks regained their value, few greenback holders bothered to exchange their more convenient bills for gold when Redemption Day came in 1879.
  - v. In 1878, the **Bland-Allison Act** instructed the Treasury to buy and coin between \$2 million and \$4 million worth of silver bullion each month.
    1. The minimum was actually coined and its effect was minimal on creating "cheap money."

- vi. The Republican hard-money policy, unfortunately for it, led to the election of a Democratic House of Representatives in 1874 and spawned the **Greenback Labor Party** in 1878.
- VI. Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age
- i. “**The Gilded Age**,” was a term coined by **Mark Twain** hinting that times looked good, yet if one scratched a bit below the surface, there were problems. Times were filled with corruption and presidential election squeakers, and even though Democrats and Republicans had similar ideas on economic issues, there were fundamental differences.
    1. Republicans traced their lineage to Puritanism.
    2. Democrats were more like Lutherans and Roman Catholics.
    3. Democrats had strong support in the South.
    4. Republicans had strong votes in the North and the West, and from the **Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.)**, an organization made up of former Union veterans.
  - ii. In the 1870s and the 1880s, Republican infighting was led by rivals **Roscoe Conkling** (Stalwarts) and **James G. Blaine** (Half-Breeds), who bickered and deadlocked their party.
- VII. The Hayes-Tilden Standoff, 1876
- i. Grant almost ran for a third term before the House derailed that proposal, so the Republicans nominated **Rutherford B. Hayes**, dubbed the “Great Unknown” because no one knew much about him, while the Democrats ran **Samuel Tilden**.
    1. The election was very close, with Tilden getting 184 votes out of a needed 185 in the Electoral College, but votes in four states, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, and part of Oregon, were unsure and disputed.
    2. The disputed states had sent in two sets of returns, one Democrat, one Republican.
- VIII. The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction
- i. The Electoral Count Act, passed in 1877, set up an electoral commission that consisted of 15 men selected from the Senate the House, and the Supreme Court, which would count the votes (the 15th man was to be an independent, David Davis, but at the last moment, he resigned).
  - ii. In February of 1877, the Senate and the House met to settle the dispute, and eventually, Hayes became president as a part of the rest of the **Compromise of 1877**. True to a compromise, both sides won a bit:
    1. For the North—Hayes would become president if he agreed to remove troops from the remaining two Southern states where Union troops remained (Louisiana and South Carolina), and also, a bill would subsidize the Texas and Pacific rail line.
    2. For the South—military rule and Reconstruction ended when the military pulled out of the South.
  - iii. The Compromise of 1877 abandoned the Blacks in the South by withdrawing troops, and their last attempt at protection of Black rights was the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which was mostly declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in the 1883 Civil Rights cases.
- IX. The Birth of Jim Crow in the Post-Reconstruction South
- i. As Reconstruction ended and the military returned northward, whites once again asserted their power.
    1. Literacy requirements for voting began, voter registration laws emerged, and poll taxes began. These were all targeted at black voters.
    2. Most blacks became **sharecroppers** (providing nothing but labor) or **tenant farmers** (if they could provide their own tools).
  - ii. In 1896, the Supreme Court ruled in the case of **Plessy v. Ferguson** that “separate but equal” facilities were constitutional.
    1. Thus “**Jim Crow**” segregation was legalized.
- X. Class Conflicts and Ethnic Clashes
- i. In 1877, the presidents of the nation’s four largest railroads decided to cut wages by 10%. Workers struck back, stopping work, and when President Hayes sent troops to stop this, violence erupted, and more than 100 people died in the several weeks of chaos.
  - ii. The failure of the railroad strike showed the weakness of the labor movement, but this was partly caused by friction between races, especially between the Irish and the Chinese.
  - iii. In San Francisco, Irish-born Denis Kearney incited his followers to terrorize the Chinese.
  - iv. In 1879, Congress passed a bill severely restricting the influx of Chinese immigrants (most of whom were males who had come to California to work on the railroads), but Hayes vetoed the bill on grounds that it violated an existing treaty with China.
    1. After Hayes left office, the **Chinese Exclusion Act**, passed in 1882, was passed, barring any Chinese from entering the United States—the first law limiting immigration.
- XI. Garfield and Arthur

- i. James A. Garfield
    1. In 1880, the Republicans nominated **James A. Garfield**, a man from Ohio who had risen to the rank of major general in the Civil War, and as his running mate, a notorious **Stalwart** (supporter of Roscoe Conkling) was chosen: Chester A. Arthur of New York.
    2. The Democrats chose **Winfield S. Hancock**, a Civil War general who appealed to the South due to his fair treatment of it during Reconstruction and a veteran who had been wounded at Gettysburg, and thus appealed to veterans.
    3. The campaign once again avoided touchy issues, and Garfield squeaked by in the popular vote (the electoral count was wider: 214 to 155).
      - a. Garfield was a good person, but he hated to hurt people's feelings and say "no."
    4. Garfield named James G. Blaine to the position of Secretary of the State, and he made other anti-Stalwart acts, but on September 19, 1881, Garfield died after having been shot in the head by a crazy but disappointed office seeker, **Charles J. Guiteau**, who, after being captured, used an early version of the "insanity defense" to avoid conviction (he was hanged anyway).
  - ii. Chester Arthur
    1. **Chester Arthur** didn't seem to be a good fit for the presidency, but he surprised many by giving the cold shoulder to Stalwarts, his chief supporters, and by calling for reform, a call heeded by the Republican party as it began to show newly found enthusiasm for reform.
    2. The **Pendleton Act** of 1883, the so-called Magna Charta of civil-service reform (awarding of government jobs based on ability, not just because a buddy awarded the job), prohibited financial assessments on jobholders, including lowly scrubwomen, and established a merit system of making appointments to office on the basis of aptitude rather than "pull."
      - a. It also set up a **Civil Service Commission**, charged with administering open competitive service, and offices not "classified" by the president remained the fought-over footballs of politics.
      - b. Luckily, Arthur cooperated, and by 1884, he had classified nearly 10% of all federal offices, or nearly 14,000 of them.
    3. The Pendleton Act partially divided politics from patronage, but it drove politicians into "marriages of convenience" with business leaders.
- XII. The Blaine-Cleveland Mudslings of 1884
- i. James G. Blaine became the Republican candidate, but some Republican reformers, unable to stomach this, switched to the Democratic Party and were called **Mugwumps**.
  - ii. The Democrats chose **Grover Cleveland** as their candidate but received a shock when it was revealed that he might have been the father of an illegitimate child.
    1. The campaign of 1884 was filled with perhaps the lowest **mudslinging** in history.
    2. The contest depended on how New York chose, but unfortunately, one foolish Republican insulted the race, faith, and patriotism of New York's heavy Irish population, and as a result, New York voted for Cleveland; that was the difference.
- XIII. "Old Grover" Takes Over
- i. Portly Grover Cleveland was the first Democratic president since James Buchanan, and as a supporter of **laissez-faire** capitalism, he delighted business owners and bankers.
  - ii. Cleveland named two former Confederates to his cabinet, and at first tried to adhere to the merit system (but eventually gave in to his party and fired almost 2/3 of the 120,000 federal employees), but he had his problems.
    1. Military pensions plagued Cleveland; these bills were given to Civil War veterans to help them, but they were used fraudulently to give money to all sorts of people.
    2. However, Cleveland showed that he was ready to take on the corrupt distributors of military pensions when he vetoed a bill that would add several hundred thousand new people on the pension list.
- XIV. Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff
- i. By 1881, the Treasury had a surplus of \$145 million, most of it having come from the high tariff, and there was a lot of clamoring for lowering the tariff, though big industrialists opposed it.
  - ii. Cleveland wasn't really interested in the subject at first, but as he researched it, he became inclined towards lowering the tariff, so in late 1887, Cleveland openly tossed the appeal for lower tariffs into the lap of Congress.
    1. Democrats were upset at the obstinacy of their chief while Republicans gloated at his apparently reckless act.
- XV. The Billion Dollar Congress

- i. The new Speaker of the House, **Thomas B. Reed**, was a large, tall man, a tremendous debater, and very critical and quick man.
  1. To solve the problem of reaching a quorum in Congress, Reed counted the Democrats who were present yet didn't answer to the roll call, and after three days of such chaos, he finally prevailed, opening the 51<sup>st</sup>, or "**Billion Dollar**" Congress—one that legislated many expensive projects.
- XVI. The Drumbeat of Discontent
  - i. The **Populist Party** emerged in 1892 from disgruntled farmers.
    1. Their main call was for inflation via free coinage of silver.
    2. They called for a litany of items including: a graduated income tax, government regulation of railroads and telegraphs/telephones, direct elections of U.S. senators, a one term limit, initiative and referendum, a shorter workday, and immigration restriction.
- XVII. Cleveland and Depression
  - i. Grover Cleveland won, but no sooner than he had stepped into the presidency did the **Depression of 1893** break out. It was the first such panic in the new urban and industrial age, and it caused much outrage and hardships. This completed the almost predictable, every-20-year cycle of panics during the 1800s (panics occurred during 1819, 1837, 1857, 1873, and 1893).
  - ii. About 8,000 American business houses collapsed in six months, and dozens of railroad lines went into the hands of receivers.
    1. This time, Cleveland had a deficit and a problem, for the Treasury had to issue gold for the notes that it had paid in the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, and according to law, those notes had to be reissued, thus causing a steady drain on gold in the Treasury—the level alarmingly dropped below \$100 million at one point.
  - iii. Meanwhile, Grover Cleveland had developed a malignant growth under the roof of his mouth, and it had to be secretly removed in a surgery that took place aboard his private yacht; had he died, **Adlai E. Stevenson**, a "soft money" (paper money) man, would have caused massive chaos with inflation.
  - iv. Also, 33 year-old **William Jennings Bryan** was advocating "free silver," and gaining support for his beliefs, but an angry Cleveland used his executive power to break the filibuster in the Senate—thus alienating the silver-supporting Democrats.
- XVIII. Cleveland Breeds a Backlash
  - i. Cleveland was embarrassed at having to resort to J.P. Morgan to bale out the depression.
  - ii. He was also embarrassed by the **Wilson-Gorman Tariff**. He'd promised to lower the tariff, but so many tack-ons had been added, the result was null.
    1. Further, the Supreme Court struck down an income tax. It looked like *all* politicians were tools of the wealthy.

## Chapter 23 Vocabulary

**Ulysses S. Grant** -- Being a virgin to politics, he became the first president elected to office after the Civil War. He was previously a Union General who defeated General Lee at Appomattox Courthouse, thus ending the Civil War. During Grant's presidency, several scams occurred, although Grant was never proven to be involved with any of them. Also, the Panic of 1873 (due to over-speculation) came about during his reign. He served out two consecutive terms and was not re-nominated to run for a third.

**Thomas Nast** -- Thomas Nast was a cartoonist for the *New York Times* and drew many famous political cartoons, including many of Boss Tweed and Tammany Hall. The cartoon showed condemning evidence of the corrupt ringleader and he was jailed shortly afterwards.

**Horace Greely** -- In 1872, the Republicans re-nominated Grant causing some of the "reform-minded" Republicans to leave their party and create the Liberal Republican Party. They nominated Greely, editor of the *New York Tribune*. The Democrats also nominated him. There was much mudslinging involved in this election and Greely lost, in more ways than one. Along with the loss of the presidency, Greely lost his job, his wife, and his mind within one month of the election.

**Roscoe Conkling** -- Conkling was the leader of a group for Republicans called the Stalwarts. These people loved the spoils system and supported it wherever it was threatened. They were opposed by the Half-Breeds, led by James G. Blaine. Conkling, a senator from New York, and Blaine's infighting caused the nomination of the politically neutral Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876.

**James G. Blaine** -- Blaine was the champion of the Half-Breeds, a political machine of the Republican party. A congressman from Maine, he was very good with the people and was candidate for president in 1884. However, other Republicans, like the Mugwumps, wouldn't support him. They considered him a political villain. He became Secretary of State during Garfield's administration and tried to persuade Garfield towards the Half-Breed political machine.

**Rutherford B. Hayes** -- Rutherford B. Hayes was a Republican governor from Ohio. He had spent the majority of his term as governor reforming the government and politics within Ohio. He was elected president in 1876 by the Compromise of 1877. Hayes was known as the "caretaker" president because he took care of the country.

**Samuel Tilden** – Tilden was a New York lawyer who rose to fame by bagging Boss Tweed, a notorious New York political boss. Tilden was nominated for president in 1876 by the Democratic party because of his clean-up image. This election was so close that it led to the Compromise of 1877. Even though Tilden had more popular votes, the compromise gave the presidency to the Republicans and allowed the Democrats to stop Reconstruction in the South.

**James A. Garfield** -- James Garfield was elected to the presidency in 1880. He barely won the popular vote, but won by a huge margin in the electoral college. He was assassinated, so that the Stalwarts could be in power in the government. This brought about reforms in the spoils systems.

**Chester A. Arthur** -- Arthur was the vice president of James A. Garfield. After President Garfield was assassinated, in September of 1881, Arthur assumed the presidency. He was chosen to run as vice president, primarily, to gain the Stalwarts' votes. Arthur was left in charge of the United States with no apparent qualifications. He, in turn, surprised the public with his unexpected vigor in prosecuting certain post office frauds and wouldn't help the Conklingite cronies when they came looking for favors. He was also in favor of civil service reform.

**Charles J. Guiteau** -- In 1881, Charles J. Guiteau shot President Garfield in the back in a Washington railroad station. Guiteau allegedly committed this crime so that Arthur, a Stalwart, would become president. Guiteau's attorneys used a plea of insanity, but failed and Guiteau was hanged for murder. After this event, politics began to get cleaned up with laws like the Pendleton Act.

**Grover Cleveland** -- Cleveland was the Democratic presidential candidate for the 1884 election. His Republican opponent, James G. Blaine, was involved in several questionable deals, but Cleveland had an illegitimate child. Consequently, the election turned into a mudslinging contest. Cleveland won, becoming the first Democratic president since Buchanan. He took few initiatives, but he was effective in dealing with excessive military pensions. He placated both North and South by appointing some former Confederates to office, but sticking mostly with Northerners. Cleveland also forced Congress to discuss lowering the tariff, although the issue could not be resolved before he was defeated by Benjamin Harrison in the 1888 election.

**Benjamin Harrison** – Harrison was called "Young Tippecanoe" because of grandfather William Henry Harrison. He was a Republican and was elected president in 1888. His opponent, Grover Cleveland, had more popular votes, but Harrison was put in office because of more electoral votes. He was both pro-business, pro-tariff.

**Cheap Money** -- Cheap money is the theory that more printed money causes inflation. With more money in circulation, it would be easier to get one's hands on some of it, making it easy to pay off debts. Creditors clearly disliked this idea. Cheap money was favored by the farmers and debtors. Cheap money advocates wanted more "greenbacks" printed or more silver currency coined.

**Hard or Sound Money** -- The metallic or specie dollar is known as hard money. It was extremely important during the late 1860's and early 1870's, especially during the Panic of 1873. It was in opposition with "greenbacks" or "folding money." The issuing of the "greenbacks" was overdone and the value depreciated causing inflation and the Panic of 1873. "Hard money" advocates looked for the complete disappearance of the "folding money." The creditors and wealthy supported hard money, the debtors and poor supported cheap money.

**Gilded Age** -- The Gilded Age was a period in U.S. history around 1870-1900 that seemed fine on the outside, but was politically corrupt internally. This term was coined by Mark Twain. Although reunited between the North and South and as business boomed, strong North—South divisions remained and corruption in both business and politics was common.

**Bloody-Shirt** -- The slogan "waving the bloody-shirt" was an election tactic where a party, usually the Republicans, would nominate an old military figure and/or keep reminding the nation of the Civil War.

**Tweed Ring** – The Tweed Ring or "Tammany Hall" was group of people in New York City who worked with and for "Boss" Tweed. He was a crooked politician and money-maker. The ring supported all of his deeds. The *New York Times* finally found evidence to jail Tweed. Without Tweed, the ring did not last. These people, the "Bosses" of the political machines, were very common in America for that time

**Credit Mobilier Scandal** – This was a railroad construction company that consisted of many of the insiders of the Union Pacific Railway. The company hired themselves to build a railroad and made incredible amounts of money from it. In merely one year, they paid dividends of 348%. In an attempt to cover themselves, they paid key congressmen and even the Vice-President stocks and large dividends. All of this was exposed in the scandal of 1872.

**Whiskey Ring** -- In 1875, whiskey manufacturers had to pay a heavy excise tax. Most avoided the tax, and soon tax collectors came to get their money. The collectors were bribed by the distillers. The Whiskey Ring robbed the treasury of millions in excise-tax revenues. The scandal reached as high as to the personal secretary of President Grant.

**Resumption Act** – The Resumption Act stated that the government would contract greenbacks from circulation and redeem paper currency in gold at face value beginning in 1879. This was the policy of "contraction"—lessening paper money. It worked, as the amount of money per capita did decrease between 1870-80. This was good for creditors (rich), bad for debtors (poor).

**Crime of '73** – This "crime" occurred when Congress stopped the coinage of the silver dollars against the will of the farmers and westerners who wanted unlimited coinage of silver. With no silver coming into the federal government, no inflation resulted. Westerners from silver-mining states joined with debtors in demanding a return to the "Dollar of Our Daddies." This

demand was essentially a call for inflation, which was halted by contraction (reduction of the greenbacks) and the Treasury's accumulation of gold. A compromise over the coinage of silver came with the Bland-Allison Act of 1878. The law instructed the Treasury to coin between 2 million and 4 million dollars in silver each month.

**Bland-Allison Act** -- This act was a compromise concerning the coinage of silver designed by Richard P. Bland. It was put into effect in 1878. The act stated that the Treasury had to buy and coin between \$2 and \$4 million worth of silver bullion each month. The government put down hopes of inflationists when it bought only the legal minimum.

**G.A.R.** – The Grand Army of the Republic, was an organization formed by the Union veterans at the end of the American Civil War in 1866. Its main goal was to aid fellow veterans' families, and to try to obtain pension increases. In 1890, they had over 400,000 members. They also adopted Memorial Day in 1868. The Republican party was greatly influenced by them until 1900.

**Stalwart** – The Stalwarts were a political machine led by Roscoe Conkling of New York in the late 19th Century. Their goal was to seek power in government. They also supported the spoils system.

**Half-Breed** -- A Half-Breed was a Republican political machine, headed by James G. Blaine around 1869. The Half-Breeds pushed Republican ideals and were almost a separate group that existed within the party.

**Compromise of 1877** – The compromise took place during the electoral standoff in 1876 between Hayes (Republican) and Tilden (Democrat). The Compromise of 1877 meant that the Democrats reluctantly agreed that Hayes would take office if he ended Reconstruction in the South.

**Civil Service Reform** – This was the idea that government officials should earn their positions rather than have their jobs given to them. It was supposed to clean up corrupt political machines like Boss Tweed's Tammany Hall who gave government jobs to buddies in exchange for loyalty.

**Pendleton Act of 1833** -- This was what some people called the Magna Carta of civil-service reform. It prohibited, at least on paper, financial assessments of jobholders. It created a merit system of making appointments to government jobs on the basis of aptitude rather than who-you-know, or the spoils system. It set up a Civil Service Commission, charged with administering open competitive examinations to applicants for posts in the classified service. The people were forced, under this law, to take an exam before being hired to a governmental job or position.

**Thomas B. Reed** -- Thomas Reed was a Republican Speaker of the House during the 1890's. He was nicknamed the "Czar" of Congress because of his dominance. Reed changed the House rules single-handedly. He believed that the majority should legislate, in accord with democratic practices, and not be crippled by a filibustering minority. Reed's Congress was the first in peacetime to pull together one billion dollars. The Congress opened the federal purse in the Pension Act of 1890. "Czar" Reed drove through Congress many bills, conspicuous among them the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. Under Reed many bills were passed that gave money to businesses and Civil War veterans. When the Democrats won control of the House two years later, in 1892, they paid Reed the compliment of adopting some of his reforms for speedier action.

**"Billion Dollar" Congress** -- The 51st Congress, had access to approximately a \$1 billion surplus in the Treasury. The "Billion Dollar" Congress passed the Pension Act of 1890, which provided pensions for all Union Civil War veterans who had served for 90 days and were no longer capable of manual labor. This policy solved the dilemma of the existing surplus and conveniently scored votes for the Republicans.

**Pension Act** – This act showered pensions on all Union Civil War veterans who had served for 90 days and who were now unable to do manual labor. This program foreshadowed the 20th century welfare programs.

# Chapter 24

## Industry Comes of Age

- I. The Iron Colt Becomes an Iron Horse
  - i. After the Civil War, railroad production grew enormously, from 35,000 mi. of track laid in 1865 to a whopping 192,556 mi. of track laid in 1900.
    1. Congress gave land to railroad companies totally 155,504,994 acres.
    2. For railroad routes, companies were allowed alternate mile-square sections in checkerboard fashion, but until companies determined which part of the land was the best to use for railroad building, *all* of the land was withheld from all other users.
      - a. Grover Cleveland stopped this in 1887.
  - ii. Railroads gave land their value; towns where railroads ran became sprawling cities while those skipped by railroads sank into ghost towns, so, obviously, towns wanted railroads in them.
- II. Spanning the Continent with Rails

- i. Deadlock over where to build a transcontinental railroad was broken after the South seceded, and in 1862, Congress commissioned the **Union Pacific Railroad** to begin westward from Omaha, Nebraska, to gold-rich California.
    1. The company received huge sums of money and land to build its tracks, but corruption also plagued it, as the insiders of the **Credit Mobilier** reaped \$23 million in profits.
    2. Many Irishmen, who might lay as much as 10 miles a day, laid the tracks.
    3. When Indians attacked while trying to save their land, the Irish dropped their picks and seized their rifles, and scores of workers and Indians died during construction.
  - ii. Over in California, the **Central Pacific Railroad** was in charge of extending the railroad eastward, and it was backed by the Big Four: including **Leland Stanford**, the ex-governor of California who had useful political connections, and **Collis P. Huntington**, an adept lobbyist.
    1. The Central Pacific used Chinese workers, and received the same incentives as the Union Pacific, but it had to drill through the hard rock of the Sierra Nevada.
  - iii. In 1869, the **transcontinental rail line** was completed at Promontory Point near Ogden, Utah; in all, the Union Pacific built 1,086 mi. of track, compared to 689 mi. by the Central Pacific.
- III. Binding the Country with Railroad Ties
- i. Before 1900, four other transcontinental railroads were built:
    1. The **Northern Pacific Railroad** stretched from Lake Superior to the Puget Sound and was finished in 1883.
    2. The **Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe** stretched through the Southwest deserts and was completed the following year, in 1884.
    3. The **Southern Pacific** (completed in 1884) went from New Orleans to San Francisco.
    4. The **Great Northern** ran from Duluth to Seattle and was the creation of **James J. Hill**, probably the greatest railroad builder of all.
  - ii. However, many pioneers over-invested on land, and the banks that supported them often failed and went bankrupt when the land wasn't worth as much as initially thought.
- IV. Railroad Consolidation and Mechanization
- i. Older eastern railroads, like the **New York Central**, headed by **Cornelius Vanderbilt**, often financed the successful western railroads.
  - ii. Advancements in railroads included the steel rail, which was stronger and more enduring than the iron rail, the Westinghouse air brake which increased safety, the Pullman Palace Cars which were luxurious passenger cars, and telegraphs, double-racking, and block signals.
    1. Nevertheless, train accidents were common, as well as death.
- V. Revolution by Railways
- i. Railroads stitched the nation together, generated a huge market and lots of jobs, helped the rapid industrialization of America, and stimulated mining and agriculture in the West by bringing people and supplies to and from the areas where such work occurred.
  - ii. Railroads helped people settle in the previously harsh Great Plains.
  - iii. Due to railroads, the creation of four national **time zones** occurred on November 18, 1883, instead of each city having its own time zone (that was confusing to railroad operators).
  - iv. Railroads were also the makers of millionaires and the millionaire class.
- VI. Wrongdoing in Railroading
- i. Railroads were not without corruption, as shown by the Credit Mobilier scandal.
  - ii. **Jay Gould** made millions embezzling stocks from the Erie, Kansas Pacific, the Union Pacific, and the Texas and Pacific railroad companies.
  - iii. One method of cheap moneymaking was called "**stock watering**," in which railroad companies grossly over-inflated the worth of their stock and sold them at huge profits.
  - iv. Railroad owners abused the public, bribed judges and legislatures, employed arm-twisting lobbyists, elected their own to political office, gave rebates (which helped the wealthy but not the poor), and used free passes to gain favor in the press.
  - v. As time passed, though, railroad giants entered into defensive alliances to show profits, and began the first of what would be called trusts, although at that time they were called "**pools**." A pool (AKA, a "cartel") is a group of supposed competitors who agree to work together, usually to set prices.
- VII. Government Bridles the Iron Horse
- i. People were aware of such injustice, but were slow to combat it.
  - ii. **The Grange** was formed by farmers to combat such corruption, and many state efforts to stop the railroad monopoly occurred, but they were stopped when the Supreme Court issued its ruling in the **Wabash case**, in which it ruled that states could not regulate *interstate* commerce, such as trains.

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- iii. The **Interstate Commerce Act**, passed in 1887, banned rebates and pools and required the railroads to publish their rates openly (so as not to cheat customers), and also forbade unfair discrimination against shippers and banned charging more for a short haul than for a long one.
    1. It also set up the **Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC)** to enforce this.
  - iv. The act was not a victory against corporate wealth, as people like **Richard Olney**, a shrewd corporate lawyer, noted that they could use the act to their advantage, but it did represent the first attempt by Congress to regulate businesses for society's interest.
- VIII. Miracles of Mechanization
- i. In 1860, the U.S. was the 4<sup>th</sup> largest manufacturer in the world, but by 1894, it was #1, why?
    1. Now-abundant liquid capital.
    2. Fully exploited natural resources (like coal, oil, and iron, the iron came from the Minnesota-Lake Superior region which yielded the rich iron deposits of the **Mesabi Range**).
    3. Massive immigration made labor cheap.
    4. American ingenuity played a vital role, as such inventions like mass production (from **Eli Whitney**) were being refined and perfected.
      - a. Popular inventions included the cash register, the stock ticker, the typewriter, the refrigerator car, the electric dynamo, and the electric railway, which displaced animal-drawn cars.
  - ii. In 1876, **Alexander Graham Bell** invented the telephone and a new age was launched.
  - iii. **Thomas Edison**, the "Wizard of Menlo Park," was the most versatile inventor, who, while best known for his electric light bulb, also cranked out scores of other inventions.
- IX. The Trust Titan Emerges
- i. Industry giants used various ways to eliminate competition and maximize profits.
    1. **Andrew Carnegie** used a method called "**vertical integration**," which meant that he bought out and controlled all aspects of an industry (in his case, he mined the iron, transported it, refined it, and turned it into steel, controlling all parts of the process).
    2. **John D. Rockefeller**, master of "**horizontal integration**," simply allied with or bought out competitors to monopolize a given market.
      - a. He used this method to form **Standard Oil** and control the oil industry by forcing weaker competitors to go bankrupt.
  - ii. These men became known for their **trusts**, giant, monopolistic corporations.
  - iii. Rockefeller also placed his own men on the boards of directors of other rival competitors to gain influence there and reduce competition, a process called "**interlocking directorates**."
- X. The Supremacy of Steel
- i. In Lincoln's day, steel was very scarce and expensive, but by 1900, Americans produced as much steel as England and Germany combined.
  - ii. This was due to an invention that made steel-making cheaper and much more effective: the **Bessemer process**, which was named after an English inventor even though an American, **William Kelly**, had discovered it first:
    1. Cold air blown on red-hot iron burned carbon deposits and purified it.
    2. America was one of the few nations that had a lot of coal for fuel, iron for smelting, and other essential ingredients for steel making, and thus, quickly became #1.
- XI. Carnegie and Other Sultans of Steel
- i. **Andrew Carnegie** started off as a poor boy in a bad job, but by working hard, assuming responsibility, and charming influential people, he worked his way up to wealth.
  - ii. He started in the Pittsburgh area, but he was not a man who liked trusts; still, by 1900, he was producing 1/4 of the nation's Bessemer steel, and getting \$25 million a year.
  - iii. J. Pierpont Morgan, having already made a fortune in the banking industry and in Wall Street, was ready to step into the steel tubing industry, but Carnegie threatened to ruin him, so after some tense negotiation, Morgan bought Carnegie's entire business at \$400 million (this was before income tax). But Carnegie, fearing ridicule for possessing so much money, spent the rest of his life donating \$350 million of it to charity, pensions, and libraries.
    1. Meanwhile, Morgan took Carnegie's holdings, added others, and launched the **United States Steel Corporation** in 1901, a company that became the world's first billion-dollar corporation (it was capitalized at \$1.4 billion).
- XII. Rockefeller Grows an American Beauty Rose
- i. In 1859, a man named Drake first used oil to get money, and by the 1870s, kerosene, a type of oil, was used to light lamps all over the nation.



- ii. However, by 1885, 250,000 of Edison's electric light bulbs were in use, and the electric industry soon rendered kerosene obsolete, just as kerosene had made whale oil obsolete.
  - iii. Oil, however, was just beginning with the gasoline-burning internal combustion engine.
  - iv. **John D. Rockefeller**, ruthless and merciless, organized the **Standard Oil Company** of Ohio in 1882 (five years earlier, he had already controlled 95% of all the oil refineries in the country).
  - v. Rockefeller crushed weaker competitors—part of the natural process according to him—but his company did produce superior oil at a cheaper price.
  - vi. Other trusts, which also generally made better products at cheaper prices, emerged, such as the meat industry of **Gustavus F. Swift** and **Philip Armour**.
- XIII. The Gospel of Wealth
- i. Many of the newly rich had worked from poverty to wealth, and thus felt that some people in the world were destined to become rich and then help society with their money. This was the "**Gospel of Wealth**."
  - ii. "**Social Darwinism**" applied Charles Darwin's survival-of-the-fittest theories to business. It said the reason a Carnegie was at the top of the steel industry was that he was most fit to run such a business.
  - iii. The Reverend **Russell Conwell** of Philadelphia became rich by delivering his lecture, "Acres of Diamonds" thousands of times, and in it he preached that poor people made themselves poor and rich people made themselves rich; everything was because of one's actions only.
  - iv. Corporate lawyers used the **14<sup>th</sup> Amendment** to defend trusts, the judges agreed, saying that corporations were legal people and thus entitled to their property, and **plutocracy** ruled.
- XIV. Government Tackles the Trust Evil
- i. In 1890, the **Sherman Anti-Trust Act** was signed into law; it forbade combinations (trusts, pools, interlocking directorates, holding companies) in restraint of trade, without any distinction between "good" and "bad" trusts.
    1. It proved ineffective, however, because it couldn't be enforced.
    2. Not until 1914 was it properly enforced and those prosecuted for violating the law were actually punished.
- XV. The South in the Age of Industry
- a.
    - i. The South remained agrarian despite all the industrial advances, though **James Buchanan Duke** developed a huge cigarette industry in the form of the **American Tobacco Company** and made many donations to what is now Duke University.
    - ii. Men like **Henry W. Grady**, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* newspaper urged the South to industrialize.
    - iii. However, many northern companies set rates to keep the South from gaining any competitive edge whatsoever, with examples including the rich deposits of iron and coal near Birmingham, Alabama, and the textile mills of the South.
    - iv. However, cheap labor led to the creation of many jobs, and despite poor wages, many white Southerners saw employment as a blessing.
  - b. The Impact of the New Industrial Revolution on America
    - i. As the Industrial Revolution spread in America, the standard of living rose, immigrants swarmed to the U.S., and early Jeffersonian ideals about the dominance of agriculture fell.
    - ii. Women, who had swarmed to factories and had been encouraged by recent inventions, found new opportunities, and the "**Gibson Girl**," created by **Charles Dana Gibson**, became the romantic ideal of the age.
      1. The Gibson Girl was young, athletic, attractive, and outdoorsy (not the stay-at-home mom type).
      2. However, many women never achieved this, and instead toiled in hard work because they had to do so in order to earn money.
    - iii. A nation of farmers was becoming a nation of wage earners, but the fear of unemployment was never far, and the illness of a breadwinner (the main wage owner) in a family was disastrous.
    - iv. Strong pressures in foreign trade developed as the tireless industrial machine threatened to flood the domestic market.
- XVI. In Unions There Is Strength
- i. With the inflow of immigrants providing a labor force that would work for low wages and in poor environments, the workers who wanted to improve their conditions found that they could not, since their bosses could easily hire the unemployed to take their places.
  - ii. Corporations had many weapons against strikers, such as hiring strikebreakers or asking the courts to order strikers to stop striking, and if they continued, to bring in troops. Other methods included hiring "**scabs**" or replacements or "lockouts" to starve strikers into submission, and often, workers had to sign "**ironclad oaths**" or "**yellow dog contracts**" which banned them from joining unions.

1. Workers could be "blacklisted," or put on a list and denied privileges elsewhere.
  - iii. The middle-class, annoyed by the recurrent strikes, grew deaf to the workers' outcry.
  - iv. The view was that people like Carnegie and Rockefeller had battled and worked hard to get to the top, and workers could do the same if they "really" wanted to improve their situations.
- XVII. Labor Limps Along
- i. The Civil War put a premium on labor, which helped labor unions grow.
  - ii. The **National Labor Union**, formed in 1866, represented a giant boot stride by workers and attracted an impressive total of 600,000 members, but it only lasted six years.
    1. However, it excluded Chinese and didn't really try to get Blacks and women to join.
    2. It worked for the arbitration of industrial disputes and the eight-hour workday, and won the latter for *government* workers, but the depression of 1873 knocked it out.
  - iii. A new organization, the **Knights of Labor**, was begun in 1869 and continued secretly until 1881. This organization was similar to the National Labor Union.
    1. It only barred liquor dealers, professional gamblers, lawyers, bankers, and stockbrokers, and they campaigned for economic and social reform.
    2. Led by **Terence V. Powderly**, the Knights won a number of strikes for the eight-hour day, and when they staged a successful strike against Jay Gould's Wabash Railroad in 1885, membership mushroomed to 3/4 of a million workers.
- XVIII. Unhorsing the Knights of Labor
- i. However, the Knights became involved in a number of May Day strikes of which half failed.
  - ii. In Chicago, home to about 80,000 Knights and a few hundred anarchists that advocated a violent overthrow of the American government, tensions had been building, and on May 4, 1886, Chicago police were advancing on a meeting that had been called to protest brutalities by authorities when a dynamite bomb was thrown, killing or injuring several dozen people.
    1. Eight anarchists were rounded up yet no one could prove that they had any association with the bombing, but since they had preached incendiary doctrines, the jury sentenced five of them to death on account of conspiracy and gave the other three stiff prison terms.
    2. In 1892, **John P. Altgeld**, a German-born Democrat was elected governor of Illinois and pardoned the three survivors after studying the case extensively.
    3. He received violent verbal abuse for that and was defeated during re-election.
  - iii. This so-called **Haymarket Square Bombing** forever associated the Knights of Labor with anarchists and lowered their popularity and effectiveness; membership declined, and those that remained fused with other labor unions.
- XIX. The AF of L to the Fore
- i. In 1886, **Samuel Gompers** founded the **American Federation of Labor**.
    1. It consisted of an association of self-governing national unions, each of which kept its independence, with the AF of L unifying overall strategy.
  - ii. Gompers demanded a fairer share for labor.
    1. He wanted "more," and he sought better wages, hours, and working conditions.
  - iii. The AF of L established itself on solid but narrow foundations, since it tried to speak for all workers but fell far short of that.
    1. Composed of skilled laborers, it was willing to let unskilled laborers fend for themselves. Critics called it "the labor trust."
  - iv. From 1881 to 1900, there were over 23,000 strikes involving 6,610,000 workers with a total loss to both employers and employees of about \$450 million.
    1. Perhaps the greatest weakness of labor unions was that they only embraced a small minority—3%—of all workers.
  - v. However, by 1900, the public was starting to concede the rights of workers and beginning to give them some or most of what they wanted.
    1. In 1894, **Labor Day** was made a legal holiday.
  - vi. A few owners were beginning to realize that losing money to fight labor strikes was useless, though most owners still dogmatically fought labor unions.
  - vii. If the age of big business had dawned, the age of big labor was still some distance over the horizon.

## Chapter 24 Vocabulary

**Government Subsidies** – Subsidies are monies given by the government to businesses. The purpose is for the government to encourage those businesses since they would benefit the entire nation. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1800s, railroad companies received large government subsidies. Usually, the railroad companies got (1) favorable loans and (2) huge tracts of land adjoining the

railroad tracks. These subsidies would link the east and west coast, tie the nation together, help the military move around, and help the postal system.

**Transcontinental Railroad** – This was a railroad across the continent. The Union Pacific (from Omaha, NE) and Central Pacific (from Sacramento, CA) linked together at Promontory Point, Utah in May 1869. The labor was mostly done by Irish “Paddies” and Chinese workers.

**Cornelius Vanderbilt** – He was a railroad tycoon. He earned his 1<sup>st</sup> fortune as a shipping magnate in New York where he gained the nickname “The Commodore” while shipping. Then, turned to railroads by consolidating the lines from NYC to Chicago.

**Pullman “Palace Car”** – The Pullman was a fancy passenger car that made train travel popular, chic, and symbolized the emerging dominance of the “Iron Horse.”

**Jay Gould** – Gould manipulated the stocks of railroad companies to his own benefit. Typically, a railroad company would be grossly over-praised which led the public to buy into it, then the bamboozlers like Jay Gould would sell off huge portions for profit.

**Railroad corruption** – Several corrupt railroad practices existed including (1) a roller-coaster ride of stock prices, (2) bribes to judges and legislators, (3) free passes to journalists and politicians, (4) a “natural monopoly” (only one railroad line in most places), (5) pools (any competing companies agreed to have their own areas), (6) rebates or kickbacks to powerful shippers, (7) charging high rates for the short haul (small farmers) and low rates for the long haul (big companies)

**Interstate Commerce Commission** – Set up by the Interstate Commerce Act, the ICC attempted to regulate the railroads. It had only mild success but served as the first time Washington tried to regulate business for the good of society.

**Mesabi Range** – Mesabi was an iron ore field in Minnesota. Iron ore would be hauled through the Great Lakes by ship, then over land by railroad to Pittsburgh. There it was mixed with coal from West Virginia. Iron + coal (and lots of heat) = steel.

**Alexander Graham Bell** – He was the inventor of the telephone. Less well known, he was a teacher of the deaf. It was because of his work with the mechanics of sound and speech (teaching the deaf how to speak) that he began his work on the telephone.

**Thomas Alva Edison** – Edison was the perfecter of the incandescent light bulb, and many other inventions such as the phonograph, mimeograph, dictaphone, and moving pictures. Much of his work was done at his New Jersey lab, Menlo Park.

**Andrew Carnegie** – Carnegie was a steel tycoon. He was a master of “vertical integration.” He eventually turned to philanthropy and gave huge sums to libraries and arts (Carnegie Hall and local libraries).

**Vertical Integration** – This was a business method where a corporation bought out other businesses (though not competitors) along its line of production. For instance, Carnegie might buy land in the Mesabi Range just for the iron ore, then buy the ships to haul the ore, then buy the railroads to haul it, etc. The companies were not competitors, but Carnegie used them, so he figured he might as well own them.

**Horizontal Integration**—This was a business method where the company bought out its competitors. For instance, Standard Oil would buy out smaller oil competitors until it controlled nearly all of the oil industry.

**John D. Rockefeller** – Rockefeller was an oil tycoon. He owned the Standard Oil Company that eventually controlled at least 90% of American oil. Was a master of “horizontal integration” where he ruthlessly drove others out of business.

**Trusts** –A trust is a business that essentially is a monopoly – a company with no competition. Trusts could drive smaller businesses to the wall by (1) undercutting prices – trusts would lower rates so they’d actually take a loss. The trust could afford to take the loss but the small business couldn’t and went out of business. Then the trust would raise prices. Or (2) enjoying “economies of scale” – since trusts bought in huge quantities, they got discounts, and therefore could afford to charge lower rates than small businesses while still making a profit.

**J.P. Morgan** – He was a banker and financier. He orchestrated several blockbuster deals in railroads, insurance, and banking. He bought Andrew Carnegie’s steel operation for \$400 million to start the U.S. Steel Company. He symbolized the greed, power, arrogance, and snobbery of the Gilded Age business.

**Sherman Anti-Trust Act** – This was an 1890 law attempting to outlaw trusts. It was only slightly successful, if that, since it lacked real teeth. However, combined with the Interstate Commerce Act, 1887, it started the government’s attempt to regulate business for the good of society. Also, it foreshadowed the Clayton Anti-trust Act that did have real teeth to it.

**Gibson Girl** – These were illustrations by Dana Gibson of attractive, athletic, out-going, young women and helped create the new image of the feminine ideal.

**Yellow Dog Contracts** – These were agreements that employers forced workers to sign where workers pledged not join a union.

**Blacklists** – Blacklists were names that employers kept of union agitators and “trouble makers.” This scared workers into inaction since once they were on the list, no company would hire them again.

**Company Towns** – These were towns essentially owned by the company. Workers worked at the company, lived in company-owned houses, and bought goods at the company store using either scrip (company money) or credit. Between low pay, rent, and scrip/credit purchases, the worker never got ahead.

**Haymarket Square incident** – This was an 1886 explosion in Chicago during labor disorders that killed several people including police officers. The explosions appeared to be the result of anarchists yet the public largely placed blame on labor unions thus hurt their cause.

**A.F.L. (American Federation of Labor)** – This was an early national labor union. The AF of L let many smaller unions remain independent while the AF of L united them all and worked out overall strategy. It focused only on skilled labor (unskilled were on their own). Despite literally thousands of strikes, their success was also only mild, though Labor Day was passed during this time.

# Chapter 25

## America Moves to the City

### I. The Urban Frontier

- a. From 1870 to 1900, the American population doubled, and the population in the cities tripled.
- b. Cities grew up and out, with such famed architects as **Louis Sullivan** working on and perfecting skyscrapers (first appearing in Chicago in 1885).
  - i. The city grew from a small compact one that people could walk through to get around to a huge metropolis that required commuting by electric trolleys.
  - ii. Electricity, indoor plumbing, and telephones made city life more alluring.
- c. **Department stores** like Macy's (in New York) and Marshall Field's (in Chicago) provided urban working-class jobs and also attracted urban middle-class shoppers.
  - i. **Theodore Dreiser's** *Sister Carrie* told of a woman's escapades in the big city and made cities dazzling and attractive.
  - ii. However, the move to city produced lots of trash, because while farmers always reused everything or fed "trash" to animals, city dwellers, with their **mail-order houses** like **Sears** and **Montgomery Ward**, which made things cheap and easy to buy, could simply throw away the things that they didn't like anymore.
- d. In cities, criminals flourished, and impure water, uncollected garbage, unwashed bodies, and droppings made cities smelly and unsanitary.
  - i. Worst of all were the **slums**, which were crammed with people.
  - ii. The so-called "**dumbbell tenements**" (which gave a bit of fresh air down their airshaft) were the worst since they were dark, cramped, and had little sanitation or ventilation.
- e. To escape, the wealthy of the city-dwellers fled to suburbs.

### II. The New Immigration

- a. Until the 1880s, most of the immigrants had come from the British Isles and western Europe (Germany and Scandinavia) and were quite literate and accustomed to *some* type of representative government. This was called the "**Old Immigration.**" But by the 1880s and 1890s, this shifted to the Baltic and Slavic people of southeastern Europe, who were basically the opposite, "**New Immigration.**"
  - i. While the southeastern Europeans accounted for only 19% of immigrants to the U.S. in 1880, by the early 1900s, they were over 60%!

### III. Southern Europe Uprooted

- a. Many Europeans came to America because there was no room in Europe, nor was there much employment, since industrialization had eliminated many jobs.
  - i. America was also often praised to Europeans, as people boasted of eating everyday and having freedom and much opportunity.
  - ii. Profit-seeking Americans also perhaps exaggerated the benefits of America to Europeans, so that they could get cheap labor and more money.
- b. However, it should be noted that many immigrants to America stayed for a short period of time and then returned to America, and even those that remained (including persecuted Jews, who propagated in New York) tried very hard to retain their own culture and customs.
  - i. However, the children of the immigrants sometimes rejected this Old World culture and plunged completely into American life.

### IV. Reactions to the New Immigration

- a. The federal government did little to help immigrants assimilate into American society, so immigrants were often controlled by powerful "bosses" (such as New York's Boss Tweed) who provided jobs and shelter in return for political support at the polls.

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- b. Gradually, though, the nation's conscience awoke to the plight of the slums, and people like **Walter Rauschenbusch** and **Washington Gladden** began preaching the "**Social Gospel**," insisting that churches tackle the burning social issues of the day.
  - c. Among the people who were deeply dedicated to uplifting the urban masses was **Jane Addams**, who founded **Hull House** in 1889 to teach children and adults the skills and knowledge that they would need to survive and succeed in America.
    - i. She eventually won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931, but her pacifism was looked down upon by groups such as the **Daughters of the American Revolution**, who revoked her membership.
    - ii. Other such settlement houses like Hull House included **Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement** in New York, which opened its doors in 1893.
    - iii. Settlement houses became centers for women's activism and reform, as females such as **Florence Kelley** fought for protection of women workers and against child labor.
  - d. The new cities also gave women opportunities to earn money and support themselves better (mostly single women, since being both a working mother and wife was frowned upon).
- V. Narrowing the Welcome Mat
- a. The "nativism" and anti-foreignism of the 1840s and 1850s came back in the 1880s, as the Germans and western Europeans looked down upon the new Slavs and Baltics, fearing that a mixing of blood would ruin the fairer Anglo-Saxon races and create inferior offspring.
    - i. The "native" Americans blamed immigrants for the degradation of the urban government. These new bigots had forgotten how they had been scorned when they had arrived in America a few decades before.
    - ii. Trade unionists hated them for their willingness to work for super-low wages and for bringing in dangerous doctrines like socialism and communism into the U.S.
  - b. Anti-foreign organizations like the **American Protective Association** (APA) arose to go against new immigrants, and labor leaders were quick to try to stop new immigration, since immigrants were frequently used as strikebreakers.
  - c. Finally, in 1882, Congress passed the first restrictive law against immigration, which banned paupers, criminals, and convicts from coming here.
  - d. In 1885, another law was passed banning the importation of foreign workers under usually substandard contracts.
  - e. Literacy tests for immigrants were proposed, but were resisted until they were finally passed in 1917, but the 1882 immigration law also barred the Chinese from coming (the **Chinese Exclusion Act**).
  - f. Ironically in this anti-immigrant climate, the **Statue of Liberty** arrived from France—a gift from the French to America in 1886.
- VI. Churches Confront the Urban Challenge
- a. Since churches had mostly failed to take any stands and rally against the urban poverty, plight, and suffering, many people began to question the ambition of the churches, and began to worry that Satan was winning the battle of good and evil.
    - i. The emphasis on material gains worried many.
  - b. A new generation of urban revivalists stepped in, including people like **Dwight Lyman Moody**, a man who proclaimed the gospel of kindness and forgiveness and adapted the old-time religion to the facts of city life.
    - i. The **Moody Bible Institute** was founded in Chicago in 1889 and continued working well after his 1899 death.
  - c. Roman Catholic and Jewish faiths were also gaining many followers with the new immigration.
    - i. **Cardinal Gibbons** was popular with Roman Catholics and Protestants, as he preached American unity.
    - ii. By 1890, Americans could choose from 150 religions, including the new **Salvation Army**, which tried to help the poor and unfortunate.
  - d. The **Church of Christ, Scientist** (Christian Science), founded by **Mary Baker Eddy**, preached a perversion of Christianity that she claimed healed sickness.
  - e. **YMCA's** and **YWCA's** also sprouted.
- VII. Darwin Disrupts the Churches
- a. In 1859, **Charles Darwin** published his *On the Origin of Species*, which set forth the new doctrine of evolution and attracted the ire and fury of fundamentalists.
    - i. "**Modernists**" took a step from the fundamentalists and refused to believe that the Bible was completely accurate and factual. They contended that the Bible was merely a collection of moral stories or guidelines, but not sacred scripture inspired by God.
  - b. Colonel **Robert G. Ingersoll** was one who denounced creationism, as he had been widely persuaded by the theory of evolution. Others blended creationism and evolution to invent their own interpretations.
- VIII. The Lust for Learning

- a. A new trend began in the creation of more public schools and the provision of free textbooks funded by taxpayers.
    - i. By 1900, there were 6,000 high schools in America; kindergartens also multiplied.
  - b. Catholic schools also grew in popularity and in number.
  - c. To partially help adults who couldn't go to school, the **Chautauqua movement**, a successor to the **lyceums**, was launched in 1874. It included public lectures to many people by famous writers and extensive at-home studies.
  - d. Americans began to develop a faith in formal education as a solution to poverty.
- IX. Booker T. Washington and Education for Black People
- a. The South, war-torn and poor, lagged far behind in education, especially for Blacks, so **Booker T. Washington**, an ex-slave came to help. He started by heading a black normal (teacher) and industrial school in Tuskegee, Alabama, and teaching the students useful skills and trades.
    - i. However, he avoided the issue of *social* equality; he believed in Blacks helping themselves first before gaining more rights.
  - b. One of Washington's students was **George Washington Carver**, who later discovered hundreds of new uses for peanuts, sweet potatoes, and soybeans.
  - c. However, **W.E.B. Du Bois**, the first Black to get a Ph.D. from Harvard University, demanded complete equality for Blacks and action now. He also founded the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) in 1910.
    - i. Many of DuBois's differences with Washington reflected the contrasting life experiences of southern and northern Blacks.
- X. The Hallowed Halls of Ivy
- a. Colleges and universities sprouted after the **Civil War**, and colleges for women, such as **Vassar**, were gaining ground.
    - i. Also, colleges for both genders grew, especially in the Midwest, and Black colleges also were established, such as **Howard University** in Washington D.C., **Atlanta University**, and **Hampton Institute** in Virginia.
  - b. The **Morrill Act** of 1862 had provided a generous grant of the public lands to the states for support of education and was extended by the **Hatch Act** of 1887, which provided federal funds for the establishment of agricultural experiment stations in connection with the land-grant colleges.
  - c. Private donations also went toward the establishment of colleges, including **Cornell**, **Leland Stanford Junior**, and the **University of Chicago**, which was funded by **John D. Rockefeller**.
  - d. **Johns Hopkins University** maintained the nation's first high-grade graduate school.
- XI. The March of the Mind
- a. The elective system of college was gaining popularity, and it took off especially after **Dr. Charles W. Eliot** became president of Harvard.
  - b. Medical schools and science were prospering after the Civil War.
    - i. Discoveries by **Louis Pasteur** and **Joseph Lister** (antiseptics) improved medical science and health.
    - ii. The brilliant but sickly **William James** helped establish the discipline of behavioral psychology, with his books *Principles of Psychology* (1890), *The Will to Believe* (1897), and *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902).
      1. His greatest work was *Pragmatism* (1907), which preached what he believed in: pragmatism (everything has a useful purpose).
- XII. The Appeal of the Press
- a. Libraries such as the **Library of Congress** also opened across America, bringing literature into people's homes.
  - b. With the invention of the **Linotype** in 1885, the press more than kept pace with demand, but competition sparked a new brand of journalism called "**yellow journalism**," in which newspapers reported on wild and fantastic stories that often were false or quite exaggerated: sex, scandal, and other human-interest stories.
  - c. Two new journalistic tycoons emerged: **Joseph Pulitzer** (*New York World*) and **William Randolph Hearst** (*San Francisco Examiner*, et al.).
  - d. Luckily, the strengthening of the **Associated Press**, which had been established in the 1840s, helped to offset some of the questionable journalism.
- XIII. Apostles of Reform
- a. Magazines like *Harper's*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Scribner's Monthly* partially satisfied the public appetite for good reading, but perhaps the most influential of all was the *New York Nation*, launched in 1865 by **Edwin L. Godkin**, a merciless critic. These were all liberal, reform-minded publications.
  - b. Another enduring journalist-author was **Henry George**, who wrote *Progress and Poverty*, which undertook to solve the association of poverty with progress.

- i. It was he who came up with the idea of the **graduated income tax**—the more you make, the greater percent you pay in taxes.
    - c. **Edward Bellamy** published *Looking Backward* in 1888, in which he criticized the social injustices of the day and pictured a utopian government that had nationalized big business serving the public good.
- XIV. Postwar Writing
  - a. After the war, Americans devoured “dime-novels” which depicted the wild West and other romantic and adventurous settings.
    - i. The king of dime novelists was **Harland F. Halsey**, who made 650 of these novels.
    - ii. General **Lewis Wallace** wrote *Ben Hur: A Tale of the Christ*, which combated the ideas and beliefs of Darwinism and reaffirmed the traditional Christian faith.
  - b. **Horatio Alger** was even more popular, since his rags-to-riches books told that virtue, honesty, and industry were rewarded by success, wealth, and honor. His most notable book was titled *Ragged Dick*.
  - c. **Walt Whitman** was one of the old writers who still remained active, publishing revisions of his hardy perennial: *Leaves of Grass*.
  - d. **Emily Dickinson** was a famed hermit of a poet whose poems were published after her death.
  - e. Other lesser poets included **Sidney Lanier**, who was oppressed by poverty and ill health.
- XV. Literary Landmarks
  - a. Other famous writers:
    - i. **Kate Chopin**, wrote about adultery, suicide, and women’s ambitions in *The Awakening*.
    - ii. **Mark Twain** (Samuel Clemens) wrote many books, including *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, *Roughing It* about the wild West, *The Gilded Age* (hence the term given to the era of corruption after the Civil War) and *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*.
    - iii. **Bret Harte** wrote California gold rush stories.
    - iv. **William Dean Howells** became editor in chief of the *Atlantic Monthly* and wrote about ordinary people and sometimes-controversial social themes.
    - v. **Stephen Crane** wrote about the seamy underside of life in urban, industrial America (prostitutes, etc.) in such books like *Maggie: Girl of the Street*.
      - 1. He also wrote *The Red Bad of Courage*, a tale about a Civil War soldier.
    - vi. **Henry James** wrote *Daisy Miller* and *Portrait of a Lady*, often making women his central characters in his novels and exploring their personalities.
    - vii. **Jack London** wrote about the wild unexplored regions of wilderness in *The Call of the Wild*, *White Fang*, and *The Iron Heel*.
    - viii. **Frank Norris**’s *The Octopus* exposed the corruption of the railroads.
    - ix. **Paul Laurence Dunbar** and **Charles W. Chesnutt**, two Black writers, used Black dialect and folklore in their poems and stories, respectively.
- XVI. The New Morality
  - a. **Victoria Woodhull** proclaimed free love, and together with her sister, **Tennessee Claflin**, wrote *Woodhull and Claflin’s Weekly*, which shocked readers with exposés of affairs, etc.
  - b. **Anthony Comstock** waged a lifelong war on the “immoral.”
  - c. The “new morality” reflected sexual freedom in the increase of birth control, divorces, and frank discussion of sexual topics.
- XVII. Families and Women in the City
  - a. Urban life was stressful on families, who were often separated, and everyone had to work—even children as young as ten years old.
    - i. While on farms, more children meant more people to harvest and help, in the cities, more children meant more mouths to feed and a greater chance of poverty.
  - b. In 1898, **Charlotte Perkins Gilman** published *Women and Economics*, a classic of feminist literature, in which she called for women to abandon their dependent status and contribute to the larger life of the community through productive involvement in the economy.
    - i. She also advocated day-care centers and centralized nurseries and kitchens.
  - c. Feminists also rallied toward suffrage, forming the **National American Woman Suffrage Association** in 1890, an organization led by **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** (who’d organized the first women’s rights convention in 1848 at Seneca Falls, NY) and **Susan B. Anthony**.
  - d. By 1900, a new generation of women activists were present, led by **Carrie Chapman Catt**, who stressed the desirability of giving women the vote if they were to continue to discharge their traditional duties as homemakers in the increasingly public world of the city.
    - i. The Wyoming Territory was the first to offer women unrestricted suffrage in 1869.
    - ii. The **General Federation of Women’s Clubs** also encouraged women’s suffrage.

- e. **Ida B. Wells** rallied toward better treatment for Blacks as well and formed the **National Association of Colored Women** in 1896.
- XVIII. Prohibition of Alcohol and Social Progress
- a. Concern over the popularity (and dangers) of alcohol was also present, marked by the formation of the **National Prohibition Party** in 1869.
    - i. Other organizations like the **Women's Christian Temperance Union** also rallied against alcohol, calling for a national prohibition of the beverage.
      - 1. Leaders included **Frances E. Willard** and **Carrie A. Nation** who literally wielded a hatchet and hacked up bars.
    - ii. The **Anti-Saloon League** was also formed in 1893.
  - b. The **American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals** was formed in 1866 to discourage the mistreatment of livestock, and the **American Red Cross**, formed by **Clara Burton**, a Civil War nurse, was formed in 1881.
- XIX. Artistic Triumphs
- a. Art was largely suppressed during the first half of the 1800s and failed to really take flight in America, forcing such men as **James Whistler** and **John Singer Sargent** to go to Europe to study art.
  - b. **Mary Cassatt** painted sensitive portraits of women and children, while **George Inness** became America's leading landscapist.
  - c. **Thomas Eakins** was a great realist painter, while **Winslow Homer** was perhaps the most famous and the greatest of all. He painted scenes of typical New England life (schools and such).
  - d. Great sculptors included **Augustus Saint-Gaudens**, who made the Robert Gould Shaw memorial, located in Boston, in 1897.
  - e. Music reached new heights with the erection of opera houses and the emergence of jazz.
  - f. **Thomas Edison** invented the phonograph, which allowed the reproduction of sounds that could be heard by listeners.
  - g. **Henry H. Richardson** was another fine architect whose "Richardsonian" architecture was famed around the country.
    - i. The **Columbian Exposition** in 1893 displayed many architectural triumphs.
- XX. The Business of Amusement
- a. In entertainment, **Phineas T. Barnum** (who quipped, "There's a sucker born every minute," and "People love to be humbugged.") and **James A. Bailey** teamed in 1881 to stage the "Greatest Show on Earth" (now the Ringling Bros. and Barnum and Bailey Circus).
  - b. "Wild West" shows, like those of "**Buffalo Bill**" **Cody** (and the markswoman **Annie Oakley** who shot holes through tossed silver dollars) were ever-popular, and baseball and football became popular as well.
  - c. Baseball emerged as America's national pastime.
  - d. Wrestling gained popularity and respectability.
  - e. In 1891, **James Naismith** invented basketball.

## Chapter 25 Vocabulary

**Florence Kelley** – Kelley was a lifelong battler for the welfare of women, children, blacks, and consumers. She served as a general secretary of the National Consumers League and led the women of Hull House into a successful lobby in 1893 for an Illinois anti-sweatshop law that protected women workers and prohibited child labor.

**Mary Baker Eddy** -- Eddy founded the Church of Christ, Science (Christian Science) in 1879. She preached that her practice of Christian Science healed sickness. To her, there was no need for a doctor, if you had enough faith, you could heal yourself. She wrote a widely purchased book, *Science and Health with a Key to the Scriptures*.

**Charles Darwin** – Darwin was an English naturalist who wrote the *On the Origin of the Species* in 1859. His theory stated that in nature the strongest of a species survive, the weaker animals die out, leaving only the stronger to reproduce. Through this process of "natural selection" the entire species improves.

**Booker T. Washington** – Washington was an ex-slave who saved his money to buy himself an education. He believed that blacks must first gain economic equality before they gained social equality. He was president of the Tuskegee Institute and he was a part of the Atlanta Compromise. Washington believed that blacks should be taught useful skills so they could gain a financial foothold. He was also famous for his Atlanta "fingers speech" saying blacks and whites could be as separate as the fingers but as one as the hand. He is sometimes criticized for this speech as perhaps giving an okay to segregation.

**William James** – James was a philosopher on Harvard faculty, who wrote *Principles of Psychology*, *The Will of to Believe*, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, and *Pragmatism*. He criticized Booker T. Washington as selling blacks short by encouraging only trade jobs and acquiescing to segregation.



**Henry George** --George was a journalist-author and an original thinker. He saw poverty at its worst in India and wrote the classic *Progress and Poverty*. This book in 1879 broke into the best-seller lists. He believed that the pressure of a growing population with a fixed supply of land pushed up property values.

**Horatio Alger** – Alger was a popular writer of the Post-Civil War time period. Alger was a Puritan New Englander who wrote more than a hundred volumes of juvenile fiction during his career, most with a "rags-to-riches" theme. He is most famous for his books *Luck and Pluck* and for *Ragged Dick*.

**Mark Twain** – Twain was America's most popular author, but also a renowned platform lecturer. He mixed "romantic" type literature with comedy to entertain his audiences. In 1873, along with the help of Charles Dudley Warner, he wrote *The Gilded Age* and named the period – it looked good on the outside, but underneath, had problems. The greatest contribution he made to American literature was the way he captured the frontier realism and humor through the common dialect that his characters used. Hemingway once said, "All modern American literature comes from one book by Mark Twain called *Huckleberry Finn*."

**Charlotte Perkins Gilman** – Gilman was a major feminist prophet during the late 19th and early 20th century. She published *Women and Economics* which called on women to abandon their dependent status and contribute more to the community through the economy. She created centralized nurseries and kitchens to help get women into the work force.

**Carrie Chapman Catt** -- Catt was a leader of the women's suffrage movement. She was not successful in accomplishing her goal, but she did spark a movement that would eventually lead to women's right to vote.

**Nativism** – Nativism was a philosophy in which people strongly disliked immigrants and had much patriotism toward native-born Americans.

**Philanthropy** – This occurs when wealthy millionaires give back some of the money they have earned to benefit society. The money would be sent to benefit the libraries, the arts, and the colleges. An example of two of the most famous philanthropists would be Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller.

**Yellow Journalism** – This is sensationalized journalism. Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst were known as the lurid yellow press. The purpose of yellow journalism was to simply sell papers.

**Josiah Strong** – Strong was a minister who trumpeted the superiority of Anglo-Saxon civilization and summoned Americans to spread their religion and their values to the backward people of the Third World.

**New Immigration** -- Between the 1850's and 1880's, more than 5 million immigrants cascaded into America from the "mother continent." Starting in the 1880's, the "new immigrants" (mainly Italians, Croats, Slovaks, Greeks, and Poles) came swarming into the U.S. This was opposed to the "Old Immigration" of northern Europe (England, Ireland, Germany). They New Immigrants were looked down upon by nativists because they were poor, Catholic, poorly educated, and would work for low wages. They later, however, helped provide the unique cultural diversity that still exists today in the U.S.

**Social Gospel** – The Social Gospel was preached by many people in the 1880s and said the churches should get involved in helping the poor. Some disagreed and didn't think that they should be helped because it was their fault they were poor. This was "Social Darwinism."

**Settlement House** – This was a house where immigrants came to live upon entering the U.S. At Settlement Houses, instruction was given in English and how to get a job, among other things. The first Settlement House was the Hull House, which was opened by Jane Addams in Chicago in 1889. These centers were usually run by educated middle class women. The houses became centers for reform in the women's and labor movements.

**Modernist** -- In 1859, Charles Darwin published *On the Origin of Species* which dealt with the idea of evolution, an idea that strictly conflicted with the literal interpretation of the Bible known as "Creationism." "Modernists" were people who believed in a system that somehow meshed Darwinism with Creationism. They were disgraced by the church, but as time went by, more liberal thinkers were able to reconcile Darwinism and Christianity.

**Chautauqua** – This was a movement that helped benefit adults in education. This movement was launched in 1874 on the shores of Lake Chautauqua, in New York. The organizers achieved success through nationwide public lectures, often held in tents and featuring well-known speakers, including Mark Twain. In addition, there were extensive Chautauqua courses of home study, for which 100,000 persons enrolled in 1892 alone. This movement contributed to the development of American faith in formal education.

**Women's Christian Temperance Union** – The WCTU was organized in 1874 and the white ribbon was the symbol of purity. It was led by Frances E. Willard and the league stood for prohibition (or temperance). In 1919, the 18th Amendment was passed for national prohibition.

**Eighteenth Amendment** -- In 1919 this amendment did away with all alcohol, making it illegal. It was also known as "prohibition."

# Chapter 26

## The Great West and the Agricultural Revolution

- I. The Clash of Cultures on the Plains
  - i. After the Civil War, the Great West was still relatively untamed, wild, full of Indians, bison, and wildlife, and sparsely populated by a few **Mormons** and Mexicans.
  - ii. As the White settlers began to populate the Great West, the Indians, caught in the middle, increasingly turned against each other, were infected with White man’s diseases, and stuck battling to hunt the few remaining bison that were still ranging around.
    1. The **Sioux**, displaced by **Chippewas** from their ancestral lands at the headwaters of the Mississippi in the late 1700s, expanded at the expense of the **Crows**, **Kiowas**, and **Pawnees**, and justified their actions by reasoning that White men had done the same thing to them.
      - a. The Indians had become great riders, hunters, and fighters ever since the Spanish had introduced the horse to them.
  - iii. The federal government tried to pacify the Indians by signing treaties at **Fort Laramie** in 1851 and **Fort Atkinson** in 1853 with the chiefs of the tribes. However, the U.S. failed to understand that such “tribes” and “chiefs” didn’t necessarily represent groups of people in Indian culture, and that in most cases, Native Americans didn’t recognize authorities outside of their families.
  - iv. In the 1860s, the U.S. government intensified its efforts by herding Indians into still smaller and smaller reservations (like the **Dakota Territory**).
    1. Indians were often promised that they wouldn’t be bothered further after moving out of their ancestral lands, and often, Indian agents were corrupt and pawned off shoddy food and products to their own fellow Indians.
    2. White men often disregarded treaties, though, and frequently swindled the Indians.
  - v. In frustration, many Native American tribes fought back. A slew of Indian vs. White skirmishes emerged between roughly 1864 to 1890 in the so-called “**Indian Wars**.”
    1. After the Civil War, the U.S. Army’s new mission became—go clear Indians out of the West for White settlers to move in.
    2. Many times though, the Indians were better equipped than the federal troops sent to quell their revolts because arrows could be fired more rapidly than a muzzle-loaded rifle. Invention of the Colt .45 revolver (six-shooter) and Winchester repeating rifle changed this.
    3. Generals **Sherman**, **Sheridan**, and **Custer** (at Little Bighorn) all battled Indians.
- II. Receding Native Population
  - i. Violence reigned supreme in Indian-White relations.
    1. In 1864, at **Sand Creek**, Colorado, Colonel **J.M. Chivington**’s militia massacred some four hundred Indians in cold blood—Indians who had thought they had been promised immunity and Indians who were peaceful and harmless.
    2. In 1866, a Sioux war party ambushed Captain William J. Fetterman’s command of 81 soldiers and civilians who were constructing the Bozeman Trail to the Montana goldfields, leaving no survivors.
      - a. This massacre was one of the few Indian victories, as another treaty at Fort Laramie was signed two years later.
  - ii. Colonel Custer found gold in the **Black Hills** of South Dakota (sacred Sioux land), and hordes of gold-seekers invaded the Sioux reservation in search of gold, causing **Crazy Horse** and the Sioux to go on the warpath, completely decimating Custer’s Seventh Cavalry at Little Big Horn in the process.
    1. The reinforcements that arrived later brutally hunted down the Indians who had attacked, including their leader, **Sitting Bull** (he escaped).
  - iii. The **Nez Percé** Indians also revolted when gold seekers made the government shrink their reservation by 90%, and after a tortuous battle, **Chief Joseph** finally surrendered his band after a long trek across the Continental Divide toward Canada. He buried his hatchet and gave his famous speech saying, “From where the sun now stands I will fight no more forever.”
  - iv. The most difficult to subdue were the **Apache** tribes of Arizona and New Mexico, led by **Geronimo**, but even they finally surrendered after being pushed to Mexico, and afterwards, they became successful farmers.

- v. The Indians were subdued due to (1) the railroad, which cut through the heart of the West, (2) the White man's diseases, (3) the extermination of the buffalo, (4) wars, and (5) the loss of their land to White settlement.

### III. Bellowing Herds of Bison

- i. In the early days, tens of millions of bison dotted the American prairie, and by the end of the Civil War, there were still 15 million buffalo grazing, but it was the eruption of the railroad that really started the buffalo massacre.
  1. Many people killed buffalo for their meat, their skins, or their tongues, but many people either killed the bison for sport or killed them, took only one small part of their bodies (like the tongue) and just left the rest of the carcass to rot.
- ii. By 1885, fewer than 1,000 buffalo were left, and the species was in danger of extinction. Those left were mostly in **Yellowstone National Park**.

### IV. The End of the Trail

- i. Sympathy for the Indians finally materialized in the 1880s, helped in part by **Helen Hunt Jackson's** book *A Century of Dishonor* and her novel *Ramona*.
  1. Humanitarians wanted to kindly help Indians "walk the White man's road" while the hard-liners stuck to their "kill 'em all" beliefs, and no one cared much for the traditional Indian heritage and culture.
- ii. Often, zealous White missionaries would force Indians to convert, and in 1884, they helped urge the government to outlaw the sacred Sun Dance, called the **Ghost Dance** by Whites. It was a festival that Whites thought was the war-drum beating.
  1. At the **Battle of Wounded Knee**, the "**Ghost Dance**" was brutally stamped out by U.S. troops, who killed women and children as well. This battle marks the end of the Indian Wars as by then the Indians were all either on reservations or dead.
- iii. The **Dawes Severalty Act** of 1887 dissolved the legal entities of all tribes, but if the Indians behaved the way Whites wanted them to behave (become farmers on reservations), they could receive full U.S. citizenship in 25 years (full citizenship to all Indians was granted in 1924). Ironically, an immigrant from a foreign nation could become a citizen much, much faster than a native-born Native American.
  1. Reservation land not allotted to Indians under the act was sold to railroads,
  2. In 1879, the **Carlisle Indian School** in Pennsylvania was founded to teach Native American children how to behave like Whites, completely erasing their culture.
  3. The Dawes Act struck forcefully at the Indians, and by 1900 they had lost half the land than they had held 20 years before. This plan would outline U.S. policy toward Indians until the 1934 **Indian Reorganization Act** which helped the Indian population rebound and grow.

### V. Mining: From Dishpan to Ore Breaker

- i. Gold was discovered in California in the late 1840s, and in 1858, the same happened at Pike's Peak in Colorado. "**Fifty-Niners**" flocked out there, but within a month or two, the gold had run out.
- ii. The **Comstock Lode** in Nevada was discovered in 1859, and a fantastic amount of gold and silver worth more than \$340 million was mined.
- iii. Smaller "lucky strikes" also drew money-lovers to Montana, Idaho, and other western states. Anarchy in these outposts seemed to rule, but in the end, what was left were usually ghost towns.
- iv. After the surface gold was found, ore-breaking machinery was brought in to break the gold-bearing quartz (which was very expensive to do).
- v. Women found new rights in these Western lands however, gaining suffrage in Wyoming (1869) (the first place for women to vote), Utah (1870), Colorado (1893) and Idaho (1896).
- vi. Mining also added to the folklore and American literature (**Bret Harte & Mark Twain**).

### VI. Beef Bonanzas and the Long Drive

- i. As cities back east boomed in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the demand for food and meat increased sharply.
- ii. The problem of marketing meat profitably to the public market and cities was solved by the new transcontinental railroads. Cattle could now be shipped to the stockyards under "beef barons" like the **Swifts and Armours**.
  1. The meat-packaging industry thus sprang up.
- iii. The "**Long Drive**" emerged to become a spectacular feeder of the slaughterhouses, as Texas cowboys herded cattle across desolate land to railroad terminals in Kansas.
  1. **Dodge City, Abilene, Ogallala, and Cheyenne** became favorite stopovers.
    - a. At Dodge City Wyatt Earp and in Abilene, Marshal **James B. Hickok** maintained order.

- iv. The railroads made the cattle herding business prosper, but it also destroyed it, for the railroads also brought sheepherders and homesteaders who built barbed-wire, invented by Samuel Glidden, fences that erased the open-range days of the long cattle drives.
  1. Also, blizzards in the winter of 1886-87 left dazed cattle starving and freezing.
- v. Breeders learned to fence their ranches and to organize (i.e. the **Wyoming Stock-Growers' Association**).
  1. The legends of the cowboys were made here at this time, but lived on in American lore.

#### VII. The Farmers' Frontier

- i. The **Homestead Act** of 1862 allowed folks to get as much as 160 acres of land in return for living on it for five years, improving it, and paying a nominal fee of about \$30.00. Or, it allowed folks to get land after only six month's residence for \$1.25 an acre.
  1. Before, the U.S. government had sold land for revenue, but now, it was giving it away.
  2. This act led half a million families to buy land and settle out West, but it often turned out to be a cruel hoax because in the dry Great Plains, 160 acres was rarely enough for a family to earn a living and survive. And often, families were forced to give up their homesteads before the five years were up, since droughts, bad land, and lack of necessities forced them out.
  3. However, fraud was spawned by the Homestead Act, since almost ten times as much land ended up in the hands of land-grabbing promoters than in the hands of real farmers. Sometimes these cheats would not even live on the land, but say that they'd erected a "twelve by fourteen" dwelling—which later turned out to be twelve by fourteen *inches*!
- ii. Taming Western Deserts
  1. Railroads such as the **Northern Pacific** helped develop the agricultural West, a place where, after the tough, horse-trodden lands had been plowed and watered, proved to be surprisingly fertile.
  2. Due to higher wheat prices resulting from crop failures around the world, more people rashly pushed further westward, past the **100<sup>th</sup> meridian** (which is also the magic 20-inch per year rainfall line), where it was difficult to grow crops.
    - a. Here, as warned by geologist **John Wesley Powell**, so little rain fell that successful farming could only be attained by *massive* irrigation.
    - b. To counteract the lack of water (and a six year drought in the 1880s), farmers developed the technique of "**dry farming**," or using shallow cultivation methods to plant and farm, but over time, this method created a finely pulverized surface soil that contributed to the notorious "Dust Bowl" several decades later.
  3. A Russian species of wheat—tough and resistant to drought—was brought in and grew all over the Great Plains, while other plants were chosen in favor of corn.
  4. Huge federally financed irrigation projects soon caused the "**Great American Desert**" to bloom, and dams that tamed the **Missouri** and **Columbia Rivers** helped water the land.

#### VIII. The Far West Comes of Age

- i. The Great West experienced a population surge, as many people moved onto the frontier.
- ii. New states like Colorado, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, and Wyoming were admitted into the Union.
  1. Not until 1896 was Utah allowed into the Union, and by the 20<sup>th</sup> century, only Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona remained as territories.
  2. In Oklahoma, the U.S. government made available land that had formerly belonged to the Native Americans, and thousands of "Sooners" jumped the boundary line and illegally went into Oklahoma, often forcing U.S. troops to evict them.
  3. On April 22, 1889, Oklahoma was legally opened, and 18 years later, in 1907, Oklahoma became the "Sooner State."
- iii. In 1890, for the first time, the U.S. census announced that a frontier was no longer discernible.
- iv. The "closing" of the frontier inspired the **Turner Thesis**, which stated that America needed a frontier.
- v. At first, the public didn't seem to notice that there was no longer a frontier, but later, they began to realize that the land was not infinite, and concern led to the first national park being opened, **Yellowstone**, founded in 1872, followed by **Yosemite** and **Sequoia** (1890).

#### IX. The Fading Frontier

- i. The frontier was a state of mind and a symbol of opportunity.
- ii. The "**safety valve theory**" stated that the frontier was like a safety valve for folks who, when it became too crowded in their area, could simply pack up and leave, moving West.

1. Actually, few city-dwellers left the cities for the West, since they didn't know how to farm; the West increasingly became less and less a land of opportunity for farms, but still was good for hard laborers and ranchers.
2. Still, free acreage did lure a host of immigrant farmers to the West—farmers that probably wouldn't have come to the West had the land not been cheap—and the lure of the West may have led to city employers raising wages to keep workers in the cities.
- iii. It seems that the cities, not the West, were the safety valves, as busted farmers and fortune seekers made **Chicago** and **San Francisco** into large cities.
- iv. Of hundreds of years, Americans had expanded west, and it was in the trans-Mississippi west that the Indians made their last stand, where Anglo culture collided with Hispanic culture, and where America faced Asia.
- v. The life that we live today is one that those pioneers dreamed of, and the life that they lived is one of which we can only dream.

#### X. The Farm Becomes a Factory

- i. Farmers were now increasingly producing single "cash" crops, since they could then concentrate their efforts, make profits, and buy manufactured goods from mail order companies, such as the **Aaron Montgomery Ward** catalogue (first sent in 1872) or from **Sears**.
- ii. Large-scale farmers tried banking, railroading, and manufacturing, but new inventions in farming, such as a steam engine that could pull a plow, seeder, or harrow, the new twine binder, and the combined reaper-thresher sped up harvesting and lowered the number of people needed to farm.
  1. Farmers, though, were inclined to blame banks and railroads for their losses rather than their own shortcomings.
- iii. The mechanization of agriculture led to enormous farms, such as those in the Minnesota-North Dakota area and the Central Valley of California.
  1. **Henry George** described the state as a country of plantations and estates.
  2. California vegetables and fruits, raised by ill-paid Mexican workers, made handsome profits when sold to the East.

#### XI. Deflation Dooms the Debtor

- i. In the 1880s, when world markets rebounded, produced more crops, and forced prices down, the farmers in America were the ones that found ruin.
- ii. Paying back debts was especially difficult in this deflation-filled time during which there was simply not enough money to go around for everyone. Less money in circulation was called "**contraction**."
- iii. Farmers operated year after year on losses and lived off their fat as best they could, but thousands of homesteads fell to mortgages and foreclosures, and farm tenancy rather than farm ownership was increasing.
- iv. The fall of the farmers in the late 1800s was similar to the fall of the South and its "King Cotton" during the Civil War: depending solely on one crop was good in good times but disastrous during less prosperous times.

#### XII. Unhappy Farmers

- i. In the late 1880s and early 1890s, droughts, grasshopper plagues, and searing heat waves made the toiling farmers miserable and poor.
- ii. City, state, and federal governments added to this by gouging the farmers, ripping them off by making them pay painful taxes when they could least afford to do so.
- iii. The railroads (by fixing freight prices), the middlemen (by taking huge cuts in profits), and the various harvester, barbed wire, and fertilizer trusts all harassed farmers.
- iv. In 1890, one half of the U.S. population still consisted of farmers, but they were hopelessly disorganized.

#### XIII. The Farmers Take Their Stand

- i. In the **Greenback** movement after the Civil War, agrarian unrest had flared forth as well.
- ii. In 1867, the **National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry**, better known as **The Grange**, was founded by Oliver H. Kelley to improve the lives of isolated farmers through social, educational, and fraternal activities.
  1. Eventually, it spread to claim over 800,000 members in 1875, and the Grange changed its goals to include the improvement of the collective plight of the farmer.
  2. The Grangers found most success in the upper Mississippi Valley, and eventually, they managed to get Congress to pass a set of regulations known as the **Granger Laws**, but afterwards, their influence faded.
- iii. The **Greenback Labor Party** also attracted farmers, and in 1878, the Greenback Laborites polled over a million votes and elected 14 members of Congress.

1. In 1880, the Greenbackers ran General **James B. Weaver**, a Civil War general, but he only polled 3% of the popular vote.

XIV. Prelude to Populism

- i. The **Farmers' Alliance**, founded in the late 1870s, was another coalition of farmers seeking to overthrow the chains from the banks and railroads that bound them.
  1. However, its programs only aimed at those who owned their own land, thereby ignoring the tenant farmers, and it purposely excluded Blacks.
  2. The Alliance members agreed on the (1) nationalization of railroads, (2) the abolition of national banks, (3) a graduated income tax, and (4) a new federal sub-treasury for farmers.
- ii. Populists were led by **Ignatius Donnelly** from Minnesota and **Mary Elizabeth Lease**, both of whom spoke eloquently and attacked those that hurt farmers (banks, railroads, etc.).
- iii. The Alliance was still not to be brushed aside, and in the coming decade, they would combine into a new **People's Party** (AKA, the **Populist Party**) to launch a new attack on the northeastern citadels of power.

XV. Coxe's Army and the Pullman Strike

- i. The Panic of 1893 fueled the passion of the Populists. Many disgruntled unemployed fled to D.C. calling for change.
  1. Most famous of these people was "General" **Jacob Coxe**. "Coxe's Army" marched on Washington with scores of followers and many newspaper reporters. They called for:
    - a. relieving unemployment by an inflationary government public works program.
    - b. an issuance of \$500 million in legal tender notes.
  2. The march fizzled out when they were arrested for walking on the grass.
- ii. The Pullman Strike in Chicago, led by **Eugene Debs**, was more dramatic.
  1. Debs helped organize the workers of the Pullman Palace Car Company.
  2. The company was hit hard by the depression and cut wages by about 1/3.
  3. Workers struck, sometimes violently.
  4. U.S. Attorney General Richard Olney called in federal troops to break up the strike. His rationale: the strike was interfering with the transit of U.S. mail.
  5. Debs went to prison for 6 months and turned into the leading Socialist in America.

XVI. Golden McKinley and Silver Bryan

- i. McKinley
  1. The leading Republican candidate in 1896 was **William McKinley**, a respectable and friendly former Civil War major who had served many years in Congress representing his native Ohio.
  2. McKinley was the making of another Ohioan, **Marcus Alonzo Hanna**, who financially and politically supported the candidate through his political years.
  3. McKinley was a conservative in business, preferring to leave things alone, and his platform was for the gold standard, even though he personally was not.
    - a. His platform also called for a gold-silver bimetallism—provided that all the other nations in the world did the same, which was not bound to happen.
- ii. Bryan
  1. The Democrats were in disarray and unable to come up with a candidate, until **William Jennings Bryan**, the "Boy Orator of the Platte," came to their rescue.
  2. At the 1896 Democratic Convention in Chicago, Bryan delivered a movingly passionate speech in favor of free silver. In this "**Cross of Gold Speech**" he created a sensation and won the nomination for the Democratic ticket the next day.
    - a. The Democratic ticket called for unlimited coinage of silver with the ratio of 16 silver ounces worth as much as one ounce of gold.
    - b. Democrats who would not stand for this left the party.
  3. Some Democrats charged that they'd stolen the Populist ideas, and during the Election of 1896, it was essentially the "Demo-Pop" party.

XVII. Class Conflict: Plowholders Versus Bondholders

- i. McKinley won decisively, getting 271 electoral votes, mostly from the populous East and upper Midwest, as opposed to Bryan's 176, mostly from the South and the West.
- ii. This election was perhaps the most important since the elections involving Abraham Lincoln, for it was the first to seemingly pit the privileged against the underprivileged, and it resulted in a victory for big business and big cities.
- iii. Thus, the Election of 1896 could be called the "gold vs. silver" election. And, put to the vote, it was clear then that Americans were going with gold.

- iv. Also in the election, the Middle Class preserved their comfortable way of life while the Republicans seized control of the White House of 16 more years.
- XVIII. Republican Standpattism Enthroned
- i. When McKinley took office in 1897, he was calm and conservative, working well with his party and avoiding major confrontations.
  - ii. The **Dingley Tariff Bill** was passed to replace the Wilson-Gorman law and raise more revenue, raising the tariff level to whopping 46.5 percent.

## Chapter 26 Vocabulary

**Sitting Bull** -- He was one of the leaders of the Sioux nation. He was a medicine man "as wily as he was influential." He became a prominent Indian leader during the Sioux War from 1876-1877. The war was touched off when a group of miners rushed into the Black Hills of South Dakota in 1875, sacred Indian land. The well-armed warriors at first proved to be a superior force. During Custer's Last Stand in 1876, Sitting Bull was "making medicine" while another Indian, Crazy Horse, led the Sioux. When more whites arrived at this Battle of Little Big Horn, Sitting Bull and the other Sioux were forced into Canada. The Sioux will return later and lead the "Ghost Dance" revival.

**George A. Custer** -- He was a former general of the Civil War famous for his golden curls and flamboyance. He was nicknamed the "boy general." During the Sioux War of 1876-1877, he attacked 2,500 Sioux warriors near the Little Big Horn River in Montana and was completely wiped out. He, and his 264 men's defeat, was mainly due to being outnumbered and Custer's arrogant attack without waiting for reinforcements.

**Chief Joseph** -- He was chief of the Nez Perce Indians of Idaho. His people didn't want gold hunters to trespass on their beaver river. To avoid war, and save his people, Chief Joseph tried retreating to Canada. They were cornered 30 miles from safety and he surrendered in 1877.

**Geronimo** -- Geronimo, the leader of the Apaches in Arizona and New Mexico, fought against the white man, who was trying to force the Apaches off of their land. Geronimo had an enormous hatred for the whites and proved very wily and hard to pin down. He was, however, eventually pushed into Mexico where he surrendered.

**Joseph F. Glidden** -- In 1874, Glidden invented a superior type of barbed wire and in 1883 the company was producing 600 miles of the product each day. Barbed wire was the main cause of the end of the open range, long drive cowboy days.

**James B. Weaver** -- He was a Civil War general chosen as the presidential candidate of the Populist party. He was a Granger with an apt skill for public speaking. He ended up getting three percent of the popular votes, which seems small, but which is really a large number for a third party candidate.

**Oliver H. Kelly** -- Oliver H. Kelly was an energetic Mason from Minnesota. Kelly was the National Grange of the Patron's of Husbandry's leading spirit. The Grange's primary objectives were to stimulate the minds of the farm people by social, educational, and fraternal activities. The Grange was organized in 1867. Kelly had picnics, musical events, and lectures trying to appeal to enough of the farmers to reach his goals of self-improvement. The movement later got into the push for greenbacks and inflation.

**Mary Elizabeth Lease** -- Mary Lease became well known during the early 1890's for her actions as a speaker for the Populist party. She was a tall, strong woman who made numerous and memorable speeches on behalf of the downtrodden farmer. She denounced the money-grubbing government and encouraged farmers to speak their discontent with the economic situation.

**Sioux Wars** -- The Sioux Wars lasted from 1876-1877. These were spectacular clashes between the Sioux Indians and white men. They were spurred by gold-greedy miners rushing into Sioux land. The white men were breaking their treaty with the Indians. The Sioux Indians were led by Sitting Bull and they were pushed by Custer's forces. Custer led these forces until he was killed at the battle at Little Bighorn. Many of the Indians were finally forced into Canada, where they were forced by starvation to surrender.

**Apache** -- The Apaches were a Native American from Arizona and New Mexico led by Geronimo and whom were difficult for the U.S. government to control. Geronimo was chased into Mexico by federal troops. The tribe became successful farmers raising stock in Oklahoma.

**Ghost Dance** -- This was a tradition that tried to call the spirits of past warriors to inspire the young braves to fight. It was crushed at the Battle of Wounded Knee after spreading to the Dakota Sioux. The Ghost Dance led to the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887. This act tried to reform Indian tribes and turn them into "white" citizens. It essentially aimed to break up the tribes.

**Battle of Wounded Knee** -- In 1890, a group of white Christian reformers tried to bring Christian beliefs to the Indians. Fearing the Ghost Dance, American troops were called in. While camped outside of an Indian reservation, a gun was fired and the troops stormed the reservation killing Indian men, women, and children. This battle and this year marked the end of "the Wild West" as by then, the Indians were either moved to reservations or dead. This year, 1890, was when the U.S. government stated the frontier was gone.

**Dawes Severalty Act** -- This 1887 law dismantled American Indian tribes, set up individuals as family heads with 160 acres, tried to make rugged individualists out of the Indians, and attempted to assimilate the Indian population into that of the American

**Comstock Lode** -- In 1859, a great amount of gold and silver was discovered in Nevada at the Comstock Lode. The "fifty-niners" rushed to Nevada in their own hopes of getting rich, which caused Nevada to become a state.

**Long Drive** -- The Long Drives took place in the 1870s and 80s in the Western plain states. Cattle ranchers needed a way to easily transport their cattle to eastern cities. Cowboys would round up a herd of cattle and "drive" them from Texas to Kansas which held the nearest railroad.

**Homestead Act** -- This law, passed in 1862, stated that a settler could acquire up to 160 acres of land and pay a minimal fee of \$30.00 just for living on it for five years and settling it. A settler could acquire it for only six months and pay \$1.25 an acre. This was important because previously land had been sold for profit and now it was basically being given away. About half a million families took advantage of this offer. Unfortunately, it was often too good to be true and the land was ravaged by drought and hard to cultivate.

**Patrons of Husbandry** -- The Patrons of Husbandry was a group organized in 1867, the leader of which was Oliver H. Kelley. It was better known as The Grange. It was a group with colorful appeal and many passwords for secrecy. The Grange was a group of farmers that worked for improvement for the farmers.

**Granger Laws** -- During the late 1800's an organization of farmers, called the Grange, strove to regulate railway rates and storage fees charged by railroads, warehouses, and grain elevators through state legislation. These such laws were passed, but eventually reversed, and were referred to as the Granger Laws.

**Farmers' Alliance** -- This was the first "national" organization of the farmers, which led to the creation of the Populist party. The Farmers' Alliance sponsored social gatherings, were active in politics, organized cooperatives, and fought against the dominance of the railroads and manufacturers.

**Populists** -- The Populists were a political group which began to emerge in 1891. They gained much support from farmers who turned to them to fight political injustice. They used a progressive platform. James B. Weaver ran as their presidential candidate in 1892. They had an impressive voter turnout. They were also known as the People's Party.

**Jacob S. Coxey** -- Coxey was a leader of the unemployed during the depression in 1894. He led a march to Washington, demanding that the government begin an inflationary public works program.

**Eugene V. Debs** -- Eugene V. Debs was a labor leader who helped organize the American Railroad Union. The Union went on strike against the Pullman Palace Car Company in 1894. The strike was put down by armed forces and Debs and other leaders were given six months imprisonment. Debs would later run for president as a Socialist.

**Williams Jennings Bryan** -- Bryan was an eloquent congressman from Nebraska. During the extra Congress session in the summer of 1893, Bryan held the galleries spellbound for three hours as he championed the cause of free silver. Despite his efforts, however, President Cleveland alienated the Democratic silverites. He also ran against McKinley in the presidential elections of 1896 and lost.

**Richard Olney** -- Richard Olney was a lawyer in the 1880's for one of the leading corporations. Later he became the Secretary of State to Grover Cleveland. He was Attorney General during the Pullman strike in 1894 and he issued an injunction for the workers to return to work.

**William McKinley** -- McKinley presented a tariff bill in the House, and lost his seat in Congress because of it. McKinley ran on the Republican ticket in the 1896 election and won the presidency while preaching a gold standard platform. He won again in 1900 and was assassinated in 1901.

**Bimetallism** -- Bimetallism was the use of silver and gold in the economic system. This issue divided much of the United States during the late 19th century because the bankers and industrialists wanted at least a limited amount of silver, if not to get rid of it and the farmers wanted unlimited coinage of silver.

**Free Silver** -- Silverites were in favor of silver over gold in terms of currency. States with a lot of silver wanted unlimited coinage of silver. This would cause inflation (rising prices). This was desired because it enabled debtors, such as farmers, to more easily pay off debts. If money was worth very little (as with inflation) it's easier to get more money and therefore pay off one's debt. They were said to like "cheap money."

**Depression of 1893** -- This was the most devastating economic recession of the century. It occurred while Grover Cleveland was president and it lasted for four years. It was caused by overbuilding, over-speculation, labor disorder, and agricultural problems. Because of these things, many businesses collapsed and an abundance of people became unemployed.

**Pullman Strike** -- The Pullman Strike was in 1894 when the company was hurt by the depression. They decided to cut wages about one-third. The workers decided to strike. Attorney General Olney called in the federal troops to break the strike. He thought that the strikers were interfering with the delivery of mail because railroads all over the country went on strike in support of the Pullman workers. These railroads carried the mail. The strike affected the entire country.

**Cross of Gold Speech** -- William Jennings Bryan became the hero of the Democratic party in the election of 1896 with his "Cross of Gold" speech. This speech supported the silver standard for currency, as opposed to the gold standard, and it also supported the unlimited coinage of silver.



# Chapter 27

## Empire and Expansion

### I. America Turns Outward

- i. From the end of the **Civil War** to the 1880s, the United States was very isolationist, but in the 1890s, due to rising exports, manufacturing capability, power, and wealth, it began to expand onto the world stage, using overseas markets to sell its goods.
  1. The “yellow press” or “**yellow journalism**” of **Joseph Pulitzer** and **William Randolph Hearst** also influenced overseas expansion, as did missionaries inspired by Reverend **Josiah Strong**’s *Our Country: It’s Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*. Strong spoke for civilizing and Christianizing savages.
  2. People were interpreting **Darwin**’s theory of survival-of-the-fittest to mean that the United States was the fittest and needed to take over other nations to improve them.
    - a. Such events already were happening, as Europeans had carved up Africa and China by this time.
- ii. Captain **Alfred Thayer Mahan**’s 1890 book, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, argued that every successful nation had a great navy, and started a naval race among the great powers and moving the U.S. to naval supremacy.
- iii. **James G. Blaine** pushed his “**Big Sister**” policy, which sought better relations with Latin America, and in 1889, he presided over the first **Pan-American Conference**, held in Washington D.C.
- iv. However, in other diplomatic affairs, America and Germany almost went to war over the Samoan Islands (over whom could build a naval base there), while Italy and America almost fought due to the lynching of 11 Italians in New Orleans, and the U.S. and Chile almost went to war after the deaths of two American sailors at **Valparaiso** in 1892.
  1. The new aggressive mood was also shown by the U.S.—Canadian argument over seal hunting near the **Pribilof Islands** off the coast of Alaska.
- v. An incident with Venezuela and Britain wound up strengthening the Monroe Doctrine.
  - a. **British Guiana** and **Venezuela** had been disputing their border for many years, but when gold was discovered, the situation worsened.
    - i. Thus, the U.S., under President **Grover Cleveland**, sent a note written by Secretary of State **Richard Olney** to Britain informing them that the British actions were trespassing the **Monroe Doctrine** and that the U.S. controlled things in the Americas.
    - ii. The British replied four months later saying that the Monroe Doctrine didn’t exist.
  - b. Uproar resulted, and the two nations almost went to war, but after second thoughts by both sides, the issue was settled with the British getting most of the land that they had wanted in the beginning.
    - i. Britain didn’t want to fight because of the damage to its merchant trade that could result, as well as the vulnerability of Canada; plus, after the Dutch Boers of South Africa captured 600 British, Germany’s Kaiser Wilhem cabled his congratulations, sending British anger to Germany, not to America.
    - ii. The result was that the Monroe Doctrine was strengthened, the Latin American nations appreciated the U.S.’ effort to protect them, and Britain sought better relations with the U.S. afterwards, since it had many enemies in Europe.

### II. Spurning the Hawaiian Pear

- i. From the 1820s, when the first U.S. missionaries came, the United States had always liked the **Hawaiian Islands**.
  1. Treaties signed in 1875 and 1887 guaranteed commercial trade and U.S. rights to priceless **Pearl Harbor**, while Hawaiian sugar was very profitable. But in 1890, the **McKinley Tariff** raised the prices on this sugar, raising its price.
  2. Americans felt that the best way to offset this was to annex Hawaii—a move opposed by its **Queen Liliuokalani**—but in 1893, desperate Americans in Hawaii revolted.

- a. They succeeded, and Hawaii seemed ready for annexation, but Grover Cleveland became president again, investigated the coup, found it to be wrong, and delayed the annexation of Hawaii until he basically left office.
- b. Cleveland was bombarded for stopping "**Manifest Destiny**," but his actions proved to be honorable for him and America.

### III. Cubans Rise in Revolt

- i. In 1895, **Cuba** revolted against Spain, citing years of misrule, and the Cubans torched their sugar cane fields in hopes that such destruction would either make Spain leave or America interfere (the American tariff of 1894 had raised prices on it anyway).
  1. Sure enough, America supported Cuba, and the situation worsened when Spanish General **Valeriano "Butcher" Weyler** came to Cuba to crush the revolt and ended up putting many civilians into concentration camps that were terrible and killed many.
  2. The American public clamored for action, especially when spurred on by the yellow press, but Cleveland would do nothing.
- ii. The Mystery of the *Maine* Explosion
  - a. The yellow presses competed against each other to come up with more sensational stories, and Hearst even sent artist **Frederick Remington** to draw pictures of often-fictional atrocities.
    - i. For example, he drew Spanish officials brutally stripping and searching an American woman, when in reality, Spanish women, not men, did such acts.
    - ii. Then, suddenly, on February 9, 1898, a letter written by Spanish minister to Washington **Dupuy de Lôme** that ridiculed President McKinley was published by Hearst.
  - b. On February 15<sup>th</sup> of that year, the U.S. battleship *U.S.S. Maine* mysteriously exploded in Havana Harbor, killing 260 officers and men.
    - i. Despite an unknown cause, America was war-mad and therefore Spain received the blame.
    - ii. Hearst called down to Cuba, "You supply the pictures, I'll supply the story."
  - c. Actually, what really happened was that an accidental explosion had basically blown up the ship—a similar conclusion to what Spanish investigators suggested—but America ignored them.
- iii. The American public wanted war, but McKinley privately didn't like war or the violence, since he had been a Civil War major. In addition, **Mark Hanna** and Wall Street didn't want war because it would upset business.
  1. However, on April 11, 1898, the president sent his war message to Congress anyway, since: (1) war with Spain seemed inevitable, (2) America had to defend democracy, and (3) opposing a war could split the Republican party and America.
  2. Congress also adopted the **Teller Amendment**, which proclaimed that when the U.S. had overthrown Spanish misrule, it would give the Cubans their freedom and not conquer it.

### IV. Dewey's May Day Victory at Manila

- i. On paper, at least, the Spanish had the advantage over the U.S., since it had more troops and a supposedly better army, as well as younger (and seemingly more daring) generals.
- ii. Navy Secretary **John D. Long** and his assistant secretary, **Theodore Roosevelt** had modernized the U.S. navy, making it sleek and sharp.
  1. On February 25, 1898, Roosevelt cabled Commodore **George Dewey**, commanding the **American Asiatic Squadron** at Hong Kong, and told him to take over the Philippines.
  2. Dewey did so brilliantly, completely taking over the islands from the Spanish.
- iii. Dewey had naval control, but he could not storm the islands and its fortresses, so he had to wait for reinforcements, but meanwhile, other nations were moving their ships into Manila Harbor to protect their men.
  1. The German navy defied American blockade regulations, and Dewey threatened the navy commander with war, but luckily, this episode blew over, due in part to the British assistance of America.
- iv. Finally, on August 13, 1898, American troops arrived and captured Manila, collaborating with Filipino insurgents, led by **Emilio Aguinaldo**, to overthrow the Spanish rulers.
- v. On July 7, 1898, the U.S. annexed Hawaii (so that it could use the islands to support Dewey, supposedly), and Hawaii received full territorial status in 1900.

### V. The Confused Invasion of Cuba

- i. The Spanish sent warships to Cuba, panicking Americans on the Eastern seaboard, and the fleet, commanded by **Admiral Cervera**, found refuge in Santiago harbor, Cuba.
  1. Then, it was promptly blockaded by a better American force.
- ii. American ground troops, led by fat General **William R. Shafter**, were ill-prepared for combat in the tropical environment (i.e. they had woolen long underwear).
- iii. The "**Rough Riders**," a regiment of volunteers led by Theodore Roosevelt and Colonel **Leonard Wood**, rushed to Cuba and battled at El Caney stormed up San Juan Hill.
- iv. Admiral Cervera was finally ordered to fight the American fleet, and his fleet was destroyed.
- v. On land, the American army, commanded by General **Nelson A. Miles**, met little resistance as they took over **Puerto Rico**.
- vi. Soon afterwards, on August 12, 1898, Spain signed an armistice.
- vii. Notably, if the Spaniards had held out for a few more months, they might have won, for the American army was plagued with dysentery, typhoid, and yellow fever.
  1. Finally, TR wrote a "round-robin" letter demanded that the U.S. government take the troops out before they all died.

#### VI. America's Course (Curse?) of Empire

- i. In negotiations in Paris, America got **Guam** and **Puerto Rico** and freed Cuba, but the **Philippines** were a tough problem, since America couldn't honorably give it back to Spain after decades of misrule, but the U.S. couldn't just take it like an imperialistic nation.
- ii. Finally, McKinley decided to keep the Philippines, even though they had been taken one day *after* the end of the war, but he did so because of popular public opinion and because it meshed well with business interests.
  1. The U.S. paid \$20 million for the islands.
- iii. Upon the U.S. taking of the Philippines, uproar broke out, since until now, the United States had mostly acquired territory from the American continent, and even with Alaska, Hawaii, and the other scattered islands, there weren't many people living there.
- iv. The **Anti-Imperialist League** sprang into being, firmly opposed to this new imperialism of America, and its members included **Mark Twain**, **William James**, **Samuel Gompers**, and **Andrew Carnegie**.
  1. Even the Filipinos wanted freedom, and denying that to them was un-American.
- v. However, expansionists cried that the Philippines could become another Hong Kong.
  1. British writer **Rudyard Kipling** wrote about "The White Man's Burden," urging America to keep the Philippines and "civilize them."
- vi. In the Senate, the treaty was almost not passed, but finally, **William Jennings Bryan** argued for its passage, saying that the sooner the treaty was passed, the sooner the U.S. could get rid of the Philippines. The treaty passed by only one vote.

#### VII. Perplexities in Puerto Rico and Cuba

- i. The **Foraker Act** of 1900 gave Puerto Ricans a limited degree of popular government, and in 1917, Congress granted Puerto Ricans full American citizenship.
  1. U.S. help also transformed Puerto Rico and worked wonders in sanitation, transportation, beauty, and education.
- ii. In the **Insular Cases**, the Supreme Court barely ruled that the Constitution did not have full authority on how to deal with the islands (Cuba and Puerto Rico), essentially letting Congress do whatever it wanted with them. Basically, the cases said the island residents do not necessarily share the same rights as Americans.
- iii. America could not improve Cuba that much however, other than getting rid of yellow fever with the help of General Leonard Wood and Dr. **Walter Reed**.
  1. In 1902, the U.S. did indeed walk away from Cuba, but it also encouraged Cuba to write and pass the **Platt Amendment**, which became their constitution.
  2. This amendment said that (1) the U.S. could intervene and restore order in case of anarchy, (2) that the U.S. could trade freely with Cuba, and (3) that the U.S. could get two bays for naval bases, notably **Guantanamo Bay**.

#### VIII. New Horizons in Two Hemispheres

- i. The **Spanish-American War** lasted only 113 days and affirmed America's presence as a world power.
- ii. However, America's actions after the war made its German rival jealous and its Latin American neighbors suspicious.
- iii. Finally, one of the happiest results of the war was the narrowing of the bloody chasm between the U.S. North and South, which had been formed in the Civil War.
  1. General **Joseph Wheeler** was given a command in Cuba.

IX. "Little Brown Brothers" in the Philippines

- i. The Filipinos had assumed that they would receive freedom after the **Spanish-American War**, but when they didn't they revolted against the U.S.
  1. The insurrection began on February 4, 1899, and was led by **Emilio Aguinaldo**, who took his troops into guerrilla warfare after open combat proved to be useless.
  2. Stories of atrocities abounded, but finally, the rebellion was broken in 1901 when U.S. soldiers invaded Aguinaldo's headquarters and captured him.
- ii. **President McKinley** formed a Philippine Commission in 1899 to deal with the Filipinos, and in its second year, the organization was headed by amiable **William Howard Taft**, who developed a strong attachment for the Filipinos, calling them his "little brown brothers."
- iii. The Americans tried to assimilate the Filipinos, but the islanders resisted; they finally got their independence on July 4, 1946.

X. Hinging the Open Door in China

- iv. Following its defeat by Japan in 1894-1895, China had been carved into "**spheres of influence**" by the European powers.
- v. Americans were alarmed, as churches worried about their missionary strongholds while businesses feared that they would not be able to export their products to China.
- vi. Finally, Secretary of State **John Hay** dispatched his famous **Open Door note**, which urged the European nations to keep fair competition open to all nations willing and wanting to participate. This became the "**Open Door Policy**."
  1. All the powers already holding spots of China were squeamish, and only Italy, which had no sphere of influence of its own, accepted unconditionally.
  2. Russia didn't accept it at all, but the others did, on certain conditions, and thus, China was "saved" from being carved up.
- vii. In 1900, a super-patriotic group known as the "Boxers" started the **Boxers' Rebellion** where they revolted and took over the capital of China, Beijing, taking all foreigners hostage, including diplomats.
- viii. After a multi-national force broke the rebellion, the powers made China pay \$333 million for damages, of which the U.S. eventually received \$18 million.
- ix. Fearing that the European powers would carve China up for good, now, John Hay officially asked that China not be carved.

XI. Imperialism or Bryanism in 1900?

- i. Just like four years before, it was McKinley sitting on his front porch and Bryan actively and personally campaigning, but Theodore Roosevelt's active campaigning took a lot of the momentum away from Bryan's.
- ii. Bryan's supporters concentrated on imperialism—a bad move, considering that Americans were tired of the subject, while McKinley's supporters claimed that "Bryanism," not imperialism, was the problem, and that if Bryan became president, he would shake up the prosperity that was in America at the time; McKinley won easily.

XII. TR: Brandisher of the Big Stick

- i. Six months later, a deranged murderer shot and killed William McKinley, making Theodore Roosevelt the youngest president ever at age 42.
  1. TR promised to carry out McKinley's policies.
- ii. Theodore Roosevelt was a barrel-chested man with a short temper, large glasses, and a stubborn mentality that always thought he was right.
  1. Born into a rich family and graduated from Harvard, he was highly energetic and spirited, and his motto was "Speak softly and carry a big stick," or basically, "Let your actions do the talking."
- iii. Roosevelt rapidly developed into a master politician, and a maverick uncontrollable by party machines, and he believed that a president should lead, which would explain the precedents that he would set during his term, becoming the "first modern president."

XIII. Building the Panama Canal

- i. TR had traveled to Europe and knew more about foreign affairs than most of his predecessors, and one foreign affair that he knew needed to be dealt with was the creation of a canal through the Central American isthmus.
  1. During the Spanish-American War, the battleship **U.S.S. Oregon** had been forced to steam all the way around the tip of South America to join the fleet in Cuba.
  2. Such a waterway would also make defense of the recent island acquisitions easier (i.e. Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, Hawaii).

- ii. However, the 1850 **Clayton-Bulwer Treaty** with Britain had forbade the construction by either country of a canal in the Americas without the other's consent and help, but that statement was nullified in 1901 by the **Hay-Pauncefote Treaty**.
  - iii. A Nicaraguan route was one possible place for a canal, but it was opposed by the old **French Canal Company** that was eager to build in Panama and salvage something from their costly failure there.
    - 1. Their leader was **Philippe Bunau-Varilla**.
    - 2. The U.S. finally chose Panama after Mount Pelée erupted and killed 30,000 people.
  - iv. The U.S. negotiated a deal that would buy a 6-mile-wide strip of land in Panama for \$10 million and a \$250,000 annual payment, but this treaty was retracted by the Columbian government, which owned Panama.
    - 1. TR was furious, since he wanted construction of the canal to begin before the 1904 campaign.
  - v. At this point, TR and the U.S. decided enough was enough and it was time for action.
    - a. On November 3, 1903, another revolution in Panama began with the killing of a Chinese civilian and a donkey, and when Columbia tried to stop it, the U.S., citing an 1846 treaty with Columbia, wouldn't let the Columbian fleet through.
    - b. Panama was thus recognized by the U.S., and fifteen days later, Bunau-Varilla, the Panamanian minister despite his *French* nationality, signed the **Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty** that gave a widened (6x10 mi.) Panamanian zone to the U.S. for \$15 million.
    - c. TR didn't actively plot to tear Panama away from Columbia, but it seemed like it to the public, and to Latin America, and his actions in this incident saw him suffer a political black eye.
  - vi. In 1904, construction began on the **Panama Canal**, but at first, problems with landslides and sanitation occurred.
    - 1. Colonel **George Washington Goethals** finally organized the workers while Colonel **William C. Gorgas** exterminated yellow fever.
    - 2. When TR visited Panama in 1906, he was the first U.S. president to leave America for foreign soil.
    - 3. The canal was finally finished and opened in 1914, at a cost of \$400 million.
- XIV. TR's Perversion of the Monroe Doctrine
- i. Latin American nations like Venezuela and the Dominican Republic were having a hard time paying their debts to their European debtors, so Britain and Germany decided to send a bit of force to South America to make the Latinos pay.
  - ii. TR feared that if European powers interfered in the Americas to collect debts, they might then stay in Latin America, a blatant violation of the **Monroe Doctrine**, so he issued his **Roosevelt Corollary**, which stated that in future cases of debt problems, the U.S. would take over and handle any intervention in Latin America on behalf of Europe, thus keeping Europe away and the Monroe Doctrine intact.
    - 1. It said in effect, no one could bully Latin America except the U.S.
    - 2. However, this corollary didn't bear too well with Latin America, whose countries once again felt that Uncle Sam was being overbearing.
      - a. When U.S. Marines landed in Cuba to bring back order to the island in 1906, this seemed like an extension of the "**Bad Neighbor**" policy.
- XV. Roosevelt on the World Stage
- i. In 1904, Japan attacked Russia, since Russia had been in Manchuria, and proceeded to administer a series of humiliating victories until the Japanese began to run short on men.
    - 1. Therefore, they approached Theodore Roosevelt to facilitate a peace treaty.
    - 2. At **Portsmouth**, New Hampshire, in 1905, both sides met, and though both were stubborn (Japan wanted all of the strategic island of **Sakhalin** while the Russians disagreed), in the end, TR negotiated a deal in which Japan got half of Sakhalin but no indemnity for its losses.
    - 3. For this, and his mediation of North African disputes in 1906 through an international conference at **Algiciras, Spain**, TR received the **Nobel Peace Prize** in 1906.
  - ii. However, due to the Russo-Japanese incident, America lost two allies in Russia and Japan, neither of which felt that it had received its fair share of winnings.
- XVI. Japanese Laborers in California
- i. After the war, many Japanese immigrants poured into California, and fears of a "yellow flood" arose again.

- ii. The showdown came in 1906 after the San Francisco earthquake when the city decreed that, due to lack of space, Japanese children should attend a special school.
  1. Instantly, this became an international issue, but TR settled it eventually.
  2. San Francisco would not displace students while Japan would keep its laborers in Japan.
- iii. To impress the Japanese, Roosevelt sent his entire battleship fleet, "**The Great White Fleet**," around the world for a tour, and it received tremendous salutes in Latin America, New Zealand, Hawaii, Australia, and Japan, helping relieve tensions.
- iv. The **Root-Takahira Agreement** pledged the U.S. and Japan to respect each other's territorial possessions in the Pacific and to uphold the Open Door Policy in China.

## Chapter 27 Vocabulary

**Treaty of Paris, 1898** -- This treaty concluded the Spanish American War. Commissioners from the U.S. were sent to Paris on October 1, 1898 to produce a treaty that would bring an end to the war with Spain after six months of hostility. From the treaty, America got Guam, Puerto Rico and they paid \$20 million for the Philippines. Cuba was also freed from Spain.

**Richard Olney** – Olney began as a leading corporate lawyer who noted that the Interstate Commerce Act could be used by the railroads. He became Attorney General and helped to stop the Pullman Strike. He later became the Secretary of State under President Cleveland. He declared to the British that by trying to dominate Venezuela they were violating the Monroe Doctrine. Under Olney, the U.S. mediated the Venezuela—England boundary dispute.

**Alfred Thayer Mahan** – Mahan was an American naval officer and historian, educated at the U.S. Naval Academy. Mahan served over 40 years in the Navy. He is most famous for his book *The Influence of Sea Power on History* which defined naval strategy. Mahan stressed the importance of sea power in the world. His philosophies had a major influence on the growth of navies of many nations.

**James G. Blaine** -- James G Blaine was the Republican presidential candidate in the 1884 election. He surfaced again as leader in the first Pan-American Conference to improve trade with Latin American countries. He was Secretary of State during the Garfield and Harrison administrations.

**Valeriano Weyler** – Weyler was a Spanish General referred to as "Butcher" Weyler. He undertook to crush the Cuban rebellion by herding many civilians into barbed-wire concentration camps, where they could not give assistance to the armed insurrectionists. The civilians died in deadly pestholes. The "Butcher" was removed in 1897.

**de Lome Letter** – Dupuy de Lome was a Spanish minister in Washington. He wrote a private letter to a friend concerning President McKinley and how he lacked good faith. He was forced to resign when William Randolph Hearst discovered and published the letter. This publishing helped to spark the Spanish-American War.

**Theodore Roosevelt** – Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy when the Spanish-American War broke out. He led the Rough Riders up San Juan Hill in Cuba in the land war with Spain. He was known for his extreme expansionism.

**George Dewey** – Dewey was commander of the Pacific fleet of American ships in the Spanish-American War. He attacked the Philippines when war was declared by the U.S. and crushed the Spanish fleet there.

**Emilio Aguinaldo** -- He was a revolutionary Filipino who commanded his Filipino troops to help American George Dewey to acquire Manila from Spain. He later led Filipinos against the U.S. in 1899 because of their denied freedom after the war.

**Jingoism** -- Jingoism is aggressive, nationalistic and patriotic expansion. Theodore Roosevelt, among many others, believed in this extreme form of expansion.

**Imperialism** -- Imperialism is the policy and practice of forming and maintaining an empire, which usually seeks to control raw materials and world markets by the conquest of other countries, the establishment of colonies, etc.

**Pan-American Conference** – This conference was called by James Blaine and created an organization of cooperation between the U.S. and Latin American countries

**U.S.S. Maine** – This was a battleship sent by Washington in 1898 to Cuba. It was supposedly sent there for basically a "friendly visit," but actually, it was sent to protect and evacuate Americans if a dangerous flare-up occurred. The *Maine* mysteriously blew up on Feb. 15, 1898 in Havana Harbor. The Americans thought that the Spanish blew it up while the Spanish claimed the explosion to be accidental. This was a spark to the Spanish-American war. The incident led to the Alamo-like battle cry, "Remember the *Maine*!"

**Teller Amendment** – This was an act of Congress in 1898 that stated that when the United States had rid Cuba of Spanish misrule, Cuba would be granted its freedom.

**Rough Riders** -- The "Rough Riders" were a group of American volunteers formed to fight at San Juan Hill in Cuba. Many of them were cowboys, ex-convicts, and other rugged men. Colonel Leonard Wood led the group, but Theodore Roosevelt organized it. They were named "Wood's Weary Walkers" because by the time they got to Cuba to fight, most of their horses were gone.

**Anti-Imperialist League** -- The Anti-Imperialist League was formed to fight the McKinley administration's expansionist moves. Its members included, William James, Mark Twain, and Andrew Carnegie. The League claimed that it was against America's Democratic ideals to "take-over" other lands.

**Foraker Act** -- The Foraker Act of 1900 set up a Legislative Assembly in Puerto Rico that dealt with their domestic affairs. In 1917, the same act gave the Puerto Ricans United States citizenship.

**Insular cases** – The word “insular” refers to “islands.” In 1901 and 1903, these Supreme Court cases decided that the Constitution did not always follow the flag. In other words, the newly acquired islands of Puerto Rico and the Philippines would not have all the rights of American citizens.

**Platt Amendment** -- This amendment gave the U.S the right to take over the island of Cuba if that country entered into a treaty or debt that might place its freedom in danger. This amendment also gave the U.S. the right to put a naval base in Cuba to protect it (Guantanamo Bay) and the U.S holdings in the Caribbean. This amendment was resented very much by the Cubans and seemed to counteract the earlier Teller Amendment saying the Americans would grant freedom to Cuba after the war.

**Theodore Roosevelt** -- After being purposely placed in the "quiet" office of Vice-President where the New York political bosses thought "Teddy" or "TR" would not cause any problems, Roosevelt became president. He was notorious for his impulsiveness and radical behavior. At 5'10", he used his Big-Stick policy in dealing with foreign affairs. He was an instrumental part in building the Panama Canal and enforcing the rigid Roosevelt Corollary.

**John Hay** – Hay was the Secretary of State in 1899. He dispatched the Open Door Note to keep the countries that had spheres of influence in China from taking over China and closing the doors of trade between China and the U.S. He began the Open Door Policy.

**Spheres of Influence** -- European powers, such as Britain and Russia, moved in to divide up China in 1895. These countries gained control of certain parts of China's economy, called “spheres of influence.” The Chinese did not like the idea of unwelcome foreigners trading freely within their country, so they started the Boxer Rebellion. The U.S. feared that these European powers would divide up China so they proposed the Open Door Policy—China was to be open to all nation's in all ports.

**Philippine Insurrection** -- Even before the Philippines were annexed by the U.S. there existed tension between U.S. troops and Filipinos. One U.S. sentry shot a Filipino who was crossing a bridge. The situation deteriorated and eventually the U.S. entered into a war with the Philippines. It would take two years to settle this dispute, as compared to the four months needed to defeat the once powerful Spain. Though the U.S. had better arms, the guerilla warfare employed by the Filipinos left the Americans perplexed. Between 200,000 and 600,000 Filipinos died in the war, most from sickness and disease caused by the war. Less than 5,000 Americans were killed in the combat. Emilio Aguinaldo helped Americans fight Spain, only to turn on the Americans once free. In 1901, Aguinaldo surrendered, which greatly hurt the Filipino cause. The war formally ended in 1902, though the fighting would continue until 1903. The Philippines was not an independent nation until July 4, 1946.

**benevolent assimilation** – This was the term for helping the Philippines move into the mainstream of modern society. McKinley and the U.S. were trying to assimilate the Philippines to better their lot in life. American dollars went to the Philippines to improve roads, sanitation, and public health. Although the U.S. might have looked intrusive, they were actually trying to improve the condition of the Philippines.

**Open Door notes** -- In 1899, the United States feared that countries with "spheres of influence" in China might choose to limit or restrict trade to and from their respective areas. Secretary of State John Hay avoided any problems with trade by sending notes to each country that held power in China asking them to keep trade open and tariffs low in all Chinese cities.

**Boxer Rebellion** -- The Boxers were a group of Chinese revolutionaries that despised western intervention in China. The rebellion resulted in the deaths of thousands of converted Chinese Christians, missionaries, and foreign legions. It took 5 countries' armies and four months to stop the rebellion.

**Big Stick Policy** – This was the policy held by Teddy Roosevelt in foreign affairs. The "big stick" symbolized his power and readiness to use military force if necessary. It is a way of intimidating countries without actually harming them.

**Clayton-Bulwar Treaty** -- The Clayton-Bulwar Treaty of 1850 between the British and the U.S stated that any canal project on the isthmus of Panama would be a joint effort by the two countries. This turned out to be a hurdle for the U.S. to jump over when the U.S. finally set out to build the Panama Canal.

**Hay-Pauncefote Treaty** -- In 1901, the United States and Great Britain created an agreement in which the United States would receive exclusive rights to construct the Panama Canal, and presumably control and fortify it. In previous years the agreement had been that the United States and Britain would build and fortify the canal jointly.

**Hay--Bunau-Varilla Treaty** – This treaty was signed in 1903 between the United States and Panama and allowed the United States to build the Panama Canal. The United States leased the 10-mile wide canal zone with a downpayment of \$10 million and an annual payment of \$250,000 for ninety-nine years.

**Panama Canal** -- The United States built the Panama Canal to have a quicker passage to the Pacific from the Atlantic Ocean and vice versa. It cost \$400,000,000 to build. The Columbians would not let Americans build the canal, but then with the assistance of the United States, a Panamanian revolution occurred. The new ruling Panamanians allowed the United States to build the canal.

**Roosevelt Corollary** – The Corollary was an addition to the Monroe Doctrine. In it, Roosevelt stated that the U.S. would use the military to intervene in Latin American on behalf of Europe, if necessary.

**Portsmouth Conference** – This was a meeting between Japan, Russia, and the U.S. that ended the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. Roosevelt won the Nobel Peace Prize for stopping the fighting between those two countries.

**Gentlemen's Agreement** – The Gentlemen's Agreement was negotiated by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1908 with the Japanese government. The Japanese agreed to limit immigration, and Roosevelt agreed to convince the San Francisco School Board that segregation of Japanese schoolchildren should be stopped.

**Root-Takahira Agreement** -- In 1908, the United States and Japan signed this agreement saying they would both honor the territorial possessions of the respective countries that were in the Pacific Ocean, and they would also uphold China's Open Door Policy.

# Chapter 28

## Progressivism and the Republican Roosevelt

### I. Progressive Roots

- i. In the beginning of the 1900s, America had 76 million people, mostly in good condition. Then before the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the U.S. would be influenced by a "**Progressive movement**" that fought against monopolies, corruption, inefficiency, and social injustice.
  1. The purpose of the Progressives was to use the government as an agency of human welfare.
- ii. The Progressives had their roots in the **Greenback Labor Party** of the 1870s and 1880s and the **Populist Party** of the 1890s.
- iii. In 1894, **Henry Demarest Lloyd** exposed the corruption of the monopoly of the **Standard Oil Company** with his book *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, while **Thorstein Veblen** criticized the new rich (those who made money from the trusts) in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899).
- iv. Other exposers of the corruption of trusts, or "**muckrakers**," as **Theodore Roosevelt** called them, were **Jacob A. Riis**, writer of *How the Other Half Lives*, a book about the New York slums and its inhabitants, and novelist **Theodore Dreiser**, who wrote *The Financier* and *The Titan* to attack profiteers.
- v. Socialists and feminists gained strength, and with people like **Jane Addams** and **Lillian Wald**, women entered the Progressive fight.

### II. Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- i. Beginning about 1902, a group of aggressive ten and fifteen-cent popular magazines, such as *Cosmopolitan*, *Collier's*, and *Everybody's*, began flinging the dirt about the trusts.
- ii. Despite criticism, reformer-writers ranged far and wide to lay bare the muck on the back of American society.
  1. In 1902, **Lincoln Steffens** launched a series of articles in *McClure's* entitled "*The Shame of the Cities*," in which he unmasked the corrupt alliance between big business and the government.
  2. **Ida M. Tarbell** launched a devastating exposé against Standard Oil and its ruthlessness.
- iii. These writers exposed the mean trust, the "money trust," the railroad barons, and the corrupt amassing of American fortunes, this last part done by **Thomas W. Lawson**.
- iv. **David G. Phillips** charged that 75 of the 90 U.S. Senators did not represent the people, but actually the railroads and trusts.
- v. **Ray Stannard Baker's** *Following the Color Line* was about the illiteracy of Blacks.
- vi. **John Spargo's** *The Bitter Cry of the Children* exposed child labor.
- vii. Dr. **Harvey W. Wiley** exposed the frauds that sold potent patent medicines by experimenting on himself.
- viii. The muckrakers sincerely believed that cures for the ills of American democracy, was more democracy.

### III. Political Progressivism

- i. Progressives were mostly middle-class citizens who felt squeezed by both the big trusts above and the restless immigrant hordes working for cheap labor that came from below.
- ii. The Progressives favored the "**initiative**" so that voters could directly propose legislation, the "**referendum**" so that the people could vote on laws that affected them, and the "**recall**" to remove bad officials from office.
- iii. Progressives also desired to expose graft, use a secret ballot (Australian ballot) to counteract the effects of party bosses, and have direct election of U.S. senators to curb corruption.
  1. Finally, in 1913, the **17<sup>th</sup> Amendment** provided for direct election of senators.



- iv. Females also campaigned for woman's suffrage, but that did not come...yet.

#### IV. Progressivism in the Cities and States

- i. Progressive cities like Galveston, TX either used, for the first time, expert-staffed commissions to manage urban affairs or the **city-manager system**, which was designed to take politics out of municipal administration.
- ii. Urban reformers tackled "slumlords," juvenile delinquency, and wide-open prostitution.
- iii. In Wisconsin, Governor **Robert M. La Follette** wrestled control from the trusts and returned power to the people, becoming a Progressive leader in the process.
  - 1. Other states also took to regulate railroads and trusts, such as Oregon and California, which was led by Governor **Hiram W. Johnson**.
  - 2. **Charles Evans Hughes**, governor of New York, gained fame by investigating the malpractices of gas and insurance companies.

#### V. Progressive Women

- i. Women were an indispensable catalyst in the progressive army. They couldn't vote or hold political office, but were active none-the-less. Women focused their changes on family-oriented ills such as child labor.
- ii. Progressives also made major improvements in the fight against child labor, especially after a 1911 fire at the **Triangle Shirtwaist Company** in NYC which killed 146 workers, mostly young women.
  - 1. The landmark case of **Muller vs. Oregon** (1908) found attorney **Louis D. Brandeis** persuading the Supreme Court to accept the constitutionality of laws that protected women workers.
  - 2. On the other hand, the case of **Lochner v. New York** invalidated a New York law establishing a ten-hour day for bakers.
  - 3. Yet, in 1917, the Court upheld a similar law for factory workers.
- iii. Alcohol also came under the attack of Progressives, as prohibitionist organizations like the **Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)**, founded by **Frances E. Willard**, and the **Anti-Saloon League** were formed.
  - 1. Finally, in 1919, the **18<sup>th</sup> Amendment** prohibited the sale and drinking of alcohol.

#### VI. TR's Square Deal for Labor

- i. The Progressivism spirit touched President Roosevelt, and his "Square Deal" embraced the three Cs: control of the corporations, consumer protection, and the conservation of the United States' natural resources.
- ii. In 1902, a strike broke out in the anthracite coalmines of Pennsylvania, and some 140,000 workers demanded a 20% pay increase and the reduction of the workday to nine hours.
  - 1. Finally, after the owners refused to negotiate and the lack of coal was getting to the freezing schools, hospitals, and factories during that winter, TR threatened to seize the mines and operate them with federal troops if he had to in order to keep it open and the coal coming to the people.
  - 2. As a result, the workers got a 10% pay increase and a 9-hour workday, but their union was not officially recognized as a bargaining agent.
- iii. In 1903, the **Department of Commerce and Labor** was formed, a part of which was the **Bureau of Corporations**, which was allowed to probe businesses engaged in interstate commerce; it was highly useful in "trust-busting."

#### VII. TR Corrals the Corporations

- i. The 1887-formed **Interstate Commerce Commission** had proven to be inadequate, so in 1903, Congress passed the **Elkins Act**, which fined railroads that gave rebates and the shippers that accepted them.
- ii. The **Hepburn Act** restricted the free passes of railroads.
- iii. TR decided that there were "good trusts" and "bad trusts," and set out to control the "bad trusts," such as the **Northern Securities Company**, which was organized by **J.P. Morgan** and **James J. Hill**.
  - 1. In 1904, the Supreme Court upheld TR's antitrust suit and ordered Northern Securities to dissolve, a decision that angered Wall Street but helped TR's image.
- iv. TR did crack down on over 40 trusts, and he helped dissolve the beef, sugar, fertilizer, and harvester trusts, but in reality, he wasn't as large of a trustbuster as he has been portrayed.
  - 1. He had no wish to take down the "good trusts," but the trusts that did fall under TR's big stick fell symbolically, so that other trusts would reform themselves.
- v. TR's successor, **William Howard Taft**, crushed more trusts than TR, and in one incident, when Taft tried to crack down on **U.S. Steel**, a company that had personally been allowed by TR to absorb the **Tennessee Coal and Iron Company**, the reaction from TR was hot!

VIII. Caring for the Consumer

- i. In 1906, significant improvements in the meat industry were passed, such as the **Meat Inspection Act**, which decreed that the preparation of meat shipped over state lines would be subject to federal inspection from corral to can.
  1. **Upton Sinclair’s** *The Jungle* enlightened the American public to the horrors of the meatpacking industry, thus helping to force changes.
- ii. The **Pure Food and Drug Act** tried to prevent the adulteration and mislabeling of foods and pharmaceuticals.
  1. Another reason for new acts was to make sure European markets could trust American beef and other meat.

IX. Earth Control

- i. Americans were vainly wasting their natural resources, and the first conservation act, the **Desert Land Act** of 1877, provided little help.
  1. More successful was the **Forest Reserve Act** of 1891, which authorized the president to set aside land to be protected as national parks.
    - a. Under this statute, some 46 million acres of forest were set aside as preserves.
- ii. Roosevelt, a sportsman in addition to all the other things he was, realized the values of conservation, and persuaded by other conservationists like **Gifford Pinchot**, head of the federal **Division of Forestry**, he helped initiate massive conservation projects.
  1. The **Newlands Act** of 1902 initiated irrigation projects for the western states while the giant **Roosevelt Dam**, built on the Arizona River, was dedicated in 1911.
- iii. By 1900, only a quarter of the nation’s natural timberlands remained, so he set aside 125 million acres, establishing perhaps his most enduring achievement as president.
- iv. Concern about the disappearance of the national frontier led to the success of such books like **Jack London’s** *Call of the Wild* and the establishment of the **Boy Scouts of America** and the **Sierra Club**, a member of which was naturalist **John Muir**.
- v. In 1913, San Francisco received permission to build a dam in **Hetchy Hetch Valley**, a part of Yosemite National Park, causing much controversy.
  1. Roosevelt’s conservation deal meant working with the big logging companies, not the small, independent ones.

X. The “Roosevelt Panic” of 1907

- i. TR had widespread popularity (such as the “Teddy” bear), but conservatives branded him as a dangerous rattlesnake, unpredictable in his Progressive moves.
- ii. However, in 1904, TR announced that he would not seek the presidency in 1908, since he would have, in effect, served two terms by then. Thus he “defanged” his power.
- iii. In 1907, a short but sharp panic on Wall Street placed TR at the center of its blame, with conservatives criticizing him, but he lashed back, and eventually the panic died down.
- iv. In 1908, Congress passed the **Aldrich-Vreeland Act**, which authorized national banks to issue emergency currency backed by various kinds of collateral.
  1. This would lead to the momentous **Federal Reserve Act** of 1913.

XI. The Rough Rider Thunders Out

- i. In the 1908 campaign, TR chose **William Howard Taft** as his “successor,” hoping that the corpulent man would continue his policies, and Taft easily defeated William Jennings Bryan; a surprise came from Socialist **Eugene V. Debs**, who garnered 420,793 votes.
- ii. TR left the presidency to go on a lion hunt, then returned with much energy.
  1. He had established many precedents and had helped ensure that the new trusts would fit into capitalism and have healthy adult lives while helping the American people.
  2. TR protected against socialism, was a great conservationist, expanded the powers of the presidency, shaped the progressive movement, launched the Square Deal—a precursor to the **New Deal** that would come later, and opened American eyes to the fact that America shared the world with other nations so that it couldn’t be isolationist.

XII. Taft: A Round Peg in a Square Hole

- i. William Taft was a mild progressive, quite jovial, quite fat, and passive, but he was also sensitive to criticism and not as liberal as Roosevelt.

XIII. The Dollar Goes Abroad as Diplomat

- i. Taft urged Americans to invest abroad, in a policy called “**Dollar Diplomacy**,” which called for Wall Street bankers to sluice their surplus dollars into foreign areas of strategic concern to the U.S., especially in the Far East and in the regions critical to the security of the Panama Canal. This investment, in effect, gave the U.S. economic control over these areas.

- ii. In 1909, perceiving a threat to the monopolistic Russian and Japanese control of the **Manchurian Railway**, Taft had Secretary of State **Philander C. Knox** propose that a group of American and foreign bankers buy the railroads and turn them over to China.
  - iii. Taft also pumped U.S. dollars into Honduras and Haiti, whose economies were stagnant, while in Cuba, the same Honduras, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua, American forces were brought in to restore order after unrest.
- XIV. Taft the Trustbuster
- i. In his four years of office, Taft brought 90 suits against trusts.
  - ii. In 1911, the Supreme Court ordered the dissolution of the Standard Oil Company.
  - iii. After Taft tried to break apart U.S. Steel despite TR's prior approval of the trust, Taft increasingly became TR's antagonist.
- XV. Taft Splits the Republican Party
- i. Two main issues split the Republican party: (1) the tariff and (2) conservation of lands.
    1. To lower the tariff and fulfill a campaign promise, Taft and the House passed a moderately reductive bill, but the Senate, led by Senator **Nelson W. Aldrich**, tacked on lots of *upward* revisions, and thus, when the **Payne-Aldrich Bill** passed, it betrayed Taft's promise, incurred the wrath of his party (drawn mostly from the Midwest), and outraged many people.
      - a. Old Republicans were high-tariff; new/Progressive Republicans were low tariff.
      - b. Taft even foolishly called it "the best bill that the Republican party ever passed."
    2. While Taft did establish the **Bureau of Mines** to control mineral resources, his participation in the **Ballinger-Pinchot quarrel** of 1910 hurt him. In the quarrel, Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger opened public lands in Wyoming, Montana, and Alaska to corporate development and was criticized by Forestry chief Gifford Pinchot, who was then fired by Taft.
      - a. Old Republicans favored using the lands for business; new/Progressive Republicans favored conservation of lands.
  - ii. In the spring of 1910, the Republican party was split between the Progressives and the Old Guard that Taft supported, so that the Democrats emerged with a landslide in the House.
    1. Socialist **Victor L. Berger** was elected from Milwaukee.
- XVI. The Taft-Roosevelt Rupture
- i. In 1911, the **National Progressive Republican League** was formed, with LaFollette as its leader, but in February 1912, TR began dropping hints that he wouldn't mind being nominated by the Republicans, his reason being that he had meant no third *consecutive* term, not a third term overall.
  - ii. Rejected by the Taft supporters of the Republicans, TR became a candidate on the Progressive party ticket, shoving LaFollette aside.
  - iii. In the Election of 1912, it would be Theodore Roosevelt (Progressive Republican) versus William H. Taft (Old Guard Republican) versus the Democratic candidate, whomever that was to be.

## Chapter 28 Vocabulary

**Henry Demarest Lloyd** -- Lloyd wrote the book *Wealth Against Commonwealth* in 1894. It was part of the progressive movement and the book's purpose was to show the wrongs in the monopoly of the Standard Oil Company.

**Jacob Riis** -- Jacob Riis was a reporter for the *New York Sun*. He was a photojournalist. His book, *How the Other Half Lives* detailed life in the slums. He was trying to bring attention to the situation of the poor to bring about some sort of change.

**Ida Tarbell** -- Ida Tarbell was a "muckraker" who wrote an exposé in the magazine *McClure's* (1911). As a younger woman, in 1904, Tarbell made her reputation by publishing the history of the Standard Oil Company, the "Mother of Trusts." In it she blasted Standard Oil for using ruthless tactics to drive competition out of business. All her facts checked out as accurate.

**Robert M. LaFollete** -- He was the governor of Wisconsin, nicknamed "Fighting Bob," and was a progressive Republican leader. His "Wisconsin Idea" was the model for state progressive governments. He used the "brain trust," a panel of experts, to help him create effective, efficient government. He was denied the nomination for the Republicans in favor of Theodore Roosevelt.

**Hiram Johnson** -- Johnson was a progressive reformer of the early 1900s. He was elected the Republican governor of California in 1910, and helped to put an end to trusts. He put an end to the power that the Southern Pacific Railroad had over politics.

**Charles Evans Hughes** -- Hughes was a reforming Republican governor of New York, who gained fame as an investigator of malpractices by gas and insurance companies and by the coal trust. He later ran against Wilson in the 1916 election.

**Upton Sinclair** -- Sinclair was the author of the sensational novel, *The Jungle*, published in 1906. His intention was to describe the conditions of canning factory workers. Instead, Americans were disgusted by his descriptions of dirty food production. His

book influenced consumers to demand safer canned products and led to the Meat Inspection Act and then the Pure Food and Drug Act.

**William Howard Taft** -- In the 1908 election, Taft was chosen over William Jennings Bryan to succeed Roosevelt. As president, he approached foreign policy by using America's wealth as leverage. He also brought suits against 90 trusts during his administration. Due to his lack of political skills, he helped divide the Republican Party.

**Initiative** – “Initiative” is the process of the people petitioning a legislature to introduce a bill. It was part of the Populist party's platform in 1891, along with referendum and recall. These all intended to make the people more responsible for their laws and allow them to make political decisions rather than the legislature.

**Referendum** – A “referendum” occurs when citizens vote on laws instead of the state or national governments. The referendum originated as a populist reform in the Populist Party, but was later picked up by the progressive reform movement.

**Recall** – In a “recall,” the people could possibly remove an incompetent politician from office by having a second election.

**Conservation** – The conservation movement in America tried to preserve natural resources and stop the rapid destruction of these resources and land. It's reached its pinnacle with Pres. Teddy Roosevelt and the founding of 1<sup>st</sup> national park, Yellowstone.

**Muckrakers** – This was a nickname given to young reporters of popular magazines who spent a lot of time researching and digging up "muck," hence the name muckrakers. These investigative journalists were trying to make the public aware of problems that needed fixing and corruption that needed cleaning. This name was given to them by Pres. Roosevelt in 1906.

**Seventeenth Amendment** -- The Seventeenth Amendment was adopted in 1913 shortly after "direct primaries" were adopted. Prior to the amendment, U.S. senators were chosen by state legislators who were controlled by political machines. Elected in such a manner, U.S. senators seemed to answer only to state legislatures but not to the people. The 17th Amendment stated that senators were now to be elected by popular vote from the citizens of their state.

**Eighteenth Amendment** – Enacted in 1919, this amendment forbade the sale and manufacture of liquor.

**Elkins Act** -- The Elkins Act of 1903 was passed by Congress against the railroad industries. It specifically targeted the use of rebates. It allowed for heavy fining of companies who used rebates and those who accepted them. It was part of the Progressive reform movement.

**Hepburn Act** -- This 1906 act was signed by Teddy Roosevelt to give the ICC the right to set rates that would be reasonable. It also extended the jurisdiction of the ICC to cover express, sleeping car, and pipeline companies. It prohibited free passes and rebates. It was the first time in U.S. history that a government agency was given power to establish rates for private companies.

**Northern Securities Case** -- The Northern Securities Company was a holding company in 1902. The company was forced to dissolve after they were challenged by Roosevelt, his first “trust-bust.”

**Meat Inspection Act** – This law was passed in 1906 after *The Jungle* grossed out America. It stated that the preparation of meat shipped over state lines would be subject to federal inspection. It was part of the Progressive reforms, which helped the consumer.

**Pure Food and Drug Act** -- It was created in 1906 and was designed to prevent the adulteration and mislabeling of foods and pharmaceuticals. It was made to protect the consumer.

**Newlands Act** – This act was Congress's response to Theodore Roosevelt in 1902. In the law, Washington was to collect money from sales of public lands in western states and use the funds for development of irrigation projects.

**Dollar diplomacy** – Dollar diplomacy was Taft's foreign policy which replaced "bullets with dollars." The policy involved investors instead of the military. In the policy, American investors would get poorer nations into debt, then have a bit of economic leverage against those nations. It eventually worked better in Latin America than China.

**Payne-Aldrich Act** – This law was signed by Taft in March of 1909 in contrast to campaign promises. It was supposed to lower tariff rates, but Senator Nelson N. Aldrich of Rhode Island put revisions on it that actually raised tariffs. This split the Republican party into progressives (lower tariff) and conservatives (high tariff).

**Ballinger-Pinchot Affair** -- Ballinger, who was the Secretary of Interior, opened public lands in Wyoming, Montana, and Alaska against Roosevelt's conservation policies. Pinchot, who was the Chief of Forestry, supported former President Roosevelt and demanded that Taft dismiss Ballinger. Taft, who supported Ballinger, dismissed Pinchot on the basis of insubordination. This also divided the Republican party.

# Chapter 29

## Wilsonian Progressivism at Home and Abroad

- I. The “Bull Moose” Campaign of 1912
  - i. With the Republican party split wide open, the Democrats sensed that they could win the presidency for the first time in 16 years.

1. One possible candidate was Dr. **Woodrow Wilson**, a once-mild conservative but now militant progressive who had been the president of **Princeton University**, governor of New Jersey (where he didn't permit himself to be controlled by the bosses), and had attacked trusts and passed liberal measures.
  2. In 1912, in Baltimore, the Democrats nominated Wilson on the 46<sup>th</sup> ballot, after **William Jennings Bryan** swung his support over to Wilson's side.
  3. The Democratic ticket would run under a platform called "**New Freedom**," which would include many progressive reforms.
  - ii. At the Progressive convention, **Jane Addams** put **Theodore Roosevelt's** name on the nomination, and as TR spoke, he ignited an almost-religious spirit in the crowd.
    1. TR got the Progressive nomination, and entering the campaign, TR said that he felt "as strong as a bull moose," making that animal the unofficial Progressive symbol.
  - iii. Republican William Taft and TR tore into each other, as the former friends now ripped every aspect of each other's platforms and personalities.
  - iv. Meanwhile, TR's "**New Nationalism**" and Wilson's "**New Freedom**" became the key issues.
    1. Roosevelt's New Nationalism was inspired by **Herbert Croly's** *The Promise of American Life* (1910), and it stated that the government should control the bad trusts, leaving the good trusts alone and free to operate.
      - a. TR also campaigned for female suffrage and a broad program of social welfare, such as minimum-wage laws and "socialistic" social insurance.
    2. Wilson's New Freedom favored small enterprise, desired to break up *all* trusts—not just the bad ones—and basically shunned social-welfare proposals.
  - v. The campaign was stopped when Roosevelt was shot in the chest in Milwaukee, but he delivered his speech anyway, was rushed to the hospital, and recovered in two weeks.
- II. Woodrow Wilson: A Minority President
- i. With the Republicans split, Woodrow Wilson easily won with 435 Electoral votes, while TR had 88 and Taft only had 8. But, the Democrats did not receive the majority of the popular vote (only 41%)!
  - ii. Socialist **Eugene V. Debs** racked up over 900,000 popular votes, while the combined popular totals of TR and Taft exceeded Wilson. Essentially, TR's participation had cost the Republicans the election.
  - iii. William Taft would later become the only U.S. president to be appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, when he was nominated in 1921.
- III. Wilson: The Idealist in Politics
- i. Woodrow Wilson was a sympathizer with the South, a fine orator, a sincere and morally appealing politician, and a very intelligent man.
    1. He was also cold personality-wise, austere, intolerant of stupidity, and very idealistic.
  - ii. When convinced he was right, Wilson would break before he would bend, unlike TR.
- IV. Wilson Tackles the Tariff
- i. Wilson stepped into the presidency already knowing that he was going to tackle the "**triple wall of privilege**": the tariff, the banks, and the trusts.
  - ii. To tackle the tariff, Wilson successfully helped in the passing of the **Underwood Tariff** of 1913, which substantially reduced import fees and enacted a graduated income tax (under the approval of the recent **16<sup>th</sup> Amendment**).
- V. Wilson Battles the Bankers
- i. The nation's financial structure, as created under the Civil War **National Banking Act** had proven to be glaringly ineffective, as shown by the **Panic of 1907**, so Wilson had Congress authorize an investigation to fix this.
    1. The investigation, headed by Senator **Aldrich**, in effect recommended a third **Bank of the United States**.
    2. Democrats heeded the findings of a House committee chaired by Congressman **Arsene Pujo**, which traced the tentacles of the "money monster" into the hidden vaults of American banking and business.
    3. **Louis D Brandeis's** *Other People's Money and How the Bankers Use It* (1914) furthermore showed the problems of American finances at the time.
  - ii. In June 1913, Woodrow Wilson appeared before a special joint session of Congress and pleaded for a sweeping reform of the banking system.
    1. The result was the epochal 1913 **Federal Reserve Act**, which created the new **Federal Reserve Board**, which oversaw a nationwide system of twelve regional reserve districts, each with its own central bank, and had the power to issue paper money ("Federal Reserve Notes").

VI. The President Tames the Trusts

- i. In 1914, Congress passed the **Federal Trade Commission Act**, which empowered a president-appointed position to investigate the activities of trusts and stop unfair trade practices such as unlawful competition, false advertising, mislabeling, adulteration, & bribery.
- ii. The 1914 **Clayton Anti-Trust Act** lengthened the **Sherman Anti-Trust Act**'s list of practices that were objectionable, exempted labor unions from being called trusts (as they had been called by the Supreme Court under the Sherman Act), and legalized strikes and peaceful picketing by labor union members.

VII. Wilsonian Progressivism at High Tide

- i. After tackling the triple wall of privilege and leading progressive victory after victory, Wilson proceeded with further reforms, such as the **Federal Farm Loan Act** of 1916, which made credit available to farmers at low rates of interest, and the **Warehouse Act** of 1916, which permitted loans on the security of staple crops—both Populist ideas.
- ii. The **La Follette Seamen's Act** of 1915 required good treatment of America's sailors, but it sent merchant freight rates soaring as a result of the cost to maintain sailor health.
- iii. The **Workingmen's Compensation Act** of 1916 granted assistance of federal civil-service employees during periods of instability but was invalidated by the Supreme Court.
- iv. The 1916 **Adamson Act** established an eight-hour workday with overtime pay.
- v. Wilson even nominated Louis Brandeis to the Supreme Court—making him the first Jew ever in that position—but stopped short of helping out Blacks in their civil rights fight.
- vi. Wilson appeased the business by appointing a few conservatives to the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Trade Commission, but he used most of his energies for progressive support.

VIII. New Directions in Foreign Policy

- i. Wilson, unlike his two previous predecessors, didn't pursue an aggressive foreign policy, as he stopped "**dollar diplomacy**," persuaded Congress to repeal the **Panama Canal Tolls Act** of 1912 (which let American shippers not pay tolls for using the canal), and even led to American bankers' pulling out of a six-nation, Taft-engineered loan to China.
- ii. Wilson signed the **Jones Act** in 1916, which granted full territorial status to the Philippines and promised independence as soon as a stable government could be established.
  1. The Filipinos finally got their independence on July 4, 1946.
- iii. When California banned Japanese ownership of land, Wilson sent Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan to plead with legislators, and tensions cooled.
- iv. When disorder broke out in Haiti in 1915, Wilson sent American Marines, and in 1916, he sent Marines to quell violence in the **Dominican Republic**.
- v. In 1917, Wilson bought the **Virgin Islands** from Denmark.

IX. Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico

- i. Mexico had been exploited for decades by U.S. investors in oil, railroads, and mines, but the Mexican people were tremendously poor, and in 1913, they revolted, and installed full-blooded Indian General **Victoriano Huerta** to the presidency.
  1. This led to a massive immigration of Mexicans to America, mostly to the Southwest.
- ii. The rebels were very violent and threatened Americans living in Mexico, but Woodrow Wilson would not intervene to protect American lives.
  1. Neither would he recognize Huerta's regime, even though other countries did.
  2. On the other hand, he let American munitions flow to Huerta's rivals, **Venustiano Carranza** and **Francisco "Pancho" Villa**.
- iii. After a small party of American sailors were arrested in **Tampico**, Mexico, in 1914, Wilson threatened to use force, and even ordered the navy to take over Vera Cruz, drawing protest from Huerta and Carranza.
  1. Finally, the ABC powers—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile—mediated the situation, and Huerta fell from power and was succeeded by Carranza, who resented Wilson's acts.
- iv. Meanwhile, "Pancho" Villa, combination bandit/freedom fighter, murdered 16 Americans in January of 1916 in Mexico and then killed 19 more a month later in New Mexico.
  1. Wilson sent General **John J. Pershing** to capture Villa, and he penetrated deep into Mexico, clashed with Carranza's and Villa's different forces, but didn't take Villa.

X. Thunder Across the Sea

- i. In 1914, a Serbian nationalist killed the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne (Archduke Franz Ferdinand). The domino-effect began where Austria declared war on Serbia, which was supported by Russia, who declared war on Austria-Hungary and Germany, which declared war on Russia and France, then invaded neutral Belgium, and pulled Britain into the war and igniting **World War I**.
- ii. Americans were thankful that the Atlantic Ocean separated the warring Europeans from the U.S.

#### XI. A Precarious Neutrality

- i. Wilson, whose wife had recently died, issued a neutrality proclamation and was promptly wooed by both the Allies and the German and Austro-Hungarian powers.
- ii. The Germans and Austro-Hungarians counted on their relatives in America for support, but the U.S. was mostly anti-German from the outset, as **Kaiser Wilhelm II** made for a perfect autocrat to hate.
- iii. German and Austro-Hungarian agents in America further tarnished the Central Powers' image when they resorted to violence in American factories and ports, and when one such agent left his briefcase in a New York elevator, the contents of which were found to contain plans for sabotage.

#### XII. America Earns Blood Money

- i. Just as WWI began, America was in a business recession. American trade was fiercely protested by the Central Powers, that were technically free to trade with the U.S., but were prohibited from doing so by the British navy which controlled the sea lanes. The Allies and Wall Street's financing of the war by **J.P. Morgan** et al, pulled the U.S. out of the recession.
- ii. So, Germany announced its use of submarine warfare around the British Isles, warning the U.S. that it would try not to attack neutral ships, but that mistakes would probably occur.
  1. Wilson thus warned that Germany would be held to "strict accountability" for any attacks on American ships.
  2. German subs, or **U-boats**, sank many ships, including the *Lusitania*, a British passenger liner that was carrying arms and munitions as well.
    - a. The attack killed 1,198 lives, including 128 Americans.
    - b. Notably the Germans had issued fliers prior to the *Lusitania* setting sail that warned Americans the ship might be torpedoed.
- iii. America clamored for war in punishment for the outrage, but Wilson kept the U.S. out of it by use of a series of strong notes to the German warlords.
  1. Even this was too much for William Jennings Bryan, who resigned rather than go to war.
  2. After the Germans sank the *Arabic* in August 1915, killing two Americans and numerous other passengers, Germany finally agreed not to sink unarmed ships *without warning*.
- iv. After Germany seemed to break that pledge by sinking the *Sussex*, it issued the "**Sussex pledge**," which agreed not to sink passenger ships or merchant vessels without warning, so long as the U.S. could get the British to stop their blockade.
  1. Wilson couldn't do this, so his victory was a precarious one.

#### XIII. Wilson Wins Reelection in 1916

- i. In 1916, Republicans chose **Charles Evans Hughes**, who made different pledges and said different things depending on where he was, leading to his being nicknamed "Charles Evasive Hughes."
- ii. The Democratic ticket, with Wilson at its head again, went under the slogan "He kept us out of war," and warned that electing Hughes would be leading America into World War I.
  1. Ironically, Wilson would lead America into war in 1917.
  2. Actually, even Wilson knew of the dangers of such a slogan, as American neutrality was rapidly sinking, and war was appearing to be inevitable.
- iii. Wilson barely beat Hughes, with a vote of 277 to 254, with the final result dependent on results from California, and even though Wilson didn't specifically promise to keep America out of war, enough people felt that he did to vote for him.

## Chapter 29 Vocabulary

**Woodrow Wilson** – Wilson was the Democratic representative in the presidential elections of 1912 and 1916. He was elected into the presidency as a minority president. He was born in Virginia and was raised in a very religious family. He was widely known for his political sermons. He was an aggressive leader and believed that Congress could not function properly without good leadership provided by the president. His progressive program was known as the "New Freedom" and his foreign policy program was "Moral Diplomacy." He was president during World War I.

**Eugene Debs** – Debs represented the Socialist Party in the 1908 and 1912 elections. He got a high number of votes in the 1912 election which made the Socialists think that they would win the presidency in 1916

**Louis D. Brandeis** – Brandeis was a prominent reformer and Attorney in the *Muller v. Oregon* (1908) case that persuaded the Supreme Court to accept the constitutionality of laws protecting women workers saying. That case said that conditions are harder on women's weaker bodies. He wrote the book *Other People's Money and How Bankers Use It* (1914) that pushed for reform within the banks. He was nominated in 1916 by Woodrow Wilson for the Supreme Court.

**Venustiano Carranza** -- Carranza became president of Mexico in 1914. He succeeded the harsh President Huerta. Carranza at first supported Wilson's sending General Pershing into Mexico to look for the criminal Pancho Villa, but when he saw the number of troops, he became outraged and opposed Wilson.

**Pancho Villa** -- Pancho Villa was a combination of a bandit and Mexican Robin Hood who raided Americans and American towns. He was a rival of President Carranza. He escaped Pershing and was never caught because Pershing was forced to go fight in WWI.

**John J. Pershing** -- Pershing was an American general who led troops against Pancho Villa in 1916. Pershing later took on Germans at the Meuse-Argonne offensive in 1918 which was one of the longest lasting battles, 47 days, in World War I. He was the commander of the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe during World War I.

**Central Powers** -- During WWI, these were the powers opposing the Allies. The Central Power countries included Germany, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

**Allies** -- The Allies were composed of France, Britain, and Russia, and later Japan and Italy. The Allies fought the Central Powers in World War I. The United States joined the Allies in 1917.

**Kaiser Wilhelm II** -- The Kaiser was the ruler of Germany during WWI. His dictatorial and militaristic tendencies helped lean America toward the Allies (Britain and France) and against Germany.

**Lusitania** -- The *Lusitania* was a British passenger ship that was sunk by a German U-Boat on May 7, 1915. 128 Americans died. The unrestricted submarine warfare largely caused the U.S. to enter World War I against the Germans.

**Sussex Pledge** -- In this pledge, Germany agreed not to sink unarmed passenger ships without warning. The pledge was named after the French ship *Sussex* which the Germans sank and caused the U.S. to roar. They eventually broke this pledge, since issuing a warning before attacking essentially wiped out the advantage of a sub (surprise attack). Wilson threatened to break diplomatic relations because of this return to unrestricted submarine warfare.

**Charles Evans Hughes** -- Hughes was a Republican governor of New York and a reformer. He was later a Supreme Court justice who ran for president against Woodrow Wilson in 1916. The Democrats said that if Hughes won, then the country would end up going to war. Hughes lost a very close race for the position to Wilson.

**New Nationalism** -- The so-called "New Nationalism" was the progressive policy of Theodore Roosevelt in 1912's Progressive party platform. It favored a more active government role in economic and social affairs. It favored continued consolidation of trusts and labor unions and the growth of powerful regulatory agencies in Washington. It favored women's suffrage and social welfare programs (including minimum-wage laws and "socialistic" social insurance).

**New Freedom** -- "New Freedom" was Wilson's policy that favored the small business, entrepreneurship, and the free functioning of unregulated and un-monopolized markets.

**Underwood Tariff** -- The Underwood Tariff (1913), substantially reduced import fees. The lost tax revenue would be replaced with an income tax that was implemented with the 16th amendment.

**Sixteenth Amendment** -- The Sixteenth Amendment (1913) is known as the income tax amendment. This amendment was passed because earlier the Supreme Court had declared that an income tax was unconstitutional. It set up a "gradual income tax" meaning the more one made, the higher the tax rate that was paid. This was created to shift the burden of taxes to the wealthy.

**Federal Reserve Act** -- The Federal Reserve Act might be the most important piece of economic legislation between the Civil War and the New Deal. It created a regulatory agency for banking with 12 regional reserve districts. Each bank was independent but was controlled by the Federal Reserve Board, which was controlled by the public. The Federal Reserve controls the amount of money in circulation through its reserves and interest rates.

**Federal Trade Commission** -- The commission is a committee formed to investigate industries engaging in interstate commerce. It was created to stop unfair trade practices and to regulate and crush monopolies.

**Clayton Antitrust Act** -- The Clayton act helped to control monopolies by strengthening the Sherman Antitrust Act's list of business practices that were objectionable (such as interlocking directorates). It exempted labor and agricultural organizations from antitrust prosecution and legalized strikes and peaceful picketing.

**Jones Act** -- The Jones Act was signed by President Wilson in 1916. It granted territorial status to the Philippines and promised to grant independence as soon as a stable government was established ( eventually granted on July 4, 1946)

# Chapter 30

## The War to End Wars

### I. War by Act of Germany

- i. On January 22, 1917, **Woodrow Wilson** made one final, attempt to avert war, delivering a moving address that correctly declared only a "peace without victory" (beating Germany without embarrassing them) would be lasting.



1. Germany responded by shocking the world, announcing that it would break the Sussex pledge and return to unrestricted submarine warfare, which meant that its **U-boats** would now be firing on armed and unarmed ships in the war zone.
  - ii. Wilson asked Congress for the authority to arm merchant ships, but a band of Midwestern senators tried to block this measure.
  - iii. Then, the **Zimmerman note** was intercepted and published on March 1, 1917.
    1. Written by German foreign secretary **Arthur Zimmerman**, it secretly proposed an alliance between Germany and Mexico. It proposed that if Mexico fought against the U.S. and the **Central Powers** won, Mexico could recover Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona from the U.S.
  - iv. The Germans also began to make good on their threats, sinking numerous ships. Meanwhile, in Russia, a revolution toppled the tsarist regime.
  - v. On April 2, 1917, President Wilson asked Congress to declare war, which it did four days later; Wilson had lost his gamble at staying out of the war.
- II. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned
- i. Many people still didn't want to enter into war, for America had prided itself in isolationism for decades, and now, Wilson was entangling America in a distant war.
    1. Six senators and 50 representatives, including the first Congresswoman, **Jeanette Rankin**, voted against war.
  - ii. To gain enthusiasm for the war, Wilson came up with the idea of America entering the war to "make the world safe for democracy."
    1. This idealistic motto worked brilliantly, but with the new American zeal came the loss of Wilson's earlier motto, "peace without victory."
- III. Wilson's Fourteen Potent Points
- i. On January 8, 1917, Wilson delivered his **Fourteen Points Address** to Congress.
  - ii. The **Fourteen Points** were a set of idealistic goals for peace. The main points were...
    1. No more secret treaties.
    2. **Freedom of the seas** was to be maintained.
    3. A removal of economic barriers among nations.
    4. Reduction of armament burdens.
    5. Adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of natives and colonizers.
    6. "**Self-determination**," or independence for oppressed minority groups who'd choose their government
    7. A **League of Nations**, an international organization that would keep the peace and settle world disputes.
- IV. Creel Manipulates Minds
- i. The **Committee on Public Information**, headed by **George Creel**, was created to "sell" the war to those people who were against it or to just gain support for it.
    1. The Creel organization sent out an army of 75,000 men to deliver speeches in favor of the war, showered millions of pamphlets containing the most potent "Wilsonisms" upon the world, splashed posters and billboards that had emotional appeals, and showed anti-German movies like *The Kaiser* and *The Beast of Berlin*.
  - ii. There were also patriotic songs, but Creel did err in that he oversold some of the ideals, and result would be disastrous disillusionment.
- V. Enforcing Loyalty and Stiffing Dissent
- i. Germans in America were surprisingly loyal to the U.S., but nevertheless, many Germans were blamed for espionage activities, and a few were tarred, feathered, and beaten.
  - ii. The **Espionage Act** of 1917 and the **Sedition Act** of 1918 showed American fears and paranoia about Germans and others perceived as a threat.
    1. Antiwar Socialists and the members of the radical union **Industrial Workers of the World** (IWW) were often prosecuted, including Socialist **Eugene V. Debs** and IWW leader **William D. Haywood**, who were arrested, convicted, and sent to prison.
    2. Fortunately, after the war, there were presidential pardons (from **Warren G. Harding**), but a few people still sat in jail into the 1930s.
- VI. The Nation's Factories Go to War
- i. America was very unprepared for war, though Wilson had created the **Council of National Defense** to study problems with mobilization and had launched a shipbuilding program.
    1. America's army was only the 15<sup>th</sup> largest in the world.

- ii. In trying to mobilize for war, no one knew how much America could produce, and traditional **laissez-faire** economics (where the government stays out of the economy) still provided resistance to government control of the economy.
  1. In March 1918, Wilson named **Bernard Baruch** to head the **War Industries Board**, but this group never had much power and was disbanded soon after the armistice.

#### VII. Workers in Wartime

- i. Congress imposed a rule that made any unemployed man available to enter the war and also discouraged strikes.
- ii. The **National War Labor Board**, headed by former president **William H. Taft**, settled any possible labor difficulties that might hamper the war efforts.
- iii. Fortunately, **Samuel Gompers** of the **American Federation of Labor (AF of L)**, which represented skilled laborers, loyally supported the war, and by war's end, its membership more than doubled to over 3 million.
- iv. Yet, there were still labor problems, as price inflation threatened to eclipse wage gains, and over 6,000 strikes broke out during the war, the greatest occurring in 1919, when 250,000 steelworkers walked off the job.
  1. In that strike, the steel owners brought in 30,000 African-Americans to break the strike, and in the end, the strike collapsed, hurting the labor cause for more than a decade.
  2. During the war, Blacks immigrated to the North to find more jobs. But the appearance of Blacks in formerly all-White towns sparked violence, such as in Chicago and St. Louis.

#### VIII. Suffering Until Suffrage

- i. Women also found more opportunities in the workplace, since the men were gone to war.
- ii. The war split women's suffrage movement. Many progressive women suffragists were also pacifists and therefore against the war. Most women supported the war and concluded they must help in the war if they want to help shape the peace (get the vote).
  1. Their help gained support for women's suffrage, which was finally achieved with the **20<sup>th</sup> Amendment**, passed in 1920.
- iii. Although a **Women's Bureau** did appear after the war to protect female workers, most women gave up their jobs at war's end, and Congress even affirmed its support of women in their traditional roles in the home with the **Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act** of 1921, which federally financed instruction in maternal and infant health care.

#### IX. Forging a War Economy

- i. Mobilization relied more on passion and emotion than laws.
- ii. **Herbert Hoover** was chosen to head the **Food Administration**, since he had organized a hugely successful voluntary food drive for the people of Belgium.
  1. He spurned ration cards in favor of voluntary "Meatless Tuesdays" and "Wheatless Wednesdays," suing posters, billboards, and other media to whip up a patriotic spirit which encouraged people to voluntarily sacrifice some of their own goods for the war.
  2. After all, America had to feed itself *and* its European allies.
- iii. Hoover's voluntary approach worked beautifully, as citizens grew gardens on street corners to help the farmers, people observed "heatless Mondays," "lightless nights," and "gasless Sundays" in accordance with the **Fuel Administration**, and the farmers increased food production by one-fourth.
- iv. The wave of self-sacrifice also sped up the drive against alcohol, culminating with the **18<sup>th</sup> Amendment**, which prohibited the sale, distribution, or consumption of alcohol.
- v. Money was raised through the sale of **war bonds**, four great **Liberty Loan** drives, and increased taxes.
- vi. Still, the government sometimes flexed its power, such as when it took over the railroads in 1917.

#### X. Making Plowboys into Doughboys

- i. European Allies finally confessed to the U.S. that not only were they running out of money to pay for their loans from America, but also that they were running out of men, and that America would have to raise and train an army to send over to Europe, or the Allies would collapse.
- ii. This could only be solved with a draft, which Wilson opposed but finally supported as a disagreeable but temporary necessity.
  1. The draft bill ran into heated opposition in Congress but was grudgingly passed.
  2. Unlike earlier wars, there was no way for one to buy one's way out of being drafted.
- iii. Luckily, patriotic men and women lined up on draft day, disproving ominous predictions of bloodshed by the opposition of the draft.
  1. Within a few months, the army had grown to 4 million men and women.

2. African-Americans were allowed in the army, but they were usually assigned to non-combat duty; also, training was so rushed that many troops didn’t know how to even use their rifles, much less bayonets, but they were sent to Europe anyway.

XI. Fighting in France—Belatedly

- i. After the **Bolsheviks** seized control of Russia, they withdrew the nation from the war, freeing up thousands of German troops to fight on the Western Front.
- ii. German predictions of American tardiness proved to be rather accurate, as America took one year before it sent a force to Europe and also had transportation problems.
- iii. Nevertheless, American doughboys slowly poured into Europe, and U.S. troops helped in an Allied invasion of Russia at Archangel to prevent munitions from falling into German hands.
  1. 10,000 troops were sent to Siberia as part of an Allied expedition whose purpose was to prevent munitions from falling into the hands of Japan, rescue some 45,000 trapped Czechoslovak troops, and prevent Bolshevik forces from snatching military supplies.
  2. Bolsheviks resented this interference, which it felt was America’s way of suppressing its infant communist revolution.

XII. America Helps Hammer the “Hun”

- i. In the spring of 1918, one commander, the French **Marshal Foch**, for the first time, led the Allies and just before the Germans were about to invade Paris and knock out France, American reinforcements arrived and pushed the Germans back.
- ii. In the **Second Battle of the Marne**, the Allies pushed Germany back some more, marking a German withdrawal that was never again effectively reversed.
- iii. The Americans, demanding their own army instead of just supporting the British and French, finally got General **John J. Pershing** to lead a front.
- iv. The **Meuse-Argonne offensive** cut German railroad lines and took 120,000 casualties.
  1. **Sgt. Alvin C. York** became a hero when he single-handedly killed 20 Germans and captured 132 more; ironically, he had been in an antiwar sect beforehand.
- v. Finally, the Germans were exhausted and ready to surrender, for they were being deserted, the British blockade was starving them, and the Allied blows just kept coming.
  1. It was a good thing, too, because American victories were using up resources too fast.
  2. Also, pamphlets containing seductive Wilsonian promises rained down on Germany, in part persuading them to give up.

XIII. The Fourteen Points Disarm Germany

- i. At 11<sup>th</sup> hour of the 11<sup>th</sup> day of the 11<sup>th</sup> month of 1918, the Germans laid down their arms in armistice after overthrowing their Kaiser in hopes that they could get a peace based on the Fourteen Points.
  1. This “Armistice Day” later became “Veterans’ Day.”
- ii. It was the *prospect* of endless American troops, rather than the American military performance, that had demoralized the Germans.

XIV. Wilson Steps Down from Olympus

- i. At the end of the war, Wilson was at the height of his popularity, but when he appealed for voters to give a Democratic victory in 1918, American voters instead gave Republicans a narrow majority, and Wilson went to Paris as the only leader of the Allies *not* commanding a majority at home.
- ii. When Wilson decided to go to Europe personally to oversee peace proceedings, Republicans were outraged, thinking that this was all just for flamboyant show.
  1. When he didn’t include a single Republican, not even Senator **Henry Cabot Lodge**, a very intelligent man who used to be the “scholar in politics” until Wilson came along and was therefore jealous and spiteful of Wilson, the Republicans got even more angry.

XV. An Idealist Battles the Imperialists in Paris

- i. At the Paris Conference in 1919, the **Big Four**—Italy, led by **Vittorio Orlando**, France, led by **Georges Clemenceau**, Britain, led by **David Lloyd George**, and the U.S., led by Wilson—basically dictated the terms of the treaty.
- ii. Conflicting ambitions ruled the conference. Britain and France wanted to punish Germany, Italy wanted money, the U.S. wanted to heal wounds through Wilson’s League of Nations
  1. Wilson’s baby was the League and so he bargained with Britain and France.
  2. Britain and France agreed to go along with the League, Wilson reluctantly agreed to go along with punishment.
    - a. The **War Guilt Clause** was passed doing two things, (1) it formally placed blame on Germany, a proud and embarrassed people, and (2) it charged Germany for the costs of war, \$33 billion.

XVI. Hammering Out the Treaty

- i. However, at home in America, the Republicans proclaimed that they would not pass the treaty, since to them, it would be unwise to turn American decision over to a group of foreign nations (the League of Nations). Opponents of the Versailles Treaty reasoned that America should stay out of such an international group and decide her decisions on her own.
    1. Led by Henry Cabot Lodge, **William Borah** of Idaho and **Hiram Johnson** of California, these senators were bitterly opposed to the League.
  - ii. Upon seeing Wilson's lack of support, the other European nations had stronger bargaining chips, as France demanded the **Rhineland** and **Saar Valley** (but didn't receive it; instead, the League of Nations got the Saar Basin for 15 years and then let it vote to determine its fate) and Italy demanded Fiume, a valuable seaport inhabited by both Italians and Yugoslavs.
    1. The Italians went home after Wilson tried to appeal to the Italian people while France received a promise that the U.S. and Great Britain would aid France in case of another German invasion.
  - iii. Japan also wanted the valuable Shantung peninsula and the German islands in the Pacific, and Wilson opposed, but when the Japanese threatened to walk out, Wilson compromised again and let Japan keep Germany's economic holdings in Shantung, outraging the Chinese.
- XVII. The Peace Treaty That Bred a New War
- i. The **Treaty of Versailles** was forced upon Germany under the threat that if it didn't sign the treaty, war would resume, and when the Germans saw all that Wilson had compromised to get his League of Nations, they cried betrayal, because the treaty did not contain much of the Fourteen Points like the Germans had hoped it would.
  - ii. Wilson was not happy with the treaty, sensing that it was inadequate, and his popularity was down, but he did make a difference in that his going to Paris prevented the treaty from being purely imperialistic.
- XVIII. The Domestic Parade of Prejudice
- i. Returning to America, Wilson was met with fierce opposition, as Hun-haters felt that the treaty wasn't harsh enough while the Irish denounced the League
  - ii. The "hyphenated" Americans all felt that the treaty had not been fair to their home country.
- XIX. Wilson's Tour and Collapse (1919)
- i. When Wilson returned to America, at the time, Senator Lodge had no hope to defeat the treaty, so he delayed, reading the entire 264-page treaty aloud in the **Senate Foreign Relations Committee**, held hearings for people discontent with the treaty to voice their feelings, and basically stalled, bogging the treaty down.
  - ii. Wilson decided to take a tour to gain support for the treaty, but trailing him like bloodhounds were Senators Borah and Johnson, two of the "irreconcilables," who verbally attacked him.
  - iii. However, in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast regions, reception was much warmer, and the high point came at Pueblo, Colorado, where he pleaded that the League was the only hope for peace in the future.
    1. That night, he collapsed from physical and nervous exhaustion, and several days later, a stroke paralyzed half of his body.
- XX. Defeat Through Deadlock
- i. Lodge now came up with fourteen "reservations" to the Treaty of Versailles, which sought to safeguard American sovereignty.
    1. Congress was especially concerned with Article X, which *morally* bound the U.S. to aid any member of the League of Nations that was victimized by aggression, for Congress wanted to preserve its war-declaring power.
  - ii. Wilson hated Lodge, and though he was willing to accept similar Democratic reservations and changes, he would not do so from Lodge, and thus, he ordered his Democratic supporters to vote *against* the treaty with the Lodge reservations attached.
    1. On November 19, 1919, the Treaty of Versailles was defeated by a vote of 55 to 39.
  - iii. About four-fifths of the senators actually didn't mind the treaty, but unless the Senate approved the pact with the Lodge reservations tacked on, it would fail completely.
    1. Brought up for a vote again, on March 19, 1920, the treaty failed again, due in part to Wilson telling Democrats to vote against the treaty...again.
    2. Wilson's feud with Lodge, U.S. isolationism, tradition, and disillusionment all contributed to the failure of the treaty, but Wilson must share the blame as well, since he stubbornly went for "all or nothing," and received nothing.
- XXI. The "Solemn Referendum" of 1920
- i. Wilson had proposed to take the treaty to the people with a national referendum, but that would have been impossible.

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- ii. In 1920, the Republican Party was back together, thanks in part to Teddy Roosevelt's death in 1919, and it devised a clever platform that would appeal to pro-League and anti-League factions of the party, and they chose Warren G. Harding as their candidate in the "smoke-filled room," with **Calvin Coolidge** as the vice presidential candidate.
  - iii. The Democrats chose **James M. Cox** and **Franklin D. Roosevelt** as VP, and they also supported a League of Nations, but not necessarily *the* League of Nations.
  - iv. Warren G. Harding was swept into power
- XXII. The Betrayal of Great Expectations
- i. U.S. isolationism doomed the Treaty of Versailles and indirectly led to **World War II**, because France, without an ally, built up a large military force, and Germany, suspicious and fearful, began to illegally do the same.
  - ii. The suffering of Germany and the disorder of the time was used by **Adolf Hitler** to seize power in Germany, build up popularity, and drag Europe into war.
  - iii. It was the U.S.'s responsibility to take charge as the most powerful nation in the world after World War I, but it retreated into isolationism, and let the rest of the world do whatever it wanted in the hopes that the U.S. would not be dragged into another war, but ironically, it was such actions that eventually led the U.S. into WWII.

## Chapter 30 Vocabulary

**George Creel** -- Journalist who was responsible for selling America on WWI and was head of the Committee on Public Information. He was also responsible for selling the world on Wilsonian war aims.

**Eugene V. Debs** -- Socialist, Eugene V. Debs, was accused of espionage and sent to a federal penitentiary for ten years. All this came about because of a speech that he made in Columbus, Ohio at an anti-war rally. Despite his imprisonment he ran for presidency in 1920. Although he didn't win, he had many votes; in fact, he had the most that any candidate of the Socialist party had ever had.

**Bernard Baruch** -- Bernard Baruch was a stock speculator appointed by Wilson to head the War Industries Board. The Board had only formal powers and was disbanded. He was later a United States delegate for the U.N. during the Cold War.

**Marshal Foch** -- The quiet Frenchman who became the supreme commander of the Allied forces during Germany's attack on the Western front in World War I; his axiom was, "To make war is to attack."

**Henry Cabot Lodge** -- Lodge was an outspoken senator from Massachusetts. He came from a distinguished lineage that dated back to the colonial times. He introduced the Literacy Test bill in 1896 to be taken by immigrants, but it was vetoed by Cleveland. The bill however was passed and enacted in 1917. Lodge also led a group of Republicans against the League of Nations. Lodge proposed amendments to the League Covenant but Wilson would not accept them. The U.S. did not join the League or ratify the treaty.

**Warren G. Harding** -- He was easygoing and kind, and therefore -- one of the best-liked men of his time. As a president, however, he was weak. He won the 1920 election but he was unable to detect moral wrongs in his associates. He appointed "great minds" to office because he knew he lacked in intelligence, but a few of the men he appointed were morally lacking. He was called an "amiable boob," He died in 1923 from a stroke.

**James M. Cox** -- He was the democrat nominee chosen to run for the presidency against Harding in the 1920 election. His vice-presidential running mate was Franklin Roosevelt.

**Self-Determination** -- The idea that all people can have independence and make up their own government or at least choose with which government they'll belong. This was one of Wilson's fourteen points.

**Collective security** -- Described what the League of Nations tried to do. It said that the League of Nations was supposed to guarantee the political independence and territorial integrity of all countries.

**Normalcy** -- After a long reign of high morality, outrageous idealism, and "bothersome do-goodism", people longed for the "normalcy" of the old America, and were ready to accept a lower quality president who would not force them to be so involved. Harding coined the phrase a "return to normalcy".

**Zimmerman Note** -- Written by Arthur Zimmerman, a German foreign secretary. In this note he had secretly proposed a German- Mexican alliance. He tempted Mexico to go to war with America with the ideas of recovering Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico. The note was intercepted on March 1, 1917 by the U.S. government. This was a major factor that led the U.S. into WWI.

**Fourteen Points** -- The Fourteen Points were introduced by Wilson in 1918. It was Wilson's peace plan. Each of the points were designed to prevent future wars. He compromised each point at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. The only point which remained was the 14th (League of Nations). Each one was appealing to a specific group in the war and each one held a specific purpose.

**League of Nations** -- In 1919, after the war, Wilson proposed the League in the 14th point of his peace plan. He envisioned it as an Assembly with seats for all nations and a special council for the great powers. The US voted not to join the League

because in doing so, it would have taken away our self-determination, and Congress could not decide whether to go to war or not.

**Committee on Public Information** -- It was headed by George Creel. The purpose of this committee was to mobilize people's minds for war, both in America and abroad. Tried to get the entire U.S. public to support U.S. involvement in WWI. Creel's organization, employed some 150,000 workers at home and overseas. He proved that words were indeed weapons.

**Espionage and Sedition Acts** -- Espionage Act of 1917; Sedition Act of 1918; reflected current fear about Germans and antiwar Americans; Among the 1,900 prosecuted under these laws were antiwar Socialists and members of the radical union Industrial Workers of the World; were enacted during WWI to keep Americans united in favor of the war effort.

**Industrial Workers of the World** -- IWW; Also known as "Wobblies," a more radical labor organization that was against war.

**War Industries Board** -- President Wilson appointed Bernard Baruch to head the board in March of 1918 during WWI--intended to restore economic order--to make sure we were producing enough at home and abroad--never had more than feeble formal powers--was disbanded a few days after the armistice.

**Nineteenth Amendment** -- This amendment gave women the right to vote (suffrage) in 1920. Women were guaranteed the right to vote after a century of conflicts.

**Food Administration** -- An administration created to feed wartime America and its allies. Herbert Hoover, a Quaker-humanitarian, was chosen as the leader, mostly because of his already existent title of "hero" that he acquired leading a massive charitable drive to feed the starving people of war-racked Belgium. This was the most successful of the wartime administrations.

**Bolsheviks** -- These communists organized a revolution in Russia to overthrow the tsar. The communist revolution caused Russia to pull out of WWI.

**Doughboys** -- The nickname given to regular soldiers in World War I. They were part of the American Legion that was lobbying for veteran's benefits. They wanted to receive their "dough" to make up for the wages that they lost when they joined the military.

**Big Four** -- The "Big Four" refers to the four countries that were allied together in WWI. The countries were the U.S. represented by President Wilson, England represented by David Lloyd George, France represented by Georges Clemenceau, and Italy represented by Vittorio Orlando.

**Irreconcilables** -- During World War I, Senators William Borah of Idaho and Hiram Johnson of California, led a group of people who were against the United States joining the League of Nations. Also known as "the Battalion of Death." They were extreme isolationists and were totally against the U.S. joining the League of Nations.

**Treaty of Versailles** -- This treaty was created to solve problems made by World War I. Germany was forced to accept the treaty. It was composed of only four of the original points made by President Woodrow Wilson. The treaty punished Germany and did nothing to stop the threat of future wars. It maintained the pre-war power structure.

# Chapter 31

## American Life in the "Roaring Twenties"

### I. Seeing Red

- i. After **World War I**, America turned inward, away from the world, and started a policy of "**isolationism**." Americans denounced "radical" foreign ideas and "un-American" lifestyles.
- ii. The "**Red Scare**" of 1919-20 resulted in Attorney General **A. Mitchell Palmer** ("Fighting Quaker") using a series of raids to round up and arrest about 6,000 suspected Communists.
- iii. In December of 1919, 249 alleged alien radicals were deported on the *Buford*.
- iv. The Red Scare severely cut back free speech for a period, since the hysteria caused many people to want to eliminate any Communists and their ideas.
  1. Some states made it illegal to merely *advocate* the violent overthrow of government for social change.
  2. In 1921, **Nicola Sacco**, a shoe-factory worker, and **Bartolomeo Vanzetti**, a fish peddler, were convicted of murdering a Massachusetts paymaster and his guard. In that case, the jury and judge seemed prejudiced in some degree, because the two accused were Italians, atheists, anarchists, and draft dodgers.
    - a. In this time period, anti-foreignism (or "nativism") was high.
    - b. Liberals and radicals rallied around the two men, but they were executed anyway.

### II. Hooded Hoodlums of the KKK

- i. The new **Ku Klux Klan** was anti-foreign, anti-Catholic, anti-black, anti-Jewish, anti-pacifist, anti-Communist, anti-internationalist, anti-revolutionist, anti-bootlegger, anti-gambling, anti-adultery, and anti-birth control.
  - ii. More simply, it was pro-White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) and anti-everything else.
  - iii. At its peak in the 1920s, it claimed 5 million members, mostly from the South, but it also featured a reign of hooded horror.
    1. The KKK employed the same tactics of fear, lynchings, and intimidation.
    2. It was stopped not by the exposure of its horrible racism, but by its money fraud.
- III. Stemming the Foreign Flood
- i. In 1920-21, some 800,000 European "New Immigrants" (mostly from the southeastern Europe regions) came to the U.S., and to quell the fears of the "100% Americans," Congress passed the **Emergency Quota Act of 1921**, in which newcomers from Europe were restricted to any year to a quota, which was set at 3% of the people of their nationality who lived in the U.S. in 1910.
    1. This policy still really favored the Slavs and the southeastern Europeans in comparison to other groups. So, a new policy was sought...
  - ii. A replacement law was found in the **Immigration Act of 1924**, which cut the quota down to 2% and the *origins base was shifted to that of 1890*, when few southeastern Europeans lived in America.
    1. This change clearly had racial undertones beneath it (New Immigrants out, Old in).
    2. This act also slammed the door against Japanese immigrants.
    3. By 1931, for the first time in history, more people left America than came here.
  - iii. The immigrant tide was now cut off, but those that were in America struggled to adapt.
    1. Labor unions in particular had difficulty in organizing because of the differences in race, culture, and nationality.
- IV. The Prohibition "Experiment"
- i. The **18<sup>th</sup> Amendment** (and later, the **Volstead Act**) prohibited the sale of alcohol, but this law never was effectively enforced because so many people violated it.
  - ii. Actually, most people thought that **Prohibition** was here to stay, and this was especially popular in the Midwest and the South.
  - iii. Prohibition was particularly supported by women and the **Women's Christian Temperance Union**, but it also posed problems from countries that produced alcohol and tried to ship it to the U.S. (illegally, of course).
  - iv. In actuality, bank savings did increase, and absenteeism in industry did go down.
- V. The Golden Age of Gangsterism
- i. Prohibition led to the rise of gangs that competed to distribute liquor.
  - ii. In the gang wars of Chicago in the 1920s, about 500 people were murdered, but captured criminals were rare, and convictions even rarer, since gangsters often provided false alibis for each other.
    1. The most infamous of these gangsters was "**Scarface**" **Al Capone**, and his St. Valentine's Day Massacre. Capone was finally caught for tax evasion.
  - iii. Gangs moved into other activities as well: prostitution, gambling, and narcotics, and by 1930, their annual profit was a whopping \$12 – 18 billion.
    1. In 1932, gangsters kidnapped the baby son of **Charles Lindbergh**, shocking the nation, and this event led Congress to the so-called **Lindbergh Law**, which allowed the death penalty to certain cases of interstate abduction.
- VI. Monkey Business in Tennessee
- i. Education made strides behind the progressive ideas of **John Dewey**, a professor at Columbia University who set forth principles of "learning by doing" and believed that "education for life" should be the primary goal of school.
    1. Now, schools were no longer prisons.
    2. States also were increasingly placing minimum ages for teens to stay in school.
  - ii. A massive health care program launched by the **Rockefeller Foundation** practically eliminated hookworm in the South.
  - iii. Evolutionists were also clashing against creationists, and the prime example of this was the **Scopes "Monkey Trial,"** where **John T. Scopes**, a teacher high school teacher of Dayton, Tennessee, was charged with teaching evolution.
    1. **William Jennings Bryan** was among those who were against him, but the one-time "boy orator" was made to sound foolish and childish by expert attorney **Clarence Darrow**, and five days after the end of the trial, Bryan died.
    2. The trial proved to be inconclusive but illustrated the rift between the new and old.
  - iv. Increasing numbers of Christians were starting to reconcile their differences between religion and the findings of modern science, as evidenced in the new Churches of Christ (est. 1906).

## VII. The Mass-Consumption Economy

- i. Prosperity took off in the "Roaring 20s," despite the recession of 1920-21, and it was helped by the tax policies of Treasury Secretary **Andrew Mellons**, which favored the rapid expansion of capital investment.
- ii. **Henry Ford** perfected the assembly-line production to where his famous Rouge River Plant was producing a finished automobile every ten seconds.
- iii. The automobile now provided more freedom, more luxury, and more privacy.
- iv. A new medium arose as well: advertising, which used persuasion, ploy, seduction, and sex appeal to sell merchandise.
  1. In 1925, **Bruce Barton**'s bestseller *The Man Nobody Knows* claimed that Jesus Christ was the perfect salesman and that all advertisers should study his techniques.
- v. Folks followed new (and dangerous) buying techniques...they bought (1) on the installment plan and (2) they bought on credit. Either way, buying like this was fine a little bit, but if they went overboard, problems followed.
- vi. Sports were buoyed by people like home-run hero **George Herman ("Babe") Ruth** and boxers **Jack Dempsey** and **Georges Carpentier**.

## VIII. Putting America on Rubber Tires

- i. Americans adapted, rather than invented, the gasoline engine.
- ii. People like Henry Ford and **Ransom E. Olds** (famous for Oldsmobile) developed the infant auto industry.
- iii. Early cars stalled and weren't too reliable, but eventually, cars like the Ford **Model T** became cheap and easy to own.
  1. In 1929, when the bull market collapsed, 26 million motor vehicles were registered in the United States, or 1 car per 4.9 Americans.

## IX. The Advent of the Gasoline Age

- i. The automobile spurred 6 million people to new jobs and took over the railroad as king of transportation.
  1. New roads were constructed, the gasoline industry boomed, and America's standard of living rose greatly.
  2. Cars were luxuries at first, but they rapidly became necessities.
  3. The less-attractive states lost population at an alarming rate.
  4. However, accidents killed lots of people, and by 1951, 1,000,000 people had died by the car—more than the total of Americans lost to all its previous wars combined.
- ii. Cars brought adventure, excitement, and pleasure.

## X. Humans Develop Wings

- i. On December 17, 1903, **Orville** and **Wilbur Wright** flew the first airplane for 12 seconds over a distance of 120 feet at Kitty Hawk, N.C.
- ii. Aviation slowly got off the ground, and they were used a bit in World War I, but afterwards, it really took off when they became used for mail and other functions.
  1. The first transcontinental airmail route was established from New York to San Francisco in 1920.
  2. At first, there were many accidents and crashes, but later, safety improved.
- iii. **Charles Lindbergh** became the first person to fly solo across the Atlantic Ocean when he did it in his *Spirit of St. Louis*, going from New York to Paris.

## XI. The Radio Revolution

- i. In the 1890s, **Guglielmo Marconi** had already invented wireless telegraphy and his invention was used for long distance communication in the Great War.
- ii. Then, in November of 1920, the first voice-carrying radio station began broadcasting when KDKA (in Pittsburgh) told of presidential candidate **Warren G. Harding**'s landslide victory.
- iii. While the automobile lured Americans away from home, the radio lured them back, as millions tuned in to hear favorites like *Amos 'n' Andy* and listen to the *Eveready Hour*.
- iv. Sports were further stimulated while politicians had to adjust their speaking techniques to support the new medium, and music could finally be heard electronically.

## XII. Hollywood's Filmland Fantasies

- i. **Thomas Edison** was one of those who invented the movie, but in 1903, the real birth of the movie came with *The Great Train Robbery*.
  1. A first full-length feature was **D.W. Griffith**'s *The Birth of a Nation*, which stunned viewers visually, but seemed to glorify the KKK in the Reconstruction era.
  2. The first "talkie" or movie with sound was *The Jazz Singer* with Al Jolson.



- ii. **Hollywood**, California, quickly became a hot spot for movie production, due to its favorable climate and landscape.
    - 1. The first movies featured nudity and female vampires called “vamps” until a shocked public forced codes of censorship to be placed on them.
  - iii. Propaganda movies of **World War I** boosted the popularity of movies.
  - iv. Critics, though, did bemoan the vulgarization of popular tastes wrought by radio and movies.
    - 1. These new mediums led to the loss of old family traditions, like the telling of an old story by a grandparent. Radio shows and movies seemed to lessen interaction and heighten passivity.
- XIII. The Dynamic Decade
- i. For the first time, more Americans lived in urban areas, not the rural countryside.
  - ii. The birth-control movement was led by fiery **Margaret Sanger**, and the **National Women’s Party** began in 1923 to campaign for an **Equal Rights Amendment** to the Constitution.
  - iii. The **Fundamentalists** of old-time religion even lost ground to the new **Modernists**, who liked to think that God was a “good guy” and the universe was a nice place, as opposed to the traditional view that man was a born sinner and in need of forgiveness through Christ.
  - iv. A brash new group shocked many conservative older folk (who labeled the new style as full of erotic suggestions and inappropriate). The “flaming youth” who lived this modern life were called “flappers.”
    - 1. They danced new dances like the risqué “Charleston” and dressed more provocatively.
    - 2. **Sigmund Freud** said that sexual repression was responsible for most of society’s ills, and that pleasure and health demanded sexual gratification and liberation.
  - v. Jazz was the music of flappers, and Blacks like **W.C. Handy**, “**Jelly Roll**” **Morton**, and **Joseph King Oliver** gave birth to its bee-bopping sounds.
  - vi. Black pride spawned such leaders as **Langston Hughes** of the **Harlem Renaissance** and famous for *The Weary Blues*, which appeared in 1926, and **Marcus Garvey** (founder of the **United Negro Improvement Association** and inspiration for the **Nation of Islam**).
- XIV. Cultural Liberation
- i. By the dawn of the 1920s, many of the old writers (**Henry James**, **Henry Adams**, and **William Dean Howells**) had died, and those that survived, like **Edith Wharton** and **Willa Cather** were popular.
  - ii. Many of the new writers, though, hailed from different backgrounds (not Protestant New Englanders).
    - 1. **H.L. Mencken**, the “Bad Boy of Baltimore,” found fault in much of America.
      - a. He wrote the monthly *American Mercury*.
    - 2. **F. Scott Fitzgerald** wrote *This Side of Paradise* and *The Great Gatsby*, both of which captured the society of the “Jazz Age,” including odd mix of glamour and the cruelty.
    - 3. **Theodore Dreiser** wrote as a Realist (not Romantic) in *An American Tragedy* about the murder of a pregnant working girl by her socially-conscious lover.
    - 4. **Ernest Hemingway** wrote *The Sun Also Rises*, and *Farewell to Arms*, and became a voice for the “Lost Generation”—the young folks who’d been ruined by the disillusionment of WWI.
    - 5. **Sherwood Anderson** wrote *Winesburg, Ohio* describing small-town life in America.
    - 6. **Sinclair Lewis** disparaged small-town America in his *Main Street* and *Babbitt*.
    - 7. **William Faulkner’s** *Soldier’s Pay*, *The Sound and the Fury*, and *As I Lay Dying* all were famous and stunning with his use of the new, choppy “stream of consciousness” technique.
  - iii. Poetry also was innovative, and **Ezra Pound** and **T.S. Eliot** were two great poets.
  - iv. **Eugene O’Neill’s** plays like *Strange Interlude* laid bare human emotions.
  - v. Other famous writers included **Claude McKay** and **Zora Neale Hurston**.
  - vi. Architecture also made its marks with the designs of **Frank Lloyd Wright**, Wright was an understudy of Louis Sullivan (of Chicago skyscraper fame) and amazed people with his use of concrete, glass, and steel and his unconventional, never-before-thought-of designs that stressed his theory that “form follows function.”
    - 1. Champion of skyscrapers, the Empire State Building debuted in 1931.
- XV. Wall Street’s Big Bull Market
- i. There was much over-speculation in the 1920s, especially on Florida home properties (until a hurricane took care of that), and even during times of prosperity, many, many banks failed each year.
    - 1. The whole system was built on fragile credit.
    - 2. The stock market’s stellar rise made headline news (and enticed investors to drop their savings into the market’s volatility).

- ii. Secretary of the Treasury Mellon reduced the amount of taxes that rich people had to pay, thus conceivably thrusting the burden onto the middle class.
  1. He reduced the national debt, though, but has since been accused of indirectly encouraging the Bull Market.
- iii. Whatever the case, the prosperities of the 1920s was setting up the crash that would lead to the crash and then the poverty and suffering of the 1930s.

## Chapter 31 Vocabulary

**A. Mitchell Palmer** – Palmer was the Attorney General who rounded up many suspects who were thought to be un-American and socialist. He helped to increase the Red Scare and was nicknamed the "Fighting Quaker" until a bomb destroyed his home. He then had a nervous breakdown, backed off, and became known as the "Quaking Fighter."

**John Dewey** -- He was a philosopher/educator who believed in "learning by doing" which formed the foundation of progressive education. He believed that the teacher's goal should be "education for life and that the workbench is just as important as the blackboard."

**John T. Scopes** – Scopes was a teacher in the "Scopes Monkey Trial." In 1925, Scopes was indicted for teaching evolution in Tennessee. His trial was followed all over the country. This trial represented the Fundamentalists and Modernists. In the outcome, Scopes was only fined \$100 dollars. While it seemed the Fundamentalists had won, the trial made them look simple-minded and old-fashioned. The trial symbolized the differences of the times.

**William Jennings Bryan** – Bryan joined the prosecution in the "Scopes Monkey Trial" against the teachings of evolution in schools. He was purported to be an expert on the Bible, but was made to look silly in the case and, sadly, died soon afterward.

**Clarence Darrow** – Darrow was a famed criminal defense lawyer and represented Scopes, who supported evolution. He caused William Jennings Bryan to appear old-fashioned when Darrow questioned Bryan about the Bible.

**Andrew Mellon** -- Mellon was the Secretary of the Treasury during the Harding Administration. He felt it was best to invest in tax-exempt securities rather than in factories that provided prosperous payrolls. He believed in trickle-down economics (Hamiltonian economics where the rich let their money trickle down to everyone else).

**Bruce Barton** – Barton was a founder of the "new profession" of advertising, which used the persuasion ploy, seduction, and sexual suggestion. He was a prominent New York partner in a Madison Avenue firm. He published a best seller in 1925, *The Man Nobody Knows*, suggesting that Jesus Christ was the greatest ad man of all time. He even praised Christ's "executive ability." He encouraged any advertising man to read the parables of Jesus.

**Henry Ford** -- Ford made assembly line production more efficient in his Rouge River plant near Detroit where a finished car would come off the line every 10 seconds. He helped to make cars inexpensive so more Americans could buy them.

**Frederick W. Taylor** -- Taylor was an engineer, an inventor, and a tennis player. He sought to eliminate wasted motion. He was famous for scientific-management, especially time-management studies where he mastered movements and wasted movements and therefore helped master the assembly line.

**Margaret Sanger** -- Sanger organized a birth-control movement which openly championed the use of contraceptives in the 1920's.

**Sigmund Freud** – He was a Viennese physician that believed sexual repression was responsible for a variety of nervous and emotional diseases. He argued that health demanded sexual gratification and liberation. His writings seemed to justify the new sexual frankness of the 1920s and were taken to heart by the "flaming youth" and "jazz age" of the time.

**H. L. Mencken** -- H.L. Mencken was a patron to many young writers in the 1920's. He criticized many subjects like the middle class, democracy, marriage and patriotism in his monthly *American Mercury*.

**F. Scott Fitzgerald** -- Fitzgerald belonged to the "Lost Generation" writers. He wrote *This Side of Paradise* which gave him fame and then the famous novel *The Great Gatsby* which explored the glamour and cruelty of an achievement-oriented society, the "Jazz Age." He and his wife Zelda seemed to personify the 20s in his writing and in their lives.

**Ernest Hemingway** -- Ernest Hemingway fought in Italy in 1917 then became famous for *The Sun Also Rises* (about American expatriates in Europe) and *A Farewell to Arms*. In the 1920's he became upset with the idealism of America versus the realism he saw in World War I and became the voice of the Lost Generation. He was very distraught, and in 1961 he shot himself in the head.

**Sinclair Lewis** -- Lewis was the chief chronicler of midwestern life. He was a master of satire and wrote *Main Street* in 1920. Then he wrote *Babbitt* which described a materialistic middle-class American businessman.

**William Faulkner** -- He was a southern writer. In 1926, he wrote a bitter war novel called *Soldier's Pay*. He also wrote many other powerful books about the lives of Southerners, notably, *The Sound and the Fury*, *Light in August*, *As I Lay Dying*, and *The Reivers*. His books were structurally revolutionary, sometimes using the stream-of-consciousness technique and a keep-the-reader-in-the-dark tactic.

**Buying on Margin** -- This technique of buying stocks that was very risky and was usually only used by poor and middle class people. They would buy the stock, but only pay for part of it and borrow money from the stockbrokers to pay the rest. Then when they sold the stock for a higher price, they would pay the broker off and keep the rest of the profit. Of course, the stock could just as easily go down. This practice helped lead to the Stock Crash of '29.

**Red Scare** -- The Red Scare erupted in the early 1920's. The American public was scared that communism would come into the U.S. Left-winged supporters were suspected. This fear of communism helped businessmen who used it to stop labor strikes.

**Sacco and Vanzetti Case** -- Nicola Sacco was a shoe-factory worker and Bartholomew Vanzetti was a fish peddler. They were both convicted of murdering a Massachusetts paymaster and his guard in 1921. They were supported by Liberals and Radicals. The case lasted 6 years and resulted in execution based on weak evidence, mainly because Americans were xenophobic (afraid of foreigners). This exemplifies the "nativism" of the day.

**Ku Klux Klan** -- In the 1920s, this group was very anti-foreign. It was against all groups which did not have an Anglo-Saxon, Protestant background. They were most prevalent in the midwest and the south. They eventually became less popular when Klan officials were caught embezzling money.

**Emergency Quota Act 1921** -- This law restricted immigration to 3% of each nationality that was in the United States in 1910.

**Immigration Quota Act 1924** -- This act was passed in 1924 and cut quotas for foreigners from 3 % to 2% of the total number of immigrants *in 1890*. The purpose of the year change was to freeze America's existing racial composition (which was largely Northern European). It also prevented the Japanese from immigrating, causing outrage in Japan.

**Volstead Act** -- The Volstead Act implemented the 18th Amendment. It established alcohol as illegal at above .5% by volume.

**Fundamentalism** -- Fundamentalism was a movement that pushed that the teachings of Darwin were destroying faith in God and the Bible. It consisted of the old-time religion followers who didn't want to sacrifice traditional religious beliefs to conform to modern theories.

**Modernists** -- Modernists believed that God was a "good guy" and that man was not a sinner at heart who deserved punishment. Modernists believed in God, but tried to reconcile Darwin's theory of evolution and creationism.

**Flappers** -- The dynamic 1920s revealed women notorious for their risky attire and dance styles. Referred to as "wild abandons," these girls, exemplified the new sexually frank generation with their clothes, attitudes, and scandalous Charleston dancing.

# Chapter 32

## The Politics of Boom and Bust

### I. The Republican "Old Guard" Returns

- i. Newly elected President **Warren G. Harding** was tall, handsome, and popular, but he had a mediocre mind and he did not like to hurt people's feelings.
  - a. Nor could he detect the corruption within his administration.
- ii. His cabinet did have some good officials, though, such as Secretary of State **Charles Evans Hughes**, who was masterful, imperious, incisive, and brilliant, Secretary of Commerce **Herbert Hoover**, and Secretary of the Treasury **Andrew W. Mellon**.
- iii. However, people like Senator **Albert B. Fall** of New Mexico, a scheming anti-conservationist, became secretary of the interior, and **Harry M. Daugherty** took over the reigns as attorney general.
  - a. These two became the worst of the scandalous cabinet members.

### II. GOP Reaction at the Throttle

- i. A good man but a weak one, Harding was the perfect front for old-fashioned politicians to set up for the nation a McKinley-style old order.
  - a. It hoped to further laissez-faire capitalism, and one of the examples of this was the Supreme Court, where Harding appointed four of the nine justices, including **William H. Taft**, former president of the United States.
- ii. In the early 1920s, the Supreme Court killed a federal child-labor law.
  - a. In the case of **Adkins v. Children's Hospital**, the court reversed its ruling in the **Muller v. Oregon** case by invalidating a minimum wage law for women.
- iii. Under Harding, corporations could expand again, and anti-trust laws were not as enforced or downright ignored.
- iv. Men sympathetic to railroads headed the **Interstate Commerce Commission**.

### III. The Aftermath of the War

- i. Wartime government controls disappeared (i.e. the dismantling of the **War Industries Board**) and Washington returned control of railroads to private hands by the **Esch-Cummins Transportation Act** of 1920.
- ii. The **Merchant Marine Act** of 1920 authorized the **Shipping Board**, which controlled about 1,500 vessels, to get rid of a lot of ships at bargain prices, thus reducing the size of the navy.

- iii. Labor lost much of its power, as a strike was ruthlessly broken in 1919, and the **Railway Labor Board** ordered a wage cut of 12% in 1922.
    - a. Labor membership shrank by 30% from 1920 to 1930.
  - iv. In 1921, the **Veterans' Bureau** was created to operate hospitals and provide vocational rehabilitation for the disabled.
    - a. Many veterans wanted the monetary compensation promised to them for their services in the war.
    - b. The **Adjusted Compensation Act** gave every former soldier a paid-up insurance policy due in twenty years. It was passed by Congress twice (the second time to override president **Calvin Coolidge's** veto).
- IV. America Seeks Benefits Without Burdens
- i. Since America had never ratified the **Treaty of Versailles**, it was still technically at war with Germany, so in July of 1921, it passed a simple joint resolution ending the war.
  - ii. The U.S. did not cooperate much with the **League of Nations**, but eventually, "unofficial observers" did participate in conferences. The lack of real participation though from the U.S. proved to doom the League.
  - iii. In the Middle East, Secretary Hughes secured for American oil companies the right to share in the exploitation of the oil riches there.
  - iv. Disarmament was another problem for Harding and he had to watch the actions of Japan and Britain for any possible hostile activities.
  - v. America also went on a "ship-scrapping" bonanza.
    - 1. The **Washington "Disarmament" Conference** of 1921-22 resulted in a plan that kept a 5:5:3 ratio of ships that could be held by the U.S., Britain, and Japan (in that order). This surprised many delegates at the conference (notably, the Soviet Union, which was not recognized by the U.S., was not invited and did not attend).
    - 2. The **Five-Power Naval Treaty** of 1922 embodied Hughes's ideas on ship ratios, but only after Japanese received compensation.
    - 3. A **Four-Power Treaty**, which bound Britain, Japan, France, and the U.S. to preserve the status quo in the Pacific, replaced the 20-year-old **Anglo-Japanese Alliance**.
    - 4. The **Nine-Power Treaty** of 1922 kept the open door open in China.
    - 5. However, despite all this apparent action, there were no limits placed on small ships, and Congress only approved the Four-Power Treaty on the condition that the U.S. was *not* bound, thus effectively rendering that treaty useless.
  - vi. **Frank B. Kellogg**, Calvin Coolidge's Secretary of State, won the Nobel Peace Prize for his role in the **Kellog-Briand Pact (Pact of Paris)**, which said that all nations that signed would no longer use war as offensive means.
- V. Hiking the Tariff Higher
- i. Businessmen did not want Europe flooding American markets with cheap goods after the war, so Congress passed the **Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law**, which raised the tariff from 27% to 35%.
    - a. Presidents Harding and Coolidge were much more prone to increasing tariffs than decreasing them.
  - ii. However, this presented a problem: Europe needed to sell goods to the U.S. in order to get the money to pay back its debts, and when it could not sell, it could not repay.
- VI. The Stench of Scandal
- i. However, scandal rocked the Harding administration in 1923 when **Charles R. Forbes** was caught with his hand in the money bag and resigned as the head of the Veterans' Bureau.
    - a. He and his accomplices looted the government for over \$200 million.
  - ii. The **Teapot Dome Scandal** was the most shocking of all.
    - a. Albert B. Fall leased land in Teapot Dome, Wyoming, and Elk Hills, California, to oilmen Harry F. Sinclair and Edward L. Doheny, but not until Fall had received a "loan" (actually a bribe) of \$100,000 from Doheny and about three times that amount from Sinclair.
  - iii. There were reports as to the underhanded doings of Attorney General **Harry Daugherty**, in which he was accused of the illegal sale of pardons and liquor permits.
  - iv. President Harding, however, died in San Francisco on August 2, 1923, of pneumonia and thrombosis, and he didn't have to live through much of the uproar of the scandal.
- VII. "Silent Cal" Coolidge
- i. New president **Calvin Coolidge** was serious, calm, and never spoke more than he needed to.
  - ii. A very morally clean person, he was not touched by the Harding scandals, and he proved to be a bright figure in the Republican Party.

- a. It was ironic that in the Twenties, the "Age of Ballyhoo" or the "Jazz Age," the U.S. had a very traditional, old-timey, and some would say boring president.

#### VIII. Frustrated Farmers

- i. World War I had given the farmers prosperity, as they'd produced much food for the soldiers.
  - a. New technology in farming, such as the gasoline-engine tractor, had increased farm production dramatically.
  - b. However, after the war, these products weren't needed, and the farmers fell into poverty.
- ii. Farmers looked for relief, and the **Capper-Volstead Act**, which exempted farmers' marketing cooperatives from antitrust prosecution, and the **McNary-Haugen Bill**, which sought to keep agricultural prices high by authorizing the government to buy up surpluses and sell them abroad, helped a little.
  - a. However, Coolidge vetoed the second bill, twice.

#### IX. A Three-Way Race for the White House in 1924

- i. Coolidge was chosen by the Republicans again in 1924, while Democrats nominated **John W. Davis** after 102 ballots in Madison Square Garden.
  - a. The Democrats also voted by one vote NOT to condemn the **Ku Klux Klan**.
- ii. Senator **Robert La Follette** led the Progressive Party as the third party candidate.
  - a. He gained the endorsement of the **American Federation of Labor** and the shrinking **Socialist Party**, and he actually received 5 million votes.
  - b. However, Calvin Coolidge easily won the election.

#### X. Foreign-Policy Flounderings

- i. **Isolationism** continued to reign in the Coolidge era, as the Senate did not allow America to adhere to the **World Court**, the judicial wing of the League of Nations.
- ii. In the Caribbean and Latin America, U.S. troops were withdrawn from the Dominican Republic in 1924, but remained in Haiti from 1914 to 1934.
  - a. Coolidge took out troops from Nicaragua in 1925, and then sent them back the next year, and in 1926, he defused a situation with Mexico where the Mexicans were claiming sovereignty over oil resources.
  - b. However, Latin Americans began to resent the American dominance of them.
- iii. The European debt to America also proved tricky.

#### XI. Unraveling the Debt Knot

- i. Because America demanded that Britain and France pay their debts, those two nations placed huge reparation payments on Germany, which then, to pay them, printed out loads of paper money that caused inflation to soar.
  - a. At one point in October of 1923, a loaf of bread cost 480 million German marks.
- ii. Finally, in 1924, **Charles Dawes** engineered the **Dawes Plan**, which rescheduled German reparations payments and gave the way for further American *private* loans to Germany.
  - a. Essentially, the payments were a huge circle from the U.S. to Germany to Britain/France and back to the U.S. All told, the Americans never really gained any money or got repaid in genuine.
  - b. Also, the U.S. gained bitter enemies in France and Britain who were angry over America's apparent greed and careless nature for others.

#### b. The Triumph of Herbert Hoover, 1928

- i. In 1928, Calvin Coolidge said, "I do not choose to run," and his logical successor immediately became economics genius Herbert Hoover. Hoover spoke of "**Rugged Individualism**" which was his view that America was made great by strong, self-sufficient individuals, like the pioneers of old days trekking across the prairies, relying on no one else for help. This was the kind of folk America still needed, he said.
  - a. Hoover was opposed by New York governor **Alfred E. Smith**, a man who was blanketed by scandal (he drank during a Prohibitionist era and was hindered politically by being a Roman Catholic).
- ii. Radio turned out to be an important factor in the campaign, and Hoover's personality sparkled on this new medium (compared to Smith, who sounded stupid and boyish).
- iii. Hoover had never been elected to public office before, but he had made his way up from poverty to prosperity, and believed that other people could do so as well.
- iv. There was, once again, below-the-belt hitting on both sides, as the campaign took an ugly turn, but Hoover triumphed in a landslide, with 444 electoral votes to Smith's 87.

#### XII. President Hoover's First Moves

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- i. Hoover's **Agricultural Marketing Act**, passed in June of 1929, was designed to help the farmers help themselves, and it set up a **Federal Farm Board** to help the farmers.
    - a. In 1930, the Farm Board created the **Grain Stabilization Corporation** and the **Cotton Stabilization Corporation** to bolster sagging prices by buying surpluses.
  - ii. The **Hawley-Smoot Tariff** of 1930 raised the tariff to an unbelievable 60%!
    - a. Foreigners hated this tariff that reversed a promising worldwide trend toward reasonable tariffs and widened the yawning trade gaps.
- XIII. The Great Crash Ends the Golden Twenties
- i. Hoover confidently predicted an end to poverty very soon, but on October 29, 1929, a devastating **stock market crash** caused by over-speculation and overly high stock prices built only upon non-existent credit struck the nation.
    - a. Losses, even blue-chip securities, were unbelievable as by the end of 1929, stockholders had lost over \$40 million in paper values (more than the cost of World War I)!
    - b. By the end of 1930, 4 million Americans were jobless, and two years later, that number shot up to 12 million.
    - c. Over 5,000 banks collapsed in the first three years of the **Great Depression.**
    - d. Lines formed at soup kitchens and at homeless shelters.
- XIV. Hooked on the Horn of Plenty
- i. The Great Depression might have been caused by an overabundance of farm products and factory products. The nation's capacity to produce goods had clearly outrun its capacity to consume or pay for them.
  - ii. Also, an over-expansion of credit created unsound faith in money, which is never good for business.
  - iii. Britain and France's situations, which had never fully recovered from World War I, worsened.
  - iv. In 1930, a terrible drought scorched the Mississippi Valley and thousands of farms were sold to pay for debts.
  - v. By 1930, the depression was a national crisis, and hard-working workers had nowhere to work, thus, people turned bitter and also turned on Hoover.
    - a. Villages of shanties and ragged shacks were called **Hoovervilles** and were inhabited by the people who had lost their jobs. They popped up everywhere.
- XV. Rugged Times for Rugged Individualists
- i. Hoover unfairly received the brunt of the blame for the Great Depression, but he also did not pass measures that could have made the depression less severe than it could have been.
    - a. Critics noted that he could feed millions in Belgium (after World War I) but not millions at home in America.
  - ii. He did not believe in government tampering with the economic machine and thus moving away from *laissez faire*, and he felt that depressions like this were simply parts of the natural economic process, known as the business cycle.
    - a. However, by the end of his term, he had started to take steps for the government to help the people.
- XVI. Hoover Battles the Great Depression
- i. Finally, Hoover voted to withdraw \$2.25 billion to start projects to alleviate the suffering of the depression.
    - a. The **Hoover Dam** of the Colorado River was one such project.
  - ii. The **Muscle Shoals Bill**, which was designed to dam the Tennessee River and was ultimately embraced by the **Tennessee Valley Authority**, was vetoed by Hoover.
  - iii. Early in 1932, Congress, responding to Hoover's appeal, established the **Reconstruction Finance Corporation** (RFC), which became a government lending bank. This was a large step for Hoover away from *laissez faire* policies and toward policies the Democrats (FDR) would later employ.
    - a. However, giant corporations were the ones that benefited most from this, and the RFC was another one of the targets of Hoover's critics.
  - iv. In 1932, Congress passed the **Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injection Act**, which outlawed anti-union contracts and forbade the federal courts to issue injunctions to restrain strikes, boycotts, and peaceful picketing (this was good for unions).
  - v. Remember, that in past depressions, the American public was often forced to "sweat it out," not wait for government help. The trend was changing at this point, forced to do so by the Depression.
- XVII. Routing the Bonus Army in Washington
- i. Many veterans, whom had not been paid their compensation for WWI, marched to Washington, D.C. to demand their entire bonus.

- a. The "**Bonus Expeditionary Force**" erected unsanitary camps and shacks in vacant lots, creating health hazards and annoyance.
  - b. Riots followed after troops came in to intervene (after Congress tried to pass a bonus bill but failed), and many people died.
  - c. Hoover falsely charged that the force was led by riffraff and reds (communists), and the American opinion turned even more against him.
- XVIII. Japanese Militarists Attack China
- i. In September 1931, Japan, alleging provocation, invaded Manchuria and shut the Open Door.
  - ii. Peaceful peoples were stunned, as this was a flagrant violation of the League of Nations covenant, and a meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, was arranged.
  - iii. An American actually attended, but instead of driving Japan out of China, the meeting drove Japan out of the League, thus weakening it further.
  - iv. Secretary of State **Henry Stimson** did indicate that the U.S. probably would not interfere with a League of Nations embargo on Japan, but he was later restrained from taking action.
    - a. Since the U.S. took no effective action, the Japanese bombed Shanghai in 1932, and even then, outraged Americans didn't do much to change the Japanese minds.
    - b. The U.S.'s lackluster actions support the notion that America's isolationist policy was well entrenched.
- XIX. Hoover Pioneers the **Good Neighbor Policy**
- i. Hoover was deeply interested in relations south of the border, and during his term, U.S. relations with Latin America and the Caribbean improved greatly.
    - a. Since the U.S. had less money to spend, it was unable to dominate Latin America as much, and later, **Franklin D. Roosevelt** would build upon these policies.

## Chapter 32 Vocabulary

**Warren G. Harding** – Harding was one of the best-liked men of the generation. He was spineless, though, and a bad judge of character. He is often compared to Grant because his term in office was scandalous. Many corporations could expand, antitrust laws were ignored, and he achieved disarmament with the Open Door in China. The tariff increased also. He died on August 2, 1923 of pneumonia and thrombosis while making speeches.

**Charles Evan Hughes** -- He was the Republican governor of New York who ran for the presidency in 1916. He lost to Wilson. He was a strong reformer who gained his national fame as an investigator of malpractices in gas and insurance companies. In 1921 he became Harding's Secretary of State. He called together the major powers to the Washington Disarmament Conference in 1921.

**Andrew Mellon** -- He was the Secretary of the Treasury during the 1920s and under Harding. He had the theory that high taxes forced the rich to invest in tax-exempt securities rather than in factories that provided prosperous payrolls. So, the government should decrease taxes to increase economic activity. He had followers in his theory called "Mellonites." He helped engineer a series of tax reductions and reduced national debt by \$10 billion. He was accused of indirectly encouraging the bull market and starting the descent into the stock market crash. Some people, however, believed he was the "greatest Secretary of Treasury since Hamilton." He employed "trickle-down" economics—help the rich and money will trickle down to the poor.

**Herbert Hoover** -- He was a Republican who ran on a campaign of prohibition and prosperity. The early years of his presidency brought about a great deal of prosperity for the United States. Many people blamed him for the stock market crash and the start of the Great Depression.

**Albert B. Fall** -- He was Secretary of the Interior during Harding's administration, and was a schemer. He was convicted of leasing oil reserves and collecting bribes in what was called the Teapot Dome Scandal.

**Harry M. Daugherty** – Daugherty was Attorney General during the 1922 strike against the Railroad Labor Board. The strike ended when Daugherty stopped the strikers in one of the most sweeping injunctions in American history. He was a member of Harding's "Ohio Gang." He was accused of the illegal sale of pardons and liquor permits. He was forced to resign. He was tried, but a jury failed to convict him.

**Charles R. Forbes** -- In 1923, he resigned as head of the Veteran's Bureau. He swindled \$200 million from the government in building Veterans' hospitals. He was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary. This was part of the Harding scandal and the "Ohio Gang."

**Calvin Coolidge** -- Coolidge became president when Harding died of pneumonia. He was known for advocating a strong economy, in money and words, and acquired the name "Silent Cal" for being so soft-spoken. He was a true Republican and industrialist. He believed in the government supporting big business, saying, "The business of America is business."

**John W. Davis** – Davis was the Democratic convention nominee in 1924 against Coolidge. He was a wealthy lawyer connected with J.P. Morgan and company. Coolidge easily defeated Davis.

**Robert LaFollette** – LaFollette was a senator from Wisconsin who ran for the presidency of 1924 on the Progressive party's ticket. Their platform called for government ownership of the railroads and relief for farmers and it lashed out at monopolies. He lost however, to Coolidge.

**Alfred E. Smith** -- He ran for president in the 1928 election for the Democrat party. He was known for his drinking and he lost the election to Herbert Hoover. Prohibition was one of the issues of the campaign. He was the first Roman Catholic to run for president, and it was during a time many people were prejudiced toward Catholics.

**Ohio Gang** – The Ohio Gang was a group of poker-playing, men that were friends of President Warren Harding. Harding appointed them to offices and they used their power to gain money for themselves. They were involved in scandals that ruined Harding's reputation, even though he wasn't involved.

**Washington conference** -- The Washington Conference of 1921-1922 was a meeting between most major world powers. This conference was for the disarmament of these countries. This meeting also prevented the U. S. and Britain from fortifying their Far East possessions and established the Four Power Treaty. The major powers promised to preserve the status-quo in the Pacific. It reduced the number of large battleships for the major powers.

**Kellogg-Briand Pact** – This was a 1929 agreement headed by Frank B. Kellogg and Aristide Briand that promised to never make war again and settle all disputes peacefully. Sixty-two nations signed this pact. Though idealistic, the treaty was hard to enforce and had no provisions for the use of economic or military force against a nation that may break the treaty.

**Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law** – Passed in 1922, this law raised foreign tariffs to as high as 38.5%. This was designed to equalize the price of American and foreign products.

**Teapot Dome Scandal** – This was one of many scandals under Harding. It involved priceless naval oil reserves at Teapot Dome, Wyoming. Albert B. Fall got Secretary of Navy Denby to transfer valuable goods to the Interior Department secretly. Harry Sinclair and Edward L Doheny were leased the lands after paying a large bribe. The scandal polluted the government's prestige and made the public wonder about the sufficiency of government and undermined people's faith in the courts.

**McNary-Haugen Bill** -- This bill was favored by agricultural states. It was pushed to keep high prices on agricultural products by authorizing the government to purchase agricultural surpluses and selling them. The losses of the government could be repaid by a special tax on the farmers. It was passed twice by Congress and vetoed twice by Coolidge.

**Dawes Plan** -- Calvin Coolidge's running mate, Charles Dawes is responsible for the Dawes plan of 1924. It was an attempt to pay off the damages from WWI. This intricate monetary "merry-go-round," as it was often called, had the U.S. give money to Germany who then paid France and Britain for debts of the war. Former allies then paid the U.S. When the Depression hit, the "merry-go-round" stopped. Finland was the only nation to pay off their debts to the very last penny in 1976. The U.S. never received the money it was owed.

**Hawley-Smoot Tariff** – This tariff began as a protective measure to assist farmers, but turned out to be the highest protective tariff in the nation's peacetime history. It raised the duty on goods from 38.5 percent to 60 percent in 1930.

**Black Tuesday** – Black Tuesday occurred on October 29, 1929, when 16,410,030 shares of stocks were sold in a save-what-can scramble. It marked the beginning of the Great Depression.

**Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC)** -- This corporation became a government lending bank in 1932. It was designed to provide indirect assistance to insurance companies, banks, agricultural organizations, railroads, and even hard-pressed state and local governments. Passed under President Hoover, this marked a changed in his normal *laissez faire* outlook.

**Bonus Army** – This was a group of almost 20,000 World War I veterans who were hard-hit victims of the depression. They wanted what the government owed them for their services and "saving" democracy. They marched to Washington and set up public camps and erected shacks on vacant lots. They tried to intimidate Congress into paying them, but Hoover had them removed by the army, which shed a negative light on Hoover.

**Hoover-Stimson doctrine** -- This said that the United States would not recognize any territorial acquisitions that were taken over by force. This doctrine is related to Japanese aggression in Manchuria in 1931.

**Herbert Hoover** -- He was the head of the Food Administration during World War I. He became the Secretary of Commerce and encouraged businesses to regulate themselves. Hoover was a Republican known for his integrity when he won the election of 1928. He had to deal with the Great Crash of 1929, which caused the Great Depression. He signed the Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act. His belief in "rugged individualism" mostly kept him from giving people direct relief during the Great Depression.

# Chapter 33

## The Great Depression and the New Deal

### I. FDR: A Politician in a Wheelchair

- i. In 1932, voters still had not seen any economic improvement, and they wanted a new president.



- ii. President **Herbert Hoover** was nominated again without much vigor and true enthusiasm, and he campaigned saying that his policies prevented the **Great Depression** from being worse than it was.
  - iii. The Democrats nominated **Franklin Delano Roosevelt**, a tall, handsome man who was the fifth cousin of famous Theodore Roosevelt and had followed in his footsteps.
    - a. FDR was suave and conciliatory while TR was pugnacious and confrontational.
    - b. FDR had been stricken with polio in 1921, and during this time, his wife, **Eleanor**, became his political partner.
      - i. Eleanor was to become the most active First Lady ever.
    - c. Franklin also lost a friend in 1932 when he and **Al Smith** both sought the Democratic nomination.
- II. Presidential Hopefuls of 1932
- i. In the campaign, Roosevelt seized the opportunity to prove that he was not an invalid, and his campaign also featured an attack on Hoover's spending (ironically, he would spend even more during his term).
  - ii. The Democrats found expression in the airy tune "Happy Days Are Here Again," and clearly, the Democrats had the advantage in this race.
- III. The Humiliation of Hoover in 1932
- i. Hoover had been swept into the presidential office in 1928, but in 1932, he was swept *out* with equal force, as he was defeated 472 to 59.
  - ii. Noteworthy was the transition of the Black vote from the Republican to the Democratic Party.
  - iii. During the lame-duck period, Hoover tried to initiate some of Roosevelt's plans, but was met by stubbornness and resistance.
  - iv. Hooverites would later accuse FDR of letting the depression worsen so that he could emerge as an even more shining savior.
- IV. FDR and the **Three R's: Relief, Recovery, and Reform**
- i. On Inauguration Day, FDR asserted, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."
  - ii. He called for a nationwide bank holiday to eliminate paranoid bank withdrawals, and then he commenced with his Three R's.
  - iii. The Democratic-controlled Congress was willing to do as FDR said, and the first **Hundred Days** of FDR's administration were filled with more legislative activity than ever before.
    - a. Many of the New Deal Reforms had been adopted by European nations a decade before.
- V. Roosevelt Manages the Money
- i. The **Emergency Banking Relief Act** of 1933 was passed first. FDR declared a one week "**bank holiday**" just so everyone would calm down and stop running on the banks.
  - ii. Then, Roosevelt settled down for the first of his thirty famous "**Fireside Chats**" with America.
  - iii. The "**Hundred Days Congress**" passed the **Glass-Steagall Banking Reform Act**, that provided the **Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)** which insured individual deposits up to \$5000, thereby eliminating the epidemic of bank failure and restoring faith to banks.
  - iv. FDR then took the nation off of the gold standard and achieved controlled inflation by ordering Congress to buy gold at increasingly higher prices.
    - a. In February 1934, he announced that the U.S. would pay foreign gold at a rate of one ounce of gold per every \$35 due.
- VI. A Day for Every Demagogue
- i. Roosevelt had no qualms about using federal money to assist the unemployed, so he created the **Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)**, which provided employment in fresh-air government camps for about 3 million uniformed young men.
    - a. They reforested areas, fought fires, drained swamps, controlled floods, etc.
    - b. However, critics accused FDR of militarizing the youths and acting as dictator.
  - ii. The **Federal Emergency Relief Act** looked for immediate relief rather than long-term alleviation, and its **Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)** was headed by the zealous **Harry L. Hopkins**.
  - iii. The **Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)** made available many millions of dollars to help farmers meet their mortgages.
  - iv. The **Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC)** refinanced mortgages on non-farm homes and bolted down the loyalties of middle class, Democratic homeowners.
  - v. The **Civil Works Administration (CWA)** was established late in 1933, and it was designed to provide purely temporary jobs during the winter emergency.
    - a. Many of its tasks were rather frivolous (called "**boondoggling**") and were designed for the sole purpose of making jobs.

- vi. The New Deal had its commentators.
    1. One FDR spokesperson was **Father Charles Coughlin**, a Catholic priest in Michigan who at first was with FDR then disliked the **New Deal** and voiced his opinions on radio.
    2. Senator **Huey P. Long** of Louisiana was popular for his "**Share the Wealth**" program. Proposing "every man a king," each family was to receive \$5000, allegedly from the rich. The math of the plan was ludicrous.
      - i. His chief lieutenant was former clergyman Gerald L. K. Smith.
      - ii. He was later shot by a deranged medical doctor in 1935.
    3. **Dr. Francis E. Townsend** of California attracted the trusting support of perhaps 5 million "senior citizens" with his fantastic plan of each senior receiving \$200 month, provided that all of it would be spent within the month. Also, this was a mathematically silly plan.
  - vii. Congress also authorized the **Works Progress Administration (WPA)** in 1935, which put \$11 million on thousands of public buildings, bridges, and hard-surfaced roads and gave 9 million people jobs in its eight years of existence.
    - a. It also found part-time jobs for needy high school and college students and for actors, musicians, and writers.
    - b. **John Steinbeck** counted dogs (boondoggled) in his California home of Salinas county.
- VII. New Visibility for Women
- i. Ballots newly in hand, women struck up new roles.
  - ii. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt was the most visible, but other ladies shone as well: Sec. of Labor Frances Perkins was the first female cabinet member and Mary McLeod Bethune headed the Office of Minority Affairs in the NYA, the "Black Cabinet", and founded a Florida college.
  - iii. Anthropologist Ruth Benedict helped develop the "culture and personality movement" and her student Margaret Mead reached even greater heights with *Coming of Age in Samoa*.
  - iv. Pearl S. Buck wrote a beautiful and timeless novel, *The Good Earth*, about a simple Chinese farmer which earned her the Nobel Prize for literature in 1938.
- VIII. Helping Industry and Labor
- i. The **National Recovery Administration (NRA)**, by far the most complicated of the programs, was designed to assist industry, labor, and the unemployed.
    - a. There were maximum hours of labor, minimum wages, and more rights for labor union members, including the right to choose their *own* representatives in bargaining.
    - b. The Philadelphia Eagles were named after this act, which received much support and patriotism, but eventually, it was shot down by the Supreme Court.
      - i. Besides too much was expected of labor, industry, and the public.
  - ii. The **Public Works Administration (PWA)** also intended both for industrial recovery and for unemployment relief.
    - a. Headed by Secretary of the Interior **Harold L. Ickes**, it aimed at long-range recovery by spending over \$4 billion on some 34,000 projects that included public buildings, highways, and parkways (i.e. the **Grand Coulee Dam** of the Columbia River).
  - iii. One of the Hundred Days Congress's earliest acts was to legalize light wine and beer with an alcoholic content of 3.2% or less and also levied a \$5 tax on every barrel manufactured.
    - a. Prohibition was officially repealed with the **21<sup>st</sup> Amendment**.
- IX. Paying Farmers Not to Farm
- i. To help the farmers, which had been suffering ever since the end of World War I, Congress established the **Agricultural Adjustment Administration**, which paid farmers to reduce their crop acreage and would eliminate price-depressing surpluses.
    - a. However, it got off to a rocky start when it killed lots of pigs for no good reason, and paying farmers not to farm actually increased unemployment.
    - b. The Supreme Court killed it in 1936.
  - ii. The New Deal Congress also passed the **Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act** of 1936, which paid farmers to plant soil-conserving plants like soybeans or to let their land lie fallow.
  - iii. The **Second Agricultural Adjustment Act** of 1938 was a more comprehensive substitute that continued conservation payments but was accepted by the Supreme Court.
- X. Dust Bowls and Black Blizzards
- i. After the drought of 1933, furious winds whipped up dust into the air, turning parts of Missouri, Texas, Kansas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma into the **Dust Bowl** and forcing many farmers to migrate west to California and inspired Steinbeck's classic *The Grapes of Wrath*.

- a. The dust was very hazardous to the health and to living, creating further misery.
  - ii. The **Fazier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act**, passed in 1934, made possible a suspension of mortgage foreclosure for five years, but it was voided in 1935 by the Supreme Court.
  - iii. In 1935, FDR set up the **Resettlement Administration**, charged with the task of removing near-farmless farmers to better land.
  - iv. **Commissioner of Indian Affairs** was headed by **John Collier** who sought to reverse the forced-assimilation policies in place since the Dawes Act of 1887.
    - a. He promoted the **Indian Reorganization Act** of 1934 (the Indian "New Deal"), which encouraged tribes to preserve their culture and traditions.
    - b. Not all Indians liked it though, saying if they followed this "back-to-the-blanket" plan, they'd just become museum exhibits. 77 tribes refused to organize under its provisions (200 did).
- XI. Battling Bankers and Big Business
- i. The **Federal Securities Act** ("Truth in Securities Act") required promoters to transmit to the investor sworn information regarding the soundness of their stocks and bonds.
  - ii. The **Securities and Exchange Commission** (SEC) was designed as a stock watchdog administrative agency, and stock markets henceforth were to operate more as trading marts than as casinos.
  - iii. In 1932, Chicagoan **Samuel Insull's** multi-billion dollar financial empire had crashed, and such cases as his resulted in the **Public Utility Holding Company Act** of 1935.
- XII. The TVA Harnesses the Tennessee River
- i. The sprawling electric-power industry attracted the fire of New Deal reformers.
    - a. New Dealers accused it of gouging the public with excessive rates.
  - ii. Thus, the **Tennessee Valley Authority** (TVA) (1933) sought to discover exactly how much money it took to produce electricity and then keep rates reasonable.
    - a. It constructed dams on the Tennessee River and helped the 2.5 million extremely poor citizens of the area improve their lives and their conditions.
    - b. Hydroelectric power of Tennessee would give rise to that of the West.
- XIII. Housing Reform and Social Security
- i. To speed recovery and better homes, FDR set up the **Federal Housing Administration** (FHA) in 1934 to stimulate the building industry through small loans to householders.
    - a. It was one of the "alphabetical" agencies to outlast the age of Roosevelt.
  - ii. Congress bolstered the program in 1937 by authorizing the **U.S. Housing Authority** (USHA), designed to lend money to states or communities for low-cost construction.
    - a. This was the first time in American history that slum areas stopped growing.
  - iii. The **Social Security Act** of 1935 was the greatest victory for New Dealers, since it created pension and insurance for the old-aged, the blind, the physically handicapped, delinquent children, and other dependents by taxing employees and employers.
    - a. Republicans attacked this bitterly, as such government-knows-best programs and policies that were communist leaning and penalized the rich for their success. They also opposed the pioneer spirit of "rugged individualism."
- XIV. A New Deal for Labor
- i. A rash of walkouts occurred in the summer of 1934, and after the NRA was axed, the **Wagner Act** (AKA, National Labor Relations Act) of 1935 took its place. The Wagner Act guaranteed the right of unions to organize and to collectively bargain with management.
    - a. Under the encouragement of a highly sympathetic **National Labor Relations Board**, unskilled laborers began to organize themselves into effective unions, one of which was **John L. Lewis**, the boss of the **United Mine Workers** who also succeeded in forming the **Committee for Industrial Organization** (CIO) within the ranks of the AF of L in 1935.
    - b. The CIO later left the AF of L and won a victory against General Motors.
  - ii. The CIO also won a victory against the **United States Steel Company**, but smaller steel companies struck back, resulting in such incidences as the **Memorial Day Massacre** of 1937 at the plant of the Republic Steel Company of South Chicago in which police fired upon workers, leaving scores killed or injured.
  - iii. In 1938, the **Fair Labor Standards Act** (AKA the "**Wages and Hours Bill**") was passed, setting up minimum wage and maximum hours standards and forbidding children under the age of sixteen from working.
  - iv. Roosevelt enjoyed immense support from the labor unions.
  - v. In 1938, the CIO broke completely with the AF of L and renamed itself the **Congress of Industrial Organizations** (the new CIO).

XV. Landon Challenges "the Champ"

- i. The Republicans nominated Kansas Governor **Alfred M. Landon** to run against FDR.
  - a. Landon was weak on the radio and weaker in personal campaigning, and while he criticized FDR's spending, he also favored enough of FDR's New Deal to be ridiculed by the Democrats as an unsure idiot.
- ii. In 1934, the **American Liberty League** had been formed by conservative Democrats and wealthy Republicans to fight "socialistic" New Deal schemes.
- iii. Roosevelt won in a huge landslide, getting 523 electoral votes to Landon's 8.
- iv. FDR won primarily because he appealed to the "forgotten man," whom he never forgot.

XVI. Nine Old Men on the Bench

- i. The **20<sup>th</sup> Amendment** had cut the lame-duck period down to six weeks, so FDR began his second term on January 20, 1937, instead of on March 4.
- ii. He controlled Congress, but the Supreme Court kept blocking his programs, so he proposed a shocking plan that would add a member to the Supreme Court for every existing member over the age of 70, for a maximum possible total of 15 total members.
  - a. For once, Congress voted against him because it did not want to lose its power.
  - b. Roosevelt was ripped for trying to become a dictator.

XVII. The Court Changes Course

- i. FDR's "**court-packing scheme**" failed, but he did get some of the justices to start to vote his way, including **Owen J. Roberts**, formerly regarded as a conservative.
- ii. So, FDR did achieve his purpose of getting the Supreme Court to vote his way.
- iii. However, his failure of the court-packing scheme also showed how Americans still did not wish to tamper with the sacred justice system.

XVIII. Twilight of the New Deal

- i. During Roosevelt's first term, the depression did not disappear, and unemployment, down from 25% in 1932, was still at 15%.
  - a. In 1937, the economy took another brief downturn when the "Roosevelt Recession," caused by government policies.
  - b. Finally, FDR embraced the policies of British economist **John Maynard Keynes**.
    - i. In 1937, FDR announced a bold program to stimulate the economy by planned deficit spending.
- ii. In 1939, Congress relented to FDR's pressure and passed the **Reorganization Act**, which gave him limited powers for administrative reforms, including the key new Executive Office in the White House.
- iii. The **Hatch Act** of 1939 barred federal administrative officials, except the highest policy-making officers, from active political campaigning and soliciting.

XIX. New Deal or Raw Deal?

- i. Foes of the New Deal condemned its waste, citing that nothing had been accomplished.
- ii. Critics were shocked by the "try anything" attitude of FDR, who had increased the federal debt from \$19.487 million in 1932 to \$40.440 million in 1939.
- iii. It took **World War II**, though, to really lower unemployment. But, the war also created a heavier debt than before.

XX. FDR's Balance Sheet

- i. New Dealers claimed that the New Deal had alleviated the worst of the Great Depression.
- ii. FDR also deflected popular resentment against business and may have saved the American system of free enterprise, yet business tycoons hated him.
- iii. He provided bold reform without revolution.
- iv. Later, he would guide the nation through a titanic war in which the democracy of the world would be at stake.

## Chapter 33 Vocabulary

**Franklin D. Roosevelt** – FDR was governor of New York and the 5th cousin to Theodore Roosevelt. He came from a wealthy family and went to Harvard. He served as Secretary of the Navy, was suave and conciliatory. He was handicapped from polio then later came up with New Deal. FDR was elected as a Democratic president in 1932, then elected 3 more times (the only one to do so beyond 2). His accomplishment was in his dealings with Great Depression and WWII.

**Eleanor Roosevelt** – She was the wife of Franklin Roosevelt. She traveled everywhere with him on behalf of all his campaigns and became the most active First Lady in history. She fought for the rights of all Americans.

**Harry Hopkins** -- Hopkins headed the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). He was a friend and advisor to FDR. He was very involved in reforms in the Great Depression and in the 30's and 40's in such issues as unemployment and mortgages.

**Frances Perkins** – Perkins was the first woman appointed to a cabinet position. Appointed by FDR, she became Secretary of Labor. She received a lot of undeserved criticism from male politicians and businessmen.

**Father Coughlin** – Coughlin was an anti-New Deal Catholic priest on the radio. He began broadcasting in 1930 and was called the "microphone messiah" or "radio priest." His slogan was "Social Justice." He was silenced in 1942 when his broadcasts became too radical.

**Huey Long** – Long was nicknamed the "Kingfish" and was a flamboyant Senator from Louisiana. He pushed his "Share Our Wealth" program which would make "Every Man a King." Long planned to run against FDR in the 1936 elections, but he was assassinated.

**Francis Townsend** -- Townsend was a retired physician who developed a plan in which the government would give money to senior citizens aged sixty and over. This plan was a type of pension for older Americans. He had a lot of followers who people thought FDR wasn't doing enough. The mathematics of the plan were outlandish, however.

**Harold Ickes** – Ickes was called "Honest Harold" and was Secretary of the Interior. He became head of the Public Works Administration (PWA) which dealt with industrial recovery and unemployment relief by creating jobs (over 34,000 project jobs for workers). His determination to prevent waste prevented maximum relief.

**George W. Norris** -- He was a senator from Nebraska whose steadfast vision and zeal helped pass an act creating the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1933.

**John L. Lewis** -- John L. Lewis was the leader of the United Mine Workers. He also formed the CIO (Committee for Industrial Organization). He led a "sit-down" strike on General Motors at Flint, Michigan in 1936. Unionists from the Republic Steel Co. wanted to join the CIO, and a fight broke out in 1937.

**Memorial Day Massacre.** -- Lewis is responsible for the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Acts (AKA, "Wages and Hour Bill") which set minimum wage, overtime pay for work over 40 hours in one week, and said kids under age 16 could not work.

**Alfred M. Landon** -- Alfred M. Landon was the Republican candidate in 1936. This honest and wealthy man from Kansas lost greatly to the Democrat Franklin Roosevelt. He had stressed balancing the budget.

**Parity** – Parity was a plan to help farmers injured from low prices and over-production. From 1909-1914, farms had enjoyed a period of prosperity. Parity was the price placed on a product that gave it the same value, in buying power, that it had from 1909-1914. The AAA paid farmers to reduce production. The payment for this came from taxes obtained from the makers of expensive farm equipment.

**New Deal** -- After Franklin Roosevelt was inaugurated in 1933, he decided the U.S. must improve economically to recover from the Great Depression. His plan, the New Deal, focused on relief, recovery, and reform. Short term goals were relief and immediate recovery. Permanent recovery and reform were done by long-range goals. Programs were established to improve unemployment, regulate minimum wage, and reform many other social issues.

**Brain Trust(s)** – This was a small group of reform-minded intellectuals, mainly young college professors. It considered much of the New Deal legislation and worked as a kitchen cabinet for Franklin Roosevelt.

**The three R's** -- Roosevelt's New Deal programs aimed at the three R's - relief, recovery, and reform. Relief was immediate (food, shelter). Recovery was 1 to 2 years (to get out of the depression). Reform was for the future (to prevent the same occurrence). Roosevelt's plan was announced on March 4, 1933, to lift the burden of the Great Depression.

**Glass-Steagall Act** -- In 1933, this act allowed the banks to reopen and it gave the president the power to regulate banking transactions and foreign exchange.

**Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)** -- The CCC was created by the Unemployment Relief Act of 1933. It provided employment in government camps for 3 million uniformed single, young men during the Great Depression. The work they were involved with included reforestation, fire fighting, flood control, and swamp drainage.

**Works Progress Administration** -- Congress created the WPA in 1935 as an agency that gave jobs to people who needed them. They worked on bridges, roads, and government buildings. They spent 11 billion dollars and gave almost 9 million people jobs.

**National Recovery Act** -- During the Great Depression, this act was created in 1933 as a helping hand for industry, labor, and the unemployed. It granted labor additional benefits and guaranteed the right to organize through representatives of their own choosing. It was a part of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal plan, but was later declared unconstitutional. Its symbol was the "Blue Eagle" and its slogan was "We Do Our Part" since it encouraged cooperation between businesses rather than competition.

**Tennessee Valley Authority** – The TVA was the first government-owned corporation. It was started to create jobs and build dams in the Tennessee River Valley to supply electricity to poor areas.

**Social Security Act of 1935** – This law created a federal insurance program based on the automatic collection of taxes from employees and employers throughout people's working careers. They would receive this money in a monthly pension when they reached the age of 65. The unemployed, disabled, and mothers with dependent children would also receive this money.

**Wagner Act** – The Wagner Act was the same as the National Labor Relations Act (1935) and set up the National Labor Relations Board. It reasserted the right of labor to engage in self-organization and to bargain collectively.

**National Labor Relation Board** -- Created by the National Labor Relations Act, also known as the Wagner Act, it was created in the 1930's by Congressman Wagner who was sympathetic to labor unions. The National Labor Relation Board was an administrative board that gave laborers the rights of self-organization and collective bargaining.

**Congress of Industrial Organizations** -- Also known as the CIO, this labor union formed in the ranks of the AF of L. It consisted of unskilled workers. The AF of L got scared of their influence on workers and suspended all members of the CIO. In 1938 it broke with the AF of L. By 1940 it had 4 million members.

**Liberty League** -- The Liberty League consisted of the conservatives that opposed the New Deal introduced by FDR. Their common opinion was that FDR was pushing the United States too close to socialism. They saw the New Deal as being more apt to hurt United States economy than to help it.

**Twentieth and Twenty-first Amendments** -- The Twentieth Amendment changed the calendar of Congressional sessions and the date of the presidential inauguration to January 20th. In short, it shortened the length of lame duck presidents. The Twenty-first Amendment to the Constitution ended Prohibition and allowed the distribution and drinking of alcoholic beverages to commence once again.

**Court-packing scheme** -- Roosevelt tried to put 6 extra justices on the Supreme Court. These justices would be supporters of Roosevelt and there would be a maximum of 15 judges. The plan failed. Congress would not accept it as it would give FDR too much power.

# Chapter 34

## Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Shadow of War

- I. The London Conference
  - i. The 1933 **London Conference** composed 66 nations that came together to hopefully develop a worldwide solution to the **Great Depression**.
    - a. President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** at first agreed to send Secretary of State **Cordell Hull**, but then withdrew from that agreement and scolded the other nations for trying to stabilize currencies.
    - b. As a result, the conference adjourned accomplishing nothing, and furthermore strengthening American isolationism.
- II. Freedom for (from?) the Filipinos and Recognition for the Russians
  - i. With hard times, Americans were eager to do away with their liabilities in the Philippine Islands. And, American sugar producers wanted to get rid of the Filipino sugar producers due to the competition they created.
  - ii. In 1934, Congress passed the **Tydings-McDuffie Act**, stating that the Philippines would receive their independence after 12 years of economic and political tutelage, in 1946.
    - a. Army bases were relinquished, but naval bases were kept.
  - iii. Americans were freeing themselves of a liability and creeping into further isolationism. Meanwhile, militarists in Japan began to see that they could take over the Pacific easily without U.S. interference or resistance.
  - iv. In 1933, FDR finally formally recognized the **Soviet Union**, hoping that the U.S. could trade with the U.S.S.R., and that the Soviets would discourage German and Japanese aggression.
- III. Becoming a Good Neighbor
  - i. In terms of its relations with Latin America, the U.S. wanted to be a "good neighbor," showing that it was content as a regional power, not a world one.
  - ii. In 1933, FDR renounced armed intervention in Latin America at the **Seventh Pan-American Conference** in Montevideo, Uruguay, and the following year, U.S. marines left Haiti.
  - iii. The U.S. also lifted troops from Panama, but when Mexican forces seized Yankee oil properties, FDR found himself urged to take drastic action.
    - a. However, he resisted and worked out a peaceful deal.
    - b. His "good neighbor" policy was a great success, improving the U.S. image in Latin American eyes.
- IV. Secretary Hull's Reciprocal Trade Agreement
  - i. Secretary of State Hull believed that trade was a two-way street, and he had a part in Congress's passing of the **Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act** in 1934 which activated low-tariff policies while aiming at relief and recovery by boosting American trade.

- a. This act whittled down the most objectionable schedules of the **Hawley-Smoot** law by amending them, lowering rates by as much as half, provided that the other country would do the same toward the United States.
  - ii. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act reversed the traditional high-tariff policy that had damaged America before and paved the way for the American-led free-trade international economic system that was implemented after **World War II**.
- V. Storm-Cellar Isolationism
- i. After **World War I**, many dictatorships sprang up, including **Joseph Stalin** of the Soviet Union, **Benito Mussolini** of Italy, and **Adolph Hitler** of Germany.
    - a. Of the three, Hitler was the most dangerous, because he was a great orator and persuader who led the German people to believe his "big lie," making them think that he could lead the country back to greatness and out of this time of poverty and depression.
  - ii. In 1936, Nazi Hitler and Fascist Mussolini allied themselves in the **Rome-Berlin Axis**.
  - iii. Japan slowly began gaining strength, refusing to cooperate with the world and quickly arming itself by ending the **Washington Naval Treaty** in 1934 and walking out of the London Conference.
  - iv. In 1935, Mussolini attacked Ethiopia, conquering it, but the **League of Nations** failed to take effective action against the aggressors.
  - v. America continued to hide behind the shell of isolationism, believing that everything would stay good if the U.S. wasn't drawn into any international embroilments.
    - a. The 1934 **Johnson Debt Default Act** forbade any countries that still owed the U.S. money from borrowing any more cash.
  - vi. In 1936, a group of Princeton University students began to agitate for a bonus to be paid to the **Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFWs)** while the prospective front-liners were still alive.
- VI. Congress Legislates Neutrality
- i. The 1934 **Nye Committee** was formed to investigate whether or not munitions manufacturers were pro-war, existing for the sole purpose of making more money and profits, as the press blamed such producers for dragging America into the First World War.
  - ii. To prevent America from being sucked into war, Congress passed the **Neutrality Acts** in 1935-37, acts which stated that when the president proclaimed the existence of a foreign war, certain restrictions would automatically go into effect: no American could legally sail on a belligerent ship or sell or transport munitions to a belligerent, or make loans to a belligerent.
    - a. The flaw with these acts was that they were designed to prevent America from being pulled into a war like World War I, but World War II would prove to be different.
- VII. America Doooms Loyalist Spain
- i. During the **Spanish Civil War** (1936-39), Spanish rebels led by the fascist General **Francisco Franco** rose up against the leftist-leaning republican government.
    - a. In order to stay out of the war, the U.S. put an embargo on both the loyalist government, which was supported by the USSR, and the rebels, which were aided by Hitler and Mussolini.
    - b. During the Civil War, the U.S. just stood by while Franco smothered the democratic government. America also failed to build up its fleet, since most people believed that huge fleets led to huge wars.
      - i. It was not until 1938 that Congress passed a billion-dollar naval construction act, but then it was too little, too late.
- VIII. Appeasing Japan and Germany
- i. In 1937, Japan essentially invaded China, but FDR didn't call this combat "a war," thus allowing the Chinese to still get arms from the U.S., and in Chicago of that year, he merely verbally chastised the aggressors, calling for "a quarantine" of Japan (through economic embargoes, perhaps); this was his famous "**Quarantine Speech**."
    - a. The Quarantine Speech asked for America to stay neutral but to morally side against the fascist nations.
    - b. However, this speech angered many isolationists, and FDR backed down a bit from any more direct actions.
  - ii. In December 1937, the Japanese bombed and sank the American gunboat, the **Panay**, but then made the necessary apologies, "saving" America from entering war.
    - a. To vent their frustration, the Japanese resorted to humiliating white civilians in China through slappings and strippings.
    - b. The Panay incident further supports America's determination to stay neutral.

- iii. Meanwhile, Hitler was growing bolder and bolder after being allowed to introduce mandatory military service in Germany, take over the German Rhineland, persecute and exterminate about six million Jews, and occupy Austria—all because the European powers were appeasing him.
  - a. They naively hoped that each conquest of Germany would be the last.
- iv. However, Hitler didn't stop, and at the September 1938 **Munich Conference**, the Allies agreed to let Hitler have the **Sudetenland** of neighboring Czechoslovakia, but six months later, in 1939, Hitler pulled the last straw and took over *all* of Czechoslovakia.
  - a. British Prime Minister **Neville Chamberlain** returned to England and gave his infamous claim that he'd achieved "peace in our time"—true, but it proved to be a short time.

#### IX. Hitler's Belligerency and U.S. Neutrality

- i. On August 23, 1939, the U.S.S.R. shocked the world by signing a nonaggression treaty with Germany.
  - a. Now, it seemed that Germany could engulf all of Europe, especially without having to worry about fighting a two-front war in case Russia fought back.
  - b. In essence, the nonaggression pact opened the door to Poland.
- ii. In 1939, Hitler invaded Poland, and France and Britain finally declared war against Germany, but America refused to enter the war, its citizens not wanting to be "suckers" again.
  - a. Americans were anti-Hitler and anti-Nazi and wanted Britain and France to win, but they would not permit themselves to be dragged into fighting and bloodshed.
- iii. European powers needed American supplies, but the previous Neutrality Acts forbade the sale of arms to nations in war, so a new Neutrality Act of 1939 allowed European nations to buy war materials, but only on a "**cash-and-carry**" basis, which meant Europeans had to provide their own ships and pay for the arms in cash.
  - a. Since the British and French controlled the seas, the Germans couldn't buy arms from America, as it was intended.

#### X. The Fall of France

- i. After the fall of Poland, Hitler positioned his forces to attack France which led to a lull in the war (so that men could move) that was pierced only by the Soviet Union's attack and conquering of Finland, despite \$30 million from the U.S. (for *nonmilitary* reasons).
- ii. Then, in 1940, the "phony war" ended when Hitler overran Denmark and Norway, and then took over the Netherlands and Belgium.
  - a. Blitzing without mercy, he then struck a paralyzing blow toward France, which was forced to surrender by late June of that year.
  - b. The fall of France was shocking, because now, all that stood between Hitler and the world was Britain: if the English lost, Hitler would have all of Europe in which to operate, and he might take over the Americas as well.
- iii. Finally, Roosevelt moved and called for the nation to massively build up its armed forces, with expenses totaling more than \$37 million. He also had Congress pass the first peacetime draft in U.S. history on September 6, 1940.
  - a. 1.2 million troops and 800,000 reserves would be trained.
- iv. At the **Havana Conference**, the U.S. warned Germany that it could not take over orphan colonies in the Americas, as such action wouldn't be tolerated.

#### XI. Bolstering Britain with the Destroyer Deal (1940)

- i. Now, with Britain the only power fighting against Germany, FDR had to decide whether to remain totally neutral or to help Britain.
  - a. Hitler launched air attacks against the British in August 1940 and prepared an invasion scheduled to start a month later, but the tenacious defense of the British Royal Air Force stopped him in the aerial **Battle of Britain**.
- ii. Those who supported helping Britain formed the **Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies**, while those for isolationism (including **Charles A. Lindbergh**) were in the **America First Committee**, and both groups campaigned and advertised for their respective positions.
- iii. Britain was in dire need for destroyers, and on September 2, 1940, FDR boldly moved to transfer 50 old-model, four-funnel destroyers left over from WWI, and in return, the British promised to give the U.S. eight valuable defensive base sites stretching from Newfoundland to South America.
  - a. These would stay in American ownership for 99 years.
  - b. Obviously, this caused controversy, but FDR had begun to stop playing the silly old games of isolationism and was slowly starting to step out into the spotlight.

#### XII. FDR Shatters the Two-Term Tradition (1940)



- i. In 1940, it was thought that **Robert A. Taft** of Ohio or **Thomas E. Dewey** would be the Republican candidate, but a colorful and magnetic newcomer went from a nobody to a candidate in a matter of weeks. **Wendell L. Willkie**, became the Republican against Democratic candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt, who waited until the last moment to challenge the two-term tradition.
          - a. Democrats felt that FDR was the only man qualified to be president, especially in so grave of a situation as was going on.
        - ii. Willkie and FDR weren't really different in the realm of foreign affairs, but Willkie hit hard with his attacks on the third term.
        - iii. Still, FDR won because voters felt that, should war come, FDR was the best man to lead America.
- XIII. Congress Passes the Landmark **Lend-Lease Law**
  - i. Britain was running out of money, but Roosevelt didn't want all the hassles that came with calling back debts, so he came up with the idea of a lend-lease program in which the arms and ships, etc. that the U.S. lent to the nations that needed them would be returned when they were no longer needed.
    - a. Senator Taft retorted that in this case the U.S. wouldn't want them back because it would be like lending chewing gum then taking it back after it'd been chewed.
  - ii. The lend-lease bill was argued over heatedly in Congress, but it passed, and by war's end, America had sent about \$50 billion worth of arms and equipment.
    - a. The lend-lease act was basically the abandonment of the neutrality policy, and Hitler recognized this.
    - b. Before, German submarines had avoided attacking U.S. ships, but after the passage, they started to fire upon U.S. ships as well, such as the May 21, 1941 torpedoing of the *Robin Moor*.
- XIV. Hitler's Assault on the Soviet Union Spawns the Atlantic Charter
  - i. On June 22, 1941, Hitler attacked Russia, because ever since the signing of the nonaggression pact, neither Stalin nor Hitler had trusted each other, and both had been plotting to double-cross each other.
    - a. Hitler assumed his invincible troops would crush the inferior Soviet soldiers, but the valor of the Red army, U.S. aid to the U.S.S.R. (through lend-lease), and an early and bitter winter stranded the German force at Moscow and shifted the tide against Germany.
  - ii. The **Atlantic Conference** was held in August 1941, and the result was the eight-point **Atlantic Charter**, which was suggestive of **Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points**. Main points included...
    - a. There would be no territorial changes contrary to the wishes of the natives.
    - b. The charter also affirmed the right for people to choose their rulers (self-determination).
    - c. It declared disarmament and a peace of security, as well as a new League of Nations.
  - iii. Critics charged that “neutral America” was interfering, ignoring that America was no longer neutral.
- XV. U.S. Destroyers and Hitler's U-Boats Clash
  - i. To ensure that arms sent to Britain would reach there, FDR finally agreed that a convoy would have to escort them, but only as far as Iceland, as Britain would take over from there.
  - ii. There were clashes, as U.S. destroyers like the *Greer*, the *Kearny*, and the *Reuben James* were attacked by the Germans.
  - iii. By mid-November 1941, Congress annulled the now-useless Neutrality Act of 1939.
- XVI. Surprise Assault at Pearl Harbor
  - i. Japan was still embroiled in war with China, but when America suddenly imposed embargoes on key supplies on Japan in 1940, the imperialistic nation had now no choice but to either back off of China or attack the U.S.; they chose the latter.
  - ii. The Americans had broken the Japanese code and knew that they would declare war soon, but the U.S. could not attack, so based on what the Japanese supposedly planned, most Americans thought that the Japanese would attack **British Malaya** or the **Philippines**.
  - iii. However, the paralyzing blow struck **Pearl Harbor**, as on December 7, 1941, Japanese air bombers suddenly attacked the naval base located there (where almost the entire U.S. fleet was located), wiping out many ships and killing or wounding 3,000 men.
  - iv. The next day, the one after “a date which will live in infamy” (FDR), the U.S. declared war on Japan, and on December 11, 1941, Germany and Italy declared war on the U.S.
- XVII. America's Transformation from Bystander to Belligerent

- i. Up until the day of the Pearl Harbor attack, most Americans still wanted to stay out of war, but afterwards the event sparked such passion that it completely infuriated Americans into wanting to go to war.
- ii. This had been long in coming, as the U.S. had wanted to stay out of war, but had still supported Britain more and more, and the U.S. had been against the Japanese aggression but had failed to take a firm stand on either side.
- iii. Finally, people decided that appeasement didn't work against "iron wolves," and that only full war was needed to keep the world safe for democracy and against anarchy and dictatorship.

## Chapter 34 Vocabulary

**Adolf Hitler** – Hitler was a very crude leader that took advantage of a disillusioned and depression-stricken nation. After the Treaty of Versailles which blamed Germany for WWI, Hitler led the nation into WWII under the "big lie" (the broken promise that he wouldn't attack again, he did, in Poland). He was a manipulative and feared dictator that vented his anger on the Jewish nation. He saw everything through eyes of racism, with Germans at the top.

**Nuremberg Trials** -- After WWII, the Allied forces agreed that Nazism had to be cut out of Germany. They tried twenty-two Nazi war criminals in Nuremberg, Germany in 1945-1946. Twelve of the tried were hanged, and seven sent to jail.

**Cordell Hull** – Hull was Secretary of State during FDR's presidency. He believed in the reciprocal trade policy of the New Dealers, as well as a low tariff. He led to passage of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934. He also believed in the Good Neighbor policy with Latin America.

**Joseph Stalin** – Stalin was a harsh and strict communist dictator of Russia. He was one of the three big powers during WWII along with Roosevelt from the U.S. and Churchill from Great Britain.

**Benito Mussolini** -- Mussolini was the fascist dictator of Italy. He sought to create a new empire, supposedly modeled after the Roman one. He became an ally with Adolf Hitler in the Rome-Berlin Axis, and led his forces against the Allied powers in WWII. He was overthrown and beheaded in 1943, after the fall of Sicily during the war.

**Francisco Franco** -- With the help of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, Franco overthrew the Loyalist regime and became the dictator of Spain in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939.

**Winston Churchill** -- He was the prime minister of England during World War II. He was known as the bulldog-jawed orator who gave his people the nerve to fight off the air bombings occurring in their cities. He was in favor of the eight point Atlantic Charter. He was also one of the Big Three.

**Charles Lindbergh** -- In 1927, he was the first person to fly solo across the Atlantic Ocean in his plane, the Spirit of St. Louis. He later became an ambassador of goodwill for the United States.

**Wendell Willkie** – Willkie was the Republican presidential candidate versus Roosevelt in the election of 1940. He lost, but put up a good race.

**Reciprocity** – This was the policy between two countries or institutions where the licenses or privileges of one were recognized by the other. Part of the New Deal trade policy was to reduce tariffs to encourage trade. The idea was that if we reduce tariffs, other countries will do likewise and both will benefit.

**Totalitarianism** – This was a type of government where the government has complete control and the people are powerless.

**Isolationism** – Isolationism was the opposition of the involvement of a country in international alliances, agreements, etc. The U.S. remained isolated in the 1920's because of the disillusionment in WWI. This isolationist sentiment helped allow the fascist nations to gain control.

**Good Neighbor Policy** -- This was established by Herbert Hoover to create good relations with Latin America. It took much of the American military out of these countries. It also nullified the Roosevelt Corollary.

**Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act** -- (1934) The act was designed to raise American exports and was aimed at both relief and recovery. Led by Cordell Hull, it helped reverse the high-tariff policy.

**Nazi Party** -- The Nazi Party was established in Germany with much of the same beliefs as the fascists of Italy. Nazis believed that the state was more important than the individual and that there should be a strong central government with absolute power. Adolph Hitler was known for leading the Nazi Party. Hitler was also credited with taking the fascist beliefs a step further and adding racism into the beliefs. Nazis believed that white people with blonde hair and blue eyes made up a superior race of humans that would one day rule the world. Nazis supported the execution of so called "inferior" races such as Jews, Slavs, and other non-white ethnic groups. The Nazi party was supported by mainly conservative business leaders and consisted of two armies which were the Sturmabteilung and the Schutzstaffel.

**Rome-Berlin Axis** -- In 1936 Hitler and Mussolini allied together in the Rome-Berlin Axis. They were both allied with Japan. They fought against the Allies in World War II.

**Nye Committee** -- The Nye Committee investigated arms manufacturers and bankers of World War I. It claimed they had caused America's entry into WWI. Public opinion pushed Congress to pass the Neutrality Acts to keep us out of WWII.

**Neutrality Acts** -- Congress made an effort to legislate the nation out of war. The Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, and 1937 stipulated that when the president proclaimed the existence of a foreign war, certain restrictions would automatically go into

effect. No American could legally sail on a belligerent ship, or sell or transport munitions to a belligerent nation, or make loans to a belligerent.

**Russo-German Nonaggression Pact** -- This pact was signed by Hitler and Stalin on August 23, 1939. It allowed Hitler to attack Poland without fear of an attack from Russia. This pact helped spur the start of World War II. Hitler later broke this pact and attacked Russia anyway.

**"cash and carry"** -- This was the only way that Europe could buy American war materials in World War II. They would have to transport the munitions in their own ships and they could only purchase the munitions with cash.

**"Phony war"** -- During World War II, Hitler removed his forces from Poland to focus his efforts in France and Britain. All of Europe fell rather silent at the shock of Hitler's move. This silence and period of inactivity in Europe came to an end when Hitler again moved his forces, and attacked the weaker Norway and Denmark. The period of silence in Europe was known as the phony war.

**America First Committee** -- This was a committee organized by isolationists before WWII, who wished to spare American lives. They wanted to protect America before we went to war in another country. Charles A. Lindbergh was its most effective speaker.

**Lend-Lease Act** -- This was a law passed in March of 1941 by sweeping majorities in both houses of Congress. This law said that the U.S. would lend or lease weapons to overseas countries and victims of aggression who would in turn finish the job of the fighting, and keep the war overseas and thus the U.S. would not have to enter.

**Atlantic Charter** -- This was created by Winston Churchill and President Franklin D. Roosevelt in a secret conference. It outlined the hopes of the democracies and their intentions for improvements after World War II. It reflected the ideals of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points of WWI.

# Chapter 35

## America in World War II

### I. The Allies Trade Space for Time

- i. When Japan attacked the United States at **Pearl Harbor**, millions of infuriated Americans, especially on the west coast, instantly changed their views from isolationist to avenger.
- ii. However, America, led by the wise **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, resisted such pressures, instead taking a "get Germany first" approach to the war, for if Germany were to defeat Britain before the Allies could beat Japan, there would be no stopping Hitler and his men.
  - a. Meanwhile, *just enough* troops would be sent to fight Japan to keep it in check.
- iii. America had the hardship of preparing for war, since it had been in isolation for the preceding decades, and the test would be whether or not it could mobilize quickly enough to stop Germany and make the world safe for democracy (again).

### II. The Shock of War

- i. After the attack at Pearl Harbor, national unity was strong as steel, and the few Hitler supporters in America faded away.
- ii. Most of America's ethnic groups assimilated even faster due to WWII, since in the decades before the war, few immigrants had been allowed into America.
  - a. Unfortunately, on the Pacific coast, 110,000 **Japanese-Americans** were taken from their homes and herded into internment camps where their properties and freedoms were taken away.
  - b. The 1944 case of **Korematsu v. U.S.** affirmed the constitutionality of these camps.
    - i. It took more than 40 years before the U.S. admitted fault and made \$20,000 reparation payments to camp survivors.
- iii. With the war, many **New Deal** programs were wiped out, such as the **Civilian Conservation Corps**, the **Works Progress Administration**, and the **National Youth Administration**.
- iv. WWII was no idealistic crusade, as most Americans didn't even know what the **Atlantic Charter** (declaration of U.S. goals going into the war such as to fight Germany first, and Japan second) was.

### III. Building the War Machine

- i. Massive military orders (over \$100 billion in 1942 alone) ended the **Great Depression** by creating demand for jobs and production.
- ii. Shipbuilder **Henry J. Kaiser** was dubbed "Sir Lauchalot" because his methods of ship assembly churned out one ship every 14 days!

- iii. The **War Production Board** halted manufacture of nonessential items such as passenger cars, and when the Japanese seized vital rubber supplies in British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies, the U.S. imposed a national speed limit and gasoline rationing to save tires.
- iv. Farmers rolled out more food, but the new sudden spurt in production made prices soar—a problem that was finally solved by the regulation of prices by the **Office of Price Administration**.
- v. Many essential goods were rationed.
- vi. Meanwhile labor unions pledged not to strike during the war, some did anyway.
  - a. The **United Mine Workers** was one such group and was led by **John L. Lewis**.
  - b. In June 1943, Congress passed the **Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act**, which let the federal government seize and operate industries threatened by or under strikes.
  - c. Fortunately, strikes accounted for less than 1% of total working hours of the U.S. wartime laboring force.

#### IV. Manpower and Womanpower

- i. The armed forces had nearly 15 million men and 216,000 women, and some of these “women in arms” included the **WAACS** (Army), the **WAVES** (Navy), and **SPARS** (Coast Guard).
- ii. Because of the national draft that plucked men (and women) from their homes and into the military, there weren’t enough workers, so the **Bracero Program** brought Mexican workers to America as resident workers.
- iii. With the men in the military, women took up jobs in the workplace, symbolized by “**Rosie the Riveter**,” and upon war’s end, many did not return to their homes as in **World War I**.
  - a. It must be noted that the female revolution into the work force was not as great as commonly exaggerated. At the end of the war, 2/3 of the women *did* return home; the servicemen that came home to them helped produce a **baby boom** that is still being felt today.

#### V. Wartime Migrations

- i. The war also forced many people to move to new places, and many young folks went to and saw new cities far from home.
- ii. FDR used the war as an excuse to pump lots of money into the stagnant South to revitalize it, helping to start the blossoming of the “**Sunbelt**.”
  - a. Still, some 1.6 million blacks left the South for better places, and explosive tensions developed over black housing, employment, and segregation facilities.
- iii. **Philip Randolph**, leader of the **Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters**, threatened a “Negro March to Washington” in 1941 to get better rights and treatment.
- iv. The president also established the **Fair Employment Practices Commission** to discourage racism and oppression in the workplace, and while Blacks in the army still suffered degrading discrimination (i.e. separate blood banks), they still used the war as a rallying cry against dictators abroad and racism at home—overall gaining power and strength.
  - a. Membership to the **NAACP** passed the half-million mark, and a new organization, the **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)**, was founded in 1942.
- v. In 1944, the mechanical cotton picker made the need for muscle nonexistent, so blacks that used to pick cotton could now leave, since they were no longer needed.
  - a. They left the South and took up residence in urban areas.
- vi. Native Americans also left their reservations during the war, finding work in the cities or joining the army.
  - a. Some 25,000 Native Americans were in the army, and the Navajo and Comanches were “code talkers,” relaying military orders in the own language—a “code” that was never broken by the **Axis Powers**.
- vii. Such sudden “rubbing of the races” did spark riots and cause tension, such as the 1943 attack on some Mexican-American navy men in Los Angeles and the Detroit race riot (occurring in the same year) that killed 25 blacks and 9 whites.

#### VI. Holding the Home Front

- i. America was the only country to emerge after the war relatively unscathed, and in fact, it was much better off after the war than before.
  - a. The gross national product more than doubled, as did corporate profits.
  - b. In fact, when the war ended and price controls were lifted, inflation shot up.
- ii. Despite all of the New Deal programs, it was the plethora of spending during WWII that lifted America from its Great Depression.
  - a. The wartime bill amounted to more than \$330 billion—more than the *combined* costs of all the previous American wars together.

- b. While income tax was expanded to make four times as many people pay as before, most of the payments were borrowed, making the national debt soar from \$49 billion to \$259 billion (the war had cost as much as \$10 million per hour at one point).

#### VII. The Rising Sun in the Pacific

- i. The Japanese overran the lands that they descended upon, winning more land with less losses than ever before and conquering Guam, Wake, the Philippines, Hong Kong, British Malaya, Burma (in the process cutting the famed Burma Road), the Dutch East Indies, and even pushing into China.
- ii. When the Japanese took over the Philippines, U.S. General **Douglas MacArthur** had to sneak out of the place, but he vowed to return to liberate the islands; he went to Australia.
- iii. After the fighters in the Philippines surrendered, they were forced to make the infamous 85-mile **Bataan death march**.
  - a. On May 6, 1942, the island fortress of Corregidor, in Manila Harbor, surrendered.

#### VIII. Japan's High Tide at Midway

- i. The Japanese onrush was finally checked in the **Coral Sea** by American and Australian forces in the world's 1<sup>st</sup> naval battle where the ships never saw one another (they fought with aircraft via carriers). And, when the Japanese tried to seize **Midway Island**, they were forced back by U.S. Admiral **Chester W. Nimitz** during fierce fighting from June 3-6, 1942.
  - a. Midway proved to be the turning point that stopped Japanese expansion.
  - b. Admiral **Raymond A. Spruance** also helped maneuver the fleet to win, and this victory marked the turning point in the war in the Pacific.
  - c. No longer would the Japanese take any more land, as the U.S. began a process called "**island hopping**," where the Allies would bypass heavily fortified islands, take over neighboring islands, and starve the resistant forces to death with lack of supplies and constant bombing saturation, to push back the Japanese.
- ii. Also, the Japanese had taken over some islands in the Alaskan chain, the Aleutians.

#### IX. American Leapfrogging Toward Tokyo

- i. Americans won at Guadalcanal in August 1942 and then got New Guinea by August 1944.
- ii. By island hopping, the U.S. also retook the Aleutian Islands of Attu and Kiska in August of 1943, and in November of that year, "bloody Tarawa" and Makin, members of the Gilbert Islands, fell to the Allies.
- iii. American sailors shelled the beachheads with artillery, U.S. Marines stormed ashore, and American bombers attacked the Japanese, such as **Lt. Robert J. Albert** who piloted a B-24 "Liberator" on 36 missions including his final run before returning home. That mission was a record 18 hour and 25 minute strike that he piloted, even though his tour of duty was complete, just so his men would not fly behind a rookie pilot.
- iv. In January and February of 1944, the Marshall Islands fell to the U.S.
- v. The assault on the Marianas (including Guam) began on June 19, 1944, and with superior planes such as the "Hellcat" fighter and a U.S. victory the next day in the Battle of the Philippine Sea, the U.S. rolled on, taking the islands and beginning around-the-clock bombing raids over Tokyo and other parts of mainland Japan.

#### X. The Allied Halting of Hitler

- i. The U.S. also at first had trouble against Germany, as its U-boats proved very effective, but the breaking of the Germans' "**enigma**" code helped pinpoint those subs better.
  - a. It wasn't until war's end that the true threat of the German submarines was known, as it was discovered that Hitler had been about to unleash a new U-boat that could remain underwater indefinitely and cruise at 17 knots underwater.
- ii. In May 1942, the British launched a massive raid on Cologne, France, and in August, the U.S. air corps joined them.
  - a. The Germans, led by the "Desert Fox" Marshall **Edwin Rommel**, drove to Egypt, dangerously close to the Suez Canal, but late in October 1942, British General **Bernard Montgomery** defeated him at **El Alamein**, west of Cairo.
- iii. On the Soviet front, the Russians launched a new, blistering counteroffensive, regaining about 2/3 of the land they had lost before a year later.

#### XI. A Second Front from North Africa to Rome

- i. The Soviets had begged the Allies to open up a second front against Hitler, since Soviet forces were dying by the millions (20 million by war's end), and the Americans were eager to comply, but the British, remembering WWI, were reluctant.

- a. Instead of a frontal European assault, the British devised an invasion through North Africa, so that the Allies could cut Hitler's forces through the "**soft underbelly**" of the Mediterranean Sea.
  - ii. Thus, a secret attack was coordinated and executed by **Dwight D. Eisenhower** as they defeated the French troops, but upon meeting the real German soldiers, Americans were set back at Kasserine Pass.
    - a. This soft underbelly campaign wasn't really successful, as the underbelly wasn't as soft as Churchill had guessed, but important lessons were learned.
  - iii. At the **Casablanca Conference**, Franklin Roosevelt and **Winston Churchill** met and agreed on the term of "unconditional surrender."
  - iv. The Allies found bitter resistance in Italy, as Sicily fell in August 1943 after bitter resistance.
    - a. Italian dictator **Mussolini** was deposed, and a new government was set up.
      - i. Two years later, he and his mistress were lynched and killed.
    - b. Germany didn't leave Italy, though, and for many months, more fighting and stalemates occurred, especially at Monte Cassino, where Germans were holed up.
  - v. The Allies finally took Rome on June 4, 1944, and it wasn't until May 2, 1945, that Axis troops in Italy finally surrendered.
  - vi. Though long and tiring, the Italian invasion *did* open up Europe, divert some of Hitler's men from the Soviet front, and helping cause Italy to fall.
- XII. D-Day: June 6, 1944
- i. At the **Tehran Conference**, the Big Three (Wilson, Churchill, and **Josef Stalin**, leader of Russia) met and agreed that the Soviets and Allies would launch simultaneous attacks.
  - ii. The Allies began plans for a gigantic cross-channel invasion, and command of the whole operation was entrusted to General Eisenhower.
    - a. Meanwhile, MacArthur received a fake army to use as a ruse to Germany.
  - iii. The point of attack was **French Normandy**, and on June 6, 1944, **D-Day** began—the amphibious assault on Normandy. After heavy resistance, Allied troops, some led by General **George S. Patton**, finally clawed their way onto land, across the landscape, and deeper into France.
    - a. With the help of the "French underground," Paris was freed in August of 1944.
- XIII. FDR: The Fourth-Termite of 1944
- i. Republicans nominated **Thomas E. Dewey**, a young, liberal governor of New York, and paired him with isolationist **John W. Bricker** of Ohio.
  - ii. FDR was the Democratic lock, but because of his age, the vice presidential candidate was carefully chosen to be **Harry S. Truman**, who won out over **Henry A. Wallace**—an ill-balanced and unpredictable liberal.
- XIV. Roosevelt Defeats Dewey
- i. Dewey went on a rampaging campaign offensive while FDR, stuck with WWII problems, could not go out much.
    1. The new **Political Action Committee of the CIO** contributed considerable money. It was organized to get around the law banning direct use of union funds for political purposes.
  - ii. In the end, Roosevelt stomped Dewey, 432 to 99, the fourth term issue wasn't even that big of a deal, since the precedent had already been broken three years before.
  - iii. FDR won because the war was going well, and because people wanted to stick with him.
- XV. The Last Days of Hitler
- i. On the retreat and losing, Hitler concentrated his forces and threw them in the Ardennes forest on December 16, 1944, starting the **Battle of "the Bulge."** He nearly succeeded in his gamble, but the ten-day penetration was finally stopped by the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division that had stood firm at the vital bastion of Bastogne, which was commanded by Brigadier General **A.C. McAuliffe**.
  - ii. In March 1945, the Americans reached the **Rhine River** of Germany, and then pushed toward the river **Elbe**, and from there, joining Soviet troops, they marched toward Berlin.
  - iii. Upon entering Germany, the Allies were horrified to find the concentration camps where millions of Jews and other "undesirables" had been slaughtered in attempted genocide.
    - a. Adolph Hitler, knowing that he had lost, committed suicide in his bunker on April 30, 1945.
  - iv. Meanwhile, in America, FDR had died from a massive cerebral hemorrhage on April 12, 1945.
  - v. May 7, 1945 was the date of the official German surrender, and the next day was officially proclaimed **V-E Day** (Victory in Europe Day).
- XVI. Japan Dies Hard
- i. American submarines were ruining Japan's fleet, and attacks such as the March 9-10, 1945 firebomb raid on Tokyo that killed over 83,000 people were wearing Japan out.

- ii. On October 20, 1944, General MacArthur finally "returned" to the Philippines.
    - a. However, he didn't retake Manila until March 1945.
  - iii. The last great naval battle at Leyte Gulf was lost by Japan, terminating its sea power status.
  - iv. In March 1945, Iwo Jima was captured; this 25-day assault left over 4,000 Americans dead.
  - v. Okinawa was won after fighting from April to June of 1945, and was captured at the cost of 50,000 American lives.
    1. Japanese "kamikaze" suicide pilots, for the sake of their god-emperor, unleashed the full fury of their terror at Okinawa in a last-ditch effort.
- XVII. The Atomic Bombs
- i. At the **Potsdam Conference**, the Allies issued an ultimatum: surrender or be destroyed.
  - ii. The first **atomic bomb** had been tested on July 16, 1945, near **Alamogordo, New Mexico**, and when Japan refused to surrender, Americans dropped A-bombs onto **Hiroshima** (on August 6, 1945), killing 180,000 and **Nagasaki** (on August 9, 1945), killing 80,000.
  - iii. On August 8, 1945, the Soviets declared war on Japan, just as promised, and two days later, on August 10, Japan sued for peace on one condition: that the **Emperor Hirohito** be allowed to remain on the Japanese throne.
    - a. Despite the "unconditional surrender" clause, the Allies accepted.
  - iv. The formal end came on September 2, 1945, on the battleship **U.S.S. Missouri** where Hirohito surrendered to General MacArthur.
- XVIII. The Allies Triumphant
- i. America suffered 1 million casualties, but the number killed by disease and infections was very low thanks to new miracle drugs like **penicillin**. But otherwise the U.S. had suffered little losses (two Japanese attacks on California and Oregon that were rather harmless).
  - ii. This was America's best-fought war, despite the fact that the U.S. began preparing later than usual.
  - iii. The success was partly thanks to the excellent U.S. generals and admirals, and the leaders.
  - iv. Industry also rose to the challenge, putting out a phenomenal amount of goods, proving wrong **Hermann Goering**, a Nazi leader who had scorned America's lack of manufacturing skills.

## Chapter 35 Vocabulary

**A. Philip Randolph** -- He was the black leader of The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He demanded equal opportunities in war jobs and armed forces during WWII.

**Chester Nimitz** -- Nimitz served as an Admiral in the Battle of Midway in 1942. He commanded the American fleet in the Pacific Ocean and learned the Japanese plans through "magic" decoding of their radio messages. With this intercepted information, Nimitz headed the Japanese offensive at Midway and then through the Pacific to Japan.

**Dwight D. Eisenhower** -- He was the U. S. general who led the attack in North Africa in November of 1942. He was the master organizer of the D-Day invasion in Europe (June 6, 1944). He ran for the Republican ticket in the 1952 and the 1956 elections and won. He was very well-liked by the public.

**Josef Stalin** -- Stalin was the Soviet dictator during WWII and the beginning of the Cold War. In 1943 he regained two-thirds of Soviet motherland taken from him by Hitler. He met with Churchill and Roosevelt at Teheran from November 28 to December 1, 1943 and agreed to attack Germany from all sides.

**George S. Patton** -- Patton, known as "Blood 'n' Guts," commanded lunges across France by an American armored tank division. He was most famous for holding off the Germans at the Battle of the Bulge.

**Thomas E. Dewey** -- Dewey was the Republican presidential nominee in 1944. Dewey was the popular governor of New York. Roosevelt won a sweeping victory in this election, however. Dewey also ran against Harry S Truman in the 1948 presidential election. Dewey, arrogant and wooden, seemed certain to win the election, and the newspapers even wrongly printed, "DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN" on election night. However, the morning results showed that Truman had swept the election, much to Dewey's embarrassment.

**Harry S Truman** -- He took over the presidency during World War II upon the death of Roosevelt. He was called by many the "average man's average man" for his appearance and personality, and he was one of the only presidents without a college education. He was an artillery officer in World War One. He was responsible for the decision to drop the atomic bomb on Japan to end World War II.

**Albert Einstein** -- Einstein was a German-born scientist who encouraged Roosevelt and America to build the first atomic bomb and thus start the Manhattan Project.

**War Production Board (WWII)** -- This board halted the manufacture of nonessential items such as passenger cars. It assigned priorities for transportation and access to raw materials. It imposed a national speed limit and gasoline rationing because, due to the Dutch East Indies ending their exports of natural rubber to the U.S., they wanted to conserve rubber. They also built fifty-one synthetic rubber plants.

**Office of Price Administration** -- FDR created this in order to prevent inflation in the economy during WWII.

**Fair Employment Practice Commission** -- Roosevelt established this initially to give fair employment to blacks. Eventually, and to this day, its purpose is to ensure equality for all races, sexes, ages, and ethnicities involving employment.

**Second Front** -- The second front was the invasion of western Europe by the U.S., British, and French in 1944. This invasion was to take pressure off the Russians and divide the Germans. It was established by the D-Day Invasion.

**D-Day** -- D-Day was the first day of the Normandy landing which started the invasion of western Europe and liberated France from the Germans.

**V-E Day** -- Victory in Europe Day. The German government surrendered unconditionally during WWII on May 7, 1945.

**Potsdam Conference** -- This meeting was held near Berlin in 1945 with Truman, Stalin and Clement Atlee who issued an ultimatum to Japan to surrender or be destroyed. This is where Truman learned about the atomic bomb.

**V-J Day** -- "Victory in Japan" Day was celebrated on August 15, 1945 after the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan. The celebrations continued through the official end of World War II on September 2, 1945 when Japan officially surrendered.

# Chapter 36

## The Cold War Begins

### I. Postwar Economic Anxieties

- i. The Americans cheered the end of World War II in 1945, but many worried that with the war over, the U.S. would sink back into another Great Depression.
  - a. Upon war's end, inflation shot up with the release of price controls while the gross national product sank, and labor strikes swept the nation.
- ii. To get even with labor, Congress passed the **Taft-Hartley Act**, which outlawed "closed" shops (closed to non-union members), made unions liable for damages that resulted from jurisdictional disputes among themselves, and required that union leaders take non-communist oaths. Opposite of the Wagner Act of the New Deal, this new act was a strike against labor unions.
- iii. Labor tried to organize in the South and West with "**Operation Dixie**," but this proved frustrating and unsuccessful.
- iv. To forestall an economic downturn, the Democratic administration sold war factories and other government installations to private businesses cheaply. Congress passed the **Employment Act** of 1946, which made it government policy to "promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power," and created the **Council of Economic Advisors** to provide the president with data to make that policy a reality.
  - a. It also passed the **Servicemen's Readjustment Act** of 1944, better known as the **GI Bill of Rights**, which allowed all servicemen to have free college education once they returned from the war.

### II. The Long Economic Boom, 1950-1970

- i. Then, in the late 1940s and into the 1960s, the economy began to boom tremendously, and folks who had felt the sting of the **Great Depression** now wanted to bathe in the new prosperity.
  - a. The middle class more than doubled while people now wanted two cars in every garage; over 90% of American families owned a television.
- ii. Women also reaped the benefits of the postwar economy, growing in the American work force while giving up their former roles as housewives.
- iii. Even though this new affluence did not touch everyone, it did touch many.

### III. The Roots of Postwar Prosperity

- i. Postwar prosperity was fueled by several factors, including the war itself that forced America to produce more than it'd ever imagined.
- ii. However, much of the prosperity of the 50s and 60s rested on colossal military projects.
  - a. Massive appropriations for the **Korean War**, defense spending, industries like aerospace, plastics, and electronics, and research and development all were such projects.
  - b. R and D, research and development, became an entirely new industry.
- iii. Cheap energy paralleled the popularity of automobiles, and spidery grids of electrical cables carried the power of oil, gas, coal, and falling water into homes and factories alike.
- iv. Workers upped their productivity tremendously, as did farmers, due to new technology in fertilizers, etc. In fact, the farming population shrank while production soared.



#### IV. The Smiling Sunbelt

- i. With so many people on the move, families were being strained. Combined with the baby boom, this explained the success of Dr. **Benjamin Spock's** *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*.
- ii. Immigration also led to the growth of a fifteen-state region in the southern half of the U.S. known as the **Sunbelt**, which dramatically increased in population.
  - a. In fact, in the 1950s, California overtook New York as the most populous state.
- iii. Immigrants came to the Sunbelt for more opportunities, such as in California's electronics industry and the aerospace complexes of Texas and Florida.
  - a. Federal dollars poured into the Sunbelt (some \$125 million), and political power grew there as well, as ever since 1964, every U.S. president has come from that region.
  - b. Sunbelters were redrawing the political map, taking the economic and political power out of the North and Northeast.

#### V. The Rush to the Suburbs

- i. Whites in cities fled to the **suburbs**, encouraged by federal agencies such as the **Federal Housing Authority** and the **Veteran's Administration**, whose loan guarantees made it cheaper to live in the suburbs than in cramped city apartments
  - a. By 1960, one out of every four Americans lived in the suburbs.
- ii. Innovators like the Levitt brothers, with their monotonous but cheap housing plans, built thousands of houses in projects like **Levittown**, and the "White flight" left the cities full of the poor and the African-Americans.
  - a. Federal agencies aggravated this by often refusing to make loans to Blacks due to the "risk factor" involved with this.

#### VI. The Postwar Baby Boom

- i. After the war, many soldiers returned to their sweethearts and married them, then had babies, creating a "**Baby Boom**" that would be felt for generations.
- ii. As the children grew up collectively, they put strains on respective markets, such as manufacturers of baby products in the 1940s and 50s, teenage clothing designers in the 60s, and the job market in the 70s and 80s.
- iii. By around 2020, they will place enormous strains on the **Social Security** system.

#### VII. Truman: the "Gutty" Man from Missouri

- i. Presiding after **World War II** was **Harry S. Truman**, who had come to power after **Franklin Roosevelt** had died from a massive brain hemorrhage.
  - a. The first president in a long time without a college education, Truman at first approached his burdens with humility, but he gradually evolved into a confident, cocky politician.
  - b. His cabinet was made up of the old "**Missouri gang**," which was composed of Truman's friends from when he was a senator in Missouri.
  - c. Often, Truman would stick to a wrong decision just to prove his decisiveness and power of command.
- ii. However, even if he was small on the small things, he was big on the big things, taking responsibility very seriously and working very hard.

#### VIII. Yalta: Bargain or Betrayal?

- i. A final conference of the **Big Three** had taken place at **Yalta** in February 1945, where Soviet leader **Joseph Stalin** pledged that Poland should have a representative government with free elections, as would Bulgaria and Romania. But, Stalin broke those promises.
- ii. At Yalta, the Soviet Union had agreed to attack Japan three months after the fall of Germany, but by the time the Soviets entered the Pacific war, the U.S. was about to win anyway, and now, it seemed that the U.S.S.R. had entered for the sake of taking spoils.
  - a. The Soviet Union was also granted control of the Manchurian railroads and received special privileges to **Dairen** and **Port Arthur**.
- iii. Critics of FDR charged that he'd sold China's **Chiang Kai-shek** down the river, while supporters claimed that the Soviets could have taken more of China had they wished, and that the Yalta agreements had actually limited the Soviet Union.

#### IX. The United States and the Soviet Union

- i. With the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. as the only world superpowers after WWII, trouble seemed imminent, for the U.S. had waited until 1933, to recognize the U.S.S.R.; the U.S. and Britain had delayed to open up a second front during World War II; the U.S. and Britain had frozen the Soviets out of developing nuclear arms; and the U.S. had withdrawn its vital lend-lease program from the

U.S.S.R. in 1945 and spurned Moscow's plea for a \$6 billion reconstructive loan while approving a similar \$3.75 billion loan to Berlin.

- ii. Stalin wanted a protective sphere around western Russian, for twice earlier in the century Russia had been attacked from that direction, and that meant taking nations like Poland under its control.
- iii. Even though both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. were recent newcomers to the world stage, they were very advanced and had been isolationist before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, now they found themselves in a political stare-down that would turn into the **Cold War** and last for four and a half decades.

#### X. Shaping the Postwar World

- i. However, the U.S. did manage to establish structures that were part of FDR's open world.
  - a. At a meeting at **Bretton Woods**, New Hampshire, in 1944, the Western Allies established the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** to encourage world trade by regulating the currency exchange rates.
- ii. The **United Nations** opened on April 25, 1945.
  - a. The member nations drew up a charter similar to that of the old **League of Nations**, formed a **Security Council** to be headed by five permanent powers (China, U.S.S.R., Britain, France, and U.S.A.) that had total veto powers, and was headquartered in New York City.
  - b. The Senate overwhelmingly approved the U.N. by a vote of 89 to 2.
- iii. The U.N. kept peace in Kashmir and other trouble spots, created the new Jewish state of **Israel**, formed such groups as UNESCO (U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization), FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization), and WHO (World Health Organization), bringing benefits to people all over the globe.
- iv. However, when U.S. delegate **Bernard Baruch** called in 1946 for a U.N. agency free from the great power veto that could investigate all nuclear facilities and weapons, the U.S.S.R. rejected the proposal, since it didn't want to give up its veto power and was opposed to "capitalist spies" snooping around in the Soviet Union. The small window of regulating nuclear weapons was lost.

#### XI. The Problem of Germany

- i. The **Nuremberg Trials** of 1945-46 severely punished 22 top culprits of the **Holocaust**.
- ii. America knew that an economically healthy Germany was indispensable to the recovery of all of Europe, but Russia, fearing another blitzkrieg, wanted huge reparations from Germany.
- iii. Germany, like Austria, was divided into four occupational zones controlled by the Allied Powers minus China, but as the U.S. began proposing the idea of a united Germany, and as the Western nations prevented Stalin from getting his reparations from their parts of Germany, it became obvious that Germany would remain indefinitely divided.
  - a. In 1948, when the U.S.S.R. choked off all air and railway access to Berlin, located deep in East Germany, they thought that such an act would starve the Allies out, since Berlin itself was divided into four zones as well.
  - b. However, the Allies organized the massive **Berlin Airlift** to feed the people of Berlin, and in May 1949, the Soviets stopped their blockade of Berlin.

#### XII. The Cold War Congeals

- i. When, in 1946, Stalin used his troops to aid a rebel movement in Iran, Truman protested, and the Soviets backed down.
- ii. Truman soon adopted the "**containment policy**," crafted by Soviet specialist **George F. Kennan**, which stated that firm containment of Soviet expansion would halt Communist power.
- iii. On March 12, 1947, Truman requested that the containment policy be put into action in what would come to be called the **Truman Doctrine**: \$400 million to help Greece and Turkey from falling into communist power.
  - a. So basically, the doctrine said that the U.S. would aid any power fighting Communist aggression, an idea later criticized because the U.S. would often give money to dictators "fighting communism."
- iv. In Western Europe, France, Italy, and Germany were still in terrible shape, so Truman, with the help of Secretary of State **George C. Marshall**, implemented the **Marshall Plan**, a miraculous recovery effort that had Western Europe up and prosperous in no time.
  - a. This helped in the forming of the **European Community (EC)**.
  - b. The plan sent \$12.5 billion over four years to 16 cooperating nations to aid in recovery, and at first, Congress didn't want to comply, especially when this sum was added to the \$2 billion the U.S. was already giving to European relief as part of the **United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA)**.
  - c. However, a Soviet-sponsored coup that toppled the government of Czechoslovakia finally awakened the Congressmen to their senses, and they passed the plan.

- v. Truman also recognized **Israel** on its birthday, May 14, 1948, despite heavy Arab opposition and despite the fact that those same Arabs controlled the oil supplies in the **Middle East**.

XIII. America Begins to Rearm

- i. The 1947 **National Security Act** created the **Department of Defense**, which was housed in the Pentagon and headed by a new cabinet position, the Secretary of Defense, under which served civilian secretaries of the army, navy, and air force.
- ii. The National Security Act also formed the **National Security Council (NSC)** to advise the president on security matters and the **Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)** to coordinate the government's foreign fact-gathering (spying).
- iii. The "Voice of America," a radio broadcast, began beaming in 1948, while Congress resurrected the military draft (**Selective Service System**), which redefined many young people's career choices and persuaded them to go to college.
- iv. In 1948, the U.S. joined Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg to form the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, which considered an attack on one NATO member an attack on all, despite the U.S.'s policy of traditionally not involving itself in entangling alliances.
  - a. In response, the U.S.S.R. formed the **Warsaw Pact**, its own alliance system.
  - b. NATO's membership grew to fourteen with the 1952 admissions of Greece and Turkey, and then to 15 when West Germany joined in 1955.

XIV. Reconstruction and Revolution in Asia

- i. General **Douglas MacArthur** headed reconstruction in Japan and tried the top Japanese war criminals. He dictated a constitution that was adopted in 1946, and democratized Japan.
- ii. However, in China, the communist forces, led by **Mao Zedong**, defeated the nationalist forces, led by Chiang Kai-shek, who then fled to the island of **Formosa (Taiwan)** in 1949.
  - a. With this defeat, one-quarter of the world population (500,000,000 people) plunged under the Communist flag.
  - b. Critics of Truman assailed that he did not support the nationalists enough, but Chiang Kai-shek never had the support of the people to begin with.
- iii. Then, in September of 1949, Truman announced that the Soviets had exploded their first atomic bomb—three years before experts thought it was possible, thus eliminating the U.S. monopoly on nuclear weapons.
  - a. The U.S. exploded the hydrogen bomb in 1952, and the Soviets followed suit a year later; thus began the dangerous arms race of the Cold War.

XV. Ferreting Out Alleged Communists

- i. An anti-red chase was in full force in the U.S. with the formation of the **Loyalty Review Board**, which investigated more than 3 million federal employees.
  - a. The attorney general also drew up a list of 90 organizations that were potentially not loyal to the U.S., and none was given the opportunity to defend itself.
- ii. In 1949, 11 communists were brought to a New York jury for violating the **Smith Act** of 1940, which had been the first peacetime anti-sedition law since 1798.
  - a. They were convicted, sent to prison, and their conviction was upheld by the 1951 case **Dennis v. United States**.
- iii. The House of Representatives had, in 1938 established the **Committee on Un-American Activities ("HUAC")** to investigate "subversion," and in 1948, committee member **Richard M. Nixon** prosecuted **Alger Hiss**.
- iv. In February 1950, **Joseph R. McCarthy** burst upon the scene, charging that there were scores of unknown communists in the State Department.
  - a. He couldn't prove it, and many American began to fear that this red chase was going too far; after all, how could there be freedom of speech if saying communist ideas got one arrested?
  - b. Truman vetoed the **McCarran Internal Security Bill**, which would've let the president arrest and detain suspicious people during an "internal security emergency."
- v. The Soviet success of developing nuclear bombs so easily was probably due to spies, and in 1951, **Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** were brought to trial, convicted, and executed of selling nuclear secrets to the Russians.
  - a. Their sensational trial, electrocution, and sympathy for their two children began to sober America zeal in red hunting.

XVI. Democratic Divisions in 1948

- i. Republicans won control of the House in 1946 and then nominated **Thomas E. Dewey** to the 1948 ticket, while Democrats were forced to choose Truman again when war-hero **Dwight D. Eisenhower** refused to be chosen.
    - a. Truman's nomination split the Democratic Party, as Southern Democrats ("Dixiecrats") nominated Governor **J. Strom Thurmond** of South Carolina on a State's Rights Party ticket.
    - b. Former vice president **Henry A. Wallace** also threw his hat into the ring, getting nominated by the new **Progressive Party**.
  - ii. With the Democrats totally disorganized, Dewey seemed destined for a super-easy victory, and on election night, the *Chicago Tribune* even ran an early edition wrongly proclaiming "DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN," but Truman shockingly won, getting 303 electoral votes to Dewey's 189. And to make things better, the Democrats won control of Congress again.
    - a. Truman received critical support from farmers, workers, and blacks.
  - iii. Truman then called for a new program called "**Point Four**," which called for financial support of poor, underdeveloped lands in hopes of keeping underprivileged peoples from turning communist.
  - iv. At home, Truman outlined a sweeping "**Fair Deal**" program, which called for improved housing, full employment, a higher minimum wage, better farm price supports, a new **Tennessee Valley Authority**, and an extension of Social Security.
    - a. However, the only successes came in raising the minimum wage, providing for public housing in the **Housing Act** of 1949, and extending old-age insurance to more beneficiaries with the **Social Security Act** of 1950.
- XVII. The Korean War Erupts (1950)
- i. When Russian and American forces withdrew from Korea, they had left the place full of weapons and with rival regimes (communist North and democratic South).
  - ii. Then, on June 25, 1950, North Korean forces suddenly invaded South Korea, taking the South Koreans by surprise and pushing them dangerously south toward Pusan.
    - a. Truman sprang to action, remembering that the League of Nations had failed from inactivity, and ordered U.S. military spending to be quadrupled, as desired by the **National Security Council Memorandum Number 68**, or **NSC-68**.
  - iii. Truman also used a Soviet absence from the U.N. to label North Korea as an aggressor and send U.N. troops to fight against the aggressors.
    - a. He also ordered General MacArthur's Japan-based troops to Korea.
- XVIII. The Military Seesaw in Korea
- i. General MacArthur landed a brilliant invasion behind enemy forces at Inchon on September 15, 1950, and drove the North Koreans back across the **38<sup>th</sup> parallel**, towards China and the **Yalu River**.
    - a. An overconfident MacArthur boasted that he'd "have the boys home by Christmas," but in November 1950, Chinese "volunteers" flooded across the border and pushed the South Koreans back to the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel.
  - ii. MacArthur, humiliated, wanted to blockade China and bomb Manchuria, but Truman didn't want to enlarge the war beyond necessity, but when the angry general began to publicly criticize President Truman and spoke of using atomic weapons, Harry had no choice but to remove him from command on grounds of insubordination.
    - a. MacArthur returned to cheers while Truman was scorned as a "pig," an "imbecile," an appeaser to communist Russia and China, and a "Judas."
    - b. In July 1951, truce discussions began but immediately snagged over the issue of prisoner exchange.
      - i. Talks dragged on for two more years as men continued to die.

## Chapter 36 Vocabulary

**Harry S. Truman** -- He was called the "accidental president" and "the average man's average man." He was the first president in many years without a college education. He had farmed, served as an artillery officer in France during WWI, and failed as a haberdasher. Then he rose from precinct-level politics in Missouri to a judgeship to the U.S. Senate. Though a protégé of the political machine in Kansas City, he had kept his own hands clean. Truman was left with many decisions to make and one of the most outstanding was that he decided to drop the first atomic bomb on Japan to end World War II. He won a close election in 1948 under his "Fair Deal" platform which expanded FDR's New Deal.

**George F. Kennan** – Kennan was a brilliant young diplomat, and a Soviet specialist, who crafted the "containment doctrine" which became the "Truman Doctrine" saying simply, the U.S. must contain communism and not let it spread.

**Douglas MacArthur** -- He was the supreme allied commander during the Cold War in 1945. After World War II, MacArthur was put in charge of putting Japan back together. In the Korean War, he commanded the United Nations troops. He was fired by Truman for questioning the actions of his superiors in the midst of the Korean war.

**Joseph McCarthy or "McCarthyism"** -- He was a Republican senator from Wisconsin who was strongly against communism. McCarthy claimed there were many communists in the State Department. He did not however have much evidence to support his accusations, and his search for communists was considered more of a "witch-hunt." When his lack of evidence was discovered, he was shown to be foolish, censured by Congress, and lost his seat in Congress.

**Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** --- They were convicted in 1951 of giving atomic bomb data found by American scientists to the Soviet Union. They are the only Americans ever executed during peacetime for espionage.

**J. Strom Thurmond** -- He was nominated for president for the States' Rights Party ("Dixiecrats") in the 1948 election. This party split Southern Democrats from the party along racial lines. He only got 39 electoral votes.

**Thomas Dewey** -- He worked for a well-known New York City law firm. He was governor of New York State and was elected District Attorney in 1937. He was governor 3 different times and ran for president twice although he was defeated both times. 1948 the newspapers had him defeating Truman, but Truman won.

**Adlai Stevenson** -- Stevenson was the Democratic candidate who ran against Eisenhower in 1952. His intellectual speeches earned him and his supporters the term "eggheads." He lost to Eisenhower.

**Dwight Eisenhower** -- He was called "The Republican's Choice" along with his vice president Richard Nixon. He was the commander of the allied forces in Europe, the army chief-of-staff after the war, and the director of NATO for two years. "Ike" displayed "grandfatherly good will." The night before the 1952 presidential elections, he declared that he would personally go to Korea and end the war. This helped to win the majority in 41 of the lower 48 states. Eisenhower reigned over a period of unstable peace and prosperity. He was elected to another term in 1956. The 1950's are remembered as an ideal time—a sort of utopia, this is due largely to Dwight D. Eisenhower.

**Richard Nixon** -- He was a committee member of the House of Representatives, Committee on Un-American Activities (to investigate "subversion"). He tried to catch Alger Hiss who was accused of being a communist agent in the 1930's. This brought Nixon to the attention of the American public. In 1956, he was Eisenhower's Vice-President.

**Yalta Conference** - This was a conference between Stalin and FDR in an attempt to get Russian support in the highly anticipated invasion of Japan. Russia, in return, received the southern part of Sakhalin Island that it had lost to Japan and joint control of Manchuria's railroads and Port Arthur on Pacific Coast. The Allies also reluctantly allowed Poland to become communist but with the promise that free elections would take place there (they didn't). Many Americans saw this deal as a failure and the birth of the Cold War.

**Cold War** -- The Cold War began in 1945 after WWII. It was a global ideological conflict between democracy and communism, United States versus Soviet Union. It was a war of words and feelings and distrust.

**United Nations** -- The United Nations conference took place on April 25, 1945. FDR died on April 12, but had chosen Republican and Democratic representatives to meet at the San Francisco War Memorial Opera House with representatives from 50 nations, fashioning a United Nations' charter similar to the old League of Nations covenant. It featured a Security Council dominated by the US, Britain, USSR, France, and China (the big 5 powers) who could veto any measure, and a General Assembly that could be controlled by smaller countries. The UN's permanent home was in New York City.

**Iron Curtain** -- The "iron curtain" refers to the secrecy and isolation of the Soviet Union and its satellite states, East Germany, Hungary, and Poland, after World War II. The phrase was first used by Winston Churchill while he was giving a speech in the United States.

**Berlin airlift** -- In 1948, the U.S.S.R. had cut off all supplies that would go into the Allied West Berlin. In response, America used many planes to take and drop food and supplies into Berlin. They did this to show the U.S.S.R. that they were determined to maintain control of Berlin. It worked, as the Soviets lifted the blockade.

**Containment** -- This was America's main foreign policy after WWII, designed by George Kennan, to stop the spread of communism (AKA, the Truman Doctrine).

**Truman Doctrine** -- The Truman Doctrine wanted to prevent the spread of communism. He wanted it "contained." The first implementation of the Truman Doctrine was \$400 million given to aid Greece and Turkey to prevent a communist takeover.

**Marshall Plan** -- This plan was issued in response to the struggling European countries. The Marshall Plan would allow the U.S. to give financial assistance to certain countries. This was done to prevent communism from rising in countries like France and Italy, whose economies were suffering after WWII. It was agreed in July 1947 that the U.S. would spend \$12.5 billion, over four years, in sixteen different nations. In order to receive financial assistance, a nation had to have a democratic government.

**National Security Act** -- This law was passed by Congress in 1947 and created the Department of Defense. It also established a National Security Council (NSC) to advise the president on security matters and a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to coordinate government foreign fact gathering.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** -- NATO was a military alliance between the U.S., Canada and 10 European nations signed on April 4, 1949. It was an alliance committed to building military defense of Europe against communist Russia. Dwight D. Eisenhower became the Supreme Commander of NATO.

**Taft-Hartley Act** -- This act weakened unions. It outlawed the "closed" shop (businesses open only to union members), made unions liable for damages that resulted from jurisdictional disputes among themselves, and required union leaders to take a non-communist oath.

**Fair Deal** – The Fair Deal was made by Truman in his 1949 message to Congress. It was a program that called for improved housing, full employment, higher minimum wage, better farm price supports, new TVA's, and the extension of Social Security. It was a rebirth of the New Deal. Its only successes were a raised the minimum wage, better public housing, extended old-age insurance to more people.

**Thirty-eighth parallel** -- This line divided Korea into two sections, north of the parallel the communist Soviet Union was in charge and south of the parallel democratic America was in charge. This line would become the demilitarized zone after the Korean conflict.

**NSC-68** -- First drawn up in 1950, NSC-68, or National Security Council Memorandum Number 68, was buried until the Korean crisis later that year. This document suggested that the U.S. could afford to spend upward of 50% of its gross national product for security.

**Inchon landing** – This was a daring landing of U.N. troops, by General Douglas MacArthur, behind enemy lines at Inchon in Korea. The goal was to surprise them in order to push the North Korean troops back northward. It worked, but then MacArthur got fired by President Truman later for disobeying orders.

# Chapter 37

## The Eisenhower Era

### I. Affluence and Its Anxieties

- i. The economy really sprouted during the 50s, and the invention of the transistor exploded the electronics field, especially in computers, helping such companies as International Business Machines (IBM) expand and prosper.
- ii. Aerospace industries progressed, as the Boeing company made the first passenger-jet airplane (adapted from the superbombers of the Strategic Air Command), the 707.
- iii. In 1956, “white-collar” workers outnumbered “blue collar” workers for the first time, meaning that the industrial era was passing on.
  - a. As this occurred, labor unions peaked in 1954 then started a steady decline.
  - b. Women appeared more and more in the workplace, despite the stereotypical role of women as housewives that was being portrayed on TV shows such as “Ozzie and Harriet” and “Leave It to Beaver.”
    - i. More than 40 million new jobs were created.
- iv. Women’s expansion into the workplace shocked some, but really wasn’t surprising if one observed the trends in history, and now, they were both housewives and workers.
  - a. **Betty Friedan’s** 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique* was a best-seller and a classic of modern feminine protest literature. She’s the godmother of the feminist movement.

### II. Consumer Culture in the Fifties

- i. The fifties saw the first Diner’s Club cards, the opening of McDonald’s, the debut of Disneyland, and an explosion in the number of television stations in the country.
- ii. Advertisers used television to sell products while “televangelists” like **Billy Graham**, **Oral Roberts**, and **Fulton J. Sheen** used TV to preach the gospel and encourage religion.
- iii. Sports shifted west, as the Brooklyn Dodgers and New York Giants moved to Los Angeles and San Francisco, respectively, in 1958.
- iv. Elvis Presley, a white singer of the new “rock and roll” who made girls swoon with his fleshy face, pointing lips, and antic, sexually suggestive gyrations, that redefined popular music.
  - a. Elvis died from drugs in 1977, at age 42.
- v. Traditionalists were shocked by Elvis’s shockingly open sexuality, and **Marilyn Monroe** (in her *Playboy* magazine spread) continued in the redefinition of the new sensuous sexuality.
  - a. Critics, such as **David Riesman** in *The Lonely Crowd*, **William H. Whyte, Jr.** in *The Organization Man*, and **Sloan Wilson** in *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, lamented this new consumerist style.
  - b. Harvard economist **John Kenneth Galbraith** questioned the relation between private wealth and public good in *The Affluent Society*.

- i. **Daniel Bell** found further such paradoxes, as did **C. Wright Mills**.

### III. The Advent of Eisenhower

- i. In 1952, the Democrats chose **Adlai E. Stevenson**, the witty governor of Illinois, while Republicans rejected isolationist **Robert A. Taft** and instead chose World War II hero **Dwight D. Eisenhower** to run for president and anticommunist **Richard M. Nixon** to be his running mate.
- ii. Grandfatherly Eisenhower was a war hero and liked by everyone, so he left the rough part of campaigning to Nixon, who attacked Stevenson as soft against communists, corrupt, and weak in the Korean situation.
  - a. Nixon then almost got caught with a secretly financed "slush fund," but to save his political career, he delivered his famous and touching "**Checkers Speech**." In it, he denied wrongdoing and spoke of his family and specifically, his daughter's cute little cocker spaniel, Checkers. He was forgiven in the public arena and stayed on as V.P.
- iii. The "Checkers speech" showed the awesome power of television, since Nixon had pleaded on national TV, and even later, "Ike," as Eisenhower was called, agreed to go into studio and answer some brief "questions," which were later spliced in and edited to make it look like Eisenhower had answered questions from a live audience, when in fact he hadn't.
  - a. This showed the power that TV would have in the upcoming decades, allowing lone wolves to appeal directly to the American people instead of being influenced by party machines or leaders.
- iv. Ike won easily (442 to 89), and true to his campaign promise, he flew to Korea to help move along peace negotiations, yet failed. But seven months later, after Ike threatened to use nuclear weapons, an armistice was finally signed (but was later violated often).
- v. In Korea, 54,000 Americans had died, and tens of billions of dollars had been wasted in the effort, but Americans took a little comfort in knowing that communism had been "contained."
- vi. Eisenhower had been an excellent commander and leader who was able to make cooperation possible between anyone, so he seemed to be a perfect leader for Americans weary of two decades of depression, war, and nuclear standoff.
  - a. He served that aspect of his job well, but he could have used his popularity to champion civil rights more than he actually did.

#### IV. The Rise and Fall of Joseph McCarthy

- i. In February 1950, **Joseph R. McCarthy** burst upon the scene, charging that there were scores of unknown communists in the State Department.
- ii. He couldn't prove it, and many American began to fear that this red chase was going too far; after all, how could there be freedom of speech if saying communist ideas got one arrested?
- iii. The success of brutal anticommunist "crusader" **Joseph R. McCarthy** was quite alarming, for after he had sprung onto the national scene by charging that Secretary of State **Dean Acheson** was knowingly employing 205 Communist Party members (a claim he never proved, not even for one person), he ruthlessly sought to prosecute and persecute suspected communists, often targeting innocent people and destroying families and lives.
  - a. Eisenhower privately loathed McCarthy, but the president did little to stop the anti-red, since it appeared that most Americans supported his actions. But Ike's zeal led him to purge important Asian experts in the State Department, men who could have advised a better course of action in Vietnam.
    - i. He even denounced General **George Marshall**, former army chief of staff during World War II.
- iv. Finally, in 1954, when he attacked the army, he'd gone too far and was exposed for the liar and drunk that he was; three years later, he died unwept and unsung.

#### V. Desegregating American Society

- i. Blacks in the South were bound by the severe **Jim Crow laws** that segregated every aspect of society, from schools to restrooms to restaurants and beyond.
  - a. Only about 20% of the eligible blacks could vote, due to intimidation, discrimination, poll taxes, and other schemes meant to keep black suffrage down.
- ii. Where the law proved sufficient to enforce such oppression, vigilante justice in the form of lynchings did the job, and the white murderers were rarely caught and convicted.
- iii. In his 1944 book, *An American Dilemma*, Swedish scholar **Gunnar Myrdal** exposed the hypocrisy of American life, noting how while "every man [was] created equal," blacks were certainly treated worse than Whites. He pointed out how the U.S. had failed to achieve its "Double-V" goal during the war—victory overseas against dictatorships (and their racism) and victory at home against racism.

- a. Even though **Jackie Robinson** had cracked the racial barrier by signing with the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947, the nation's conscience still paid little attention to the suffering of blacks, thus prolonging their pain.
  - iv. However, with organizations such as the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People**, and their rulings such as the 1950 case of *Sweatt v. Painter*, where the Supreme Court ruled that separate professional schools for blacks failed to meet the test of equality, such protestors as **Rosa Parks**, who in December 1955, refused to give up a bus seat in the "whites only" section, and pacifist leaders like **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, who believed in peaceful methods of civil rights protests, blacks were making their suffering and discrimination known to the public.
- VI. Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution
- i. After he heard about the 1946 lynchings of black soldiers seeking rights for which they fought overseas, Truman immediately sought to improve black rights by desegregating the armed forces, but Eisenhower failed to continue this trend by failing to support laws.
    - a. Only the judicial branch was left to improve black civil rights.
  - ii. **Earl Warren**, appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, shocked his conservative backers by actively assailing black injustice and ruling in favor of African-Americans.
    - a. The 1954 landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, reversed the previous 1896 ruling of *Plessy v. Ferguson* when the Brown case said that "separate but equal" facilities were inherently unequal. Under the *Brown* case, schools were ordered integrated.
    - b. However, while the Border States usually obeyed this new ruling, states in the Deep South did everything they could to delay it and disobey it, diverting funds to private schools, signing a "**Declaration of Constitutional Principles**" that promised not to desegregate, and physically preventing blacks to integrate.
      - i. Ten years after the ruling, fewer than 2% of eligible black students sat in the same classrooms as whites.
      - ii. Real integration of schools in the Deep South occurred around 1970.
- VII. Eisenhower Republicanism at Home
- i. Eisenhower came into the White House pledging a policy of "**dynamic conservatism**," which stated that he would be liberal with people, but conservative with their money.
  - ii. Ike decreased government spending by decreasing military spending, trying to transfer control of offshore oil fields to the states, and trying to curb the TVA by setting up a private company to take its place.
    - a. His secretary of health, education, and welfare condemned free distribution of the **Salk anti-polio vaccine** as being socialist.
    - b. Secretary of Agriculture **Ezra Taft Benson** tackled agriculture issues, but despite the government's purchase of surplus grain which it stored in giant silos costing Americans \$2 million a day, farmers didn't see prosperity.
  - iii. Eisenhower also cracked down on illegal Mexican immigration that cut down on the success of the **bracero program**, by rounding up 1 million Mexicans and returning them to their native country in 1954.
    - a. With Indians, though, Ike proposed ending the lenient FDR-style treatment toward Indians and reverting to a **Dawes Severalty Act**-style policy toward Native Americans. But due to protest and resistance, this was disbanded.
  - iv. However, Eisenhower kept many of the **New Deal** programs, since some, like **Social Security** and unemployment insurance, simply had to stay in the public's mind.
    - a. However, he did do some of the New Deal programs better, such as his backing of the **Interstate Highway Act**, which built 42,000 miles of interstate freeways.
  - v. Still, Eisenhower only balanced the budget three times in his eight years of office, and in 1959, he incurred the biggest peacetime deficit in U.S. history up to that point.
    - a. Still, critics said that he was economically timid, blaming the president for the sharp economic downturn of 1957-58.
  - vi. Also, the **AF of L** merged with the **CIO** to end 20 years of bitter division in labor unions.
  - vii. When it came to civil rights, Eisenhower had a lukewarm record at best, and was slow to move.
    1. Eisenhower refused to issue a statement acknowledging the Supreme Court's ruling on integration, and he even privately complained about this new end to segregation, but in September 1957, when **Orval Faubus**, the governor of Arkansas, mobilized the National Guard to prevent nine black students from enrolling in Little Rock's Central High School, Ike sent federal troops to escort the children to their classes.



- a. That year, Congress passed the first **Civil Rights Act** since the **Reconstruction** days, an act that set up a permanent **Civil Rights Commission** to investigate violations of civil rights and authorized federal injunctions to protect voting rights.
  2. Meanwhile, Martin Luther King, Jr. formed the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference**, which aimed to mobilize the vast power of black churches on behalf of black rights—a shrewd strategy, since churches were a huge source of leadership in the black community.
  3. On February 1, 1960, four black college freshmen launched a “sit-in” movement in Greensboro, North Carolina, demanding service at a whites-only Woolworth’s lunch counter, thus sparking the **sit-in movement**.
  4. In April 1960, southern black students formed the **Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee**, or SNCC, to give more focus and force to their civil rights efforts.
- VIII. A New Look in Foreign Policy
- i. Secretary of State **John Foster Dulles** stated that the policy of containment was not enough and that the U.S. was going to push back communism and liberate the peoples under it. This became known as “rollback.” All-the-while he advocated toning down defense spending by building a fleet of superbombers called **Strategic Air Command**, which could drop massive nuclear bombs in any retaliation.
  - ii. Ike tried to thaw the **Cold War** by appealing for peace to new Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchev** at the 1955 **Geneva Conference**, but the Soviet leader rejected such proposals, along with one for “open skies.”
  - iii. However, hypocritically, when the Hungarians revolted against the U.S.S.R. and appealed to the U.S. for help, America did nothing, earning the scorn of bitter freedom fighters.
- IX. The Vietnam Nightmare
- i. In Vietnam, revolutionary **Ho Chi Minh** had tried to encourage **Woodrow Wilson** to help the Vietnamese against the French and gained some support from Wilson, but as Ho became increasingly communist, the U.S. began to oppose him.
  - ii. In March 1954, when the French became trapped at **Dienbienphu**, Eisenhower’s aides wanted to bomb the **Viet Minh** guerilla forces, but Ike held back, fearing plunging the U.S. into another Asian war so soon after Korea. After the Vietnamese won at Dienbienphu, Vietnam was split at the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel, supposedly temporarily.
    - a. Ho Chi Minh was supposed to allow free elections, but soon, Vietnam became clearly split between a communist north and a pro-Western south.
    - b. Dienbienphu marks the start of American interest in Vietnam.
  - iii. Secretary Dulles created the **Southeast Asian Treaty Organization** (SEATO) to emulate NATO, but this provided little help.
- X. Cold War Crises in Europe and the Middle East
- i. In 1955, the USSR formed the **Warsaw Pact** to counteract NATO, but the Cold War *did* seem to be thawing a bit, as Eisenhower pressed for reduction of arms, and the Soviets were surprisingly cooperative, and Khrushchev publicly denounced Stalin’s brutality.
    - a. However, in 1956, when the Hungarians revolted against the USSR, the Soviets crushed them with brutality and massive bloodshed.
    - b. The U.S. did change some of its immigration laws to let 30,000 Hungarians into America as immigrants.
  - ii. In 1953, to protect oil supplies in the Middle East, the CIA engineered a *coup* in Iran that installed the youthful shah **Mohammed Reza Pahlevi**, as ruler of the nation, protecting the oil for the time being, but earning the wrath of Arabs that would be repaid in the 70s.
  - iii. The **Suez crisis** was far messier: President **Gamal Abdel Nasser**, of Egypt, needed money to build a dam in the upper Nile and flirted openly with the Soviet side as well as the U.S. and Britain, and upon seeing this blatant communist association, Secretary of State Dulles dramatically withdrew his offer, thus forcing Nasser to nationalize the dam.
    - a. Late in October 1956, Britain, France, and Israel suddenly attacked Egypt, thinking that the U.S. would supply them with needed oil, as had been the case in WWII, but Eisenhower did not, and the attackers had to withdraw.
    - b. The Suez crisis marked the last time the U.S. could brandish its “oil weapon.”
  - iv. In 1960, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran, and Venezuela joined to form the cartel **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries**, or OPEC.
- XI. Round Two for “Ike”
- i. In 1956, Eisenhower again ran against Stevenson and won easily by a landslide.

- ii. The GOP called itself the "party of peace" while the Democrats assaulted Ike's health, since he had had a heart attack in 1955 and a major abdominal operation in '56.
    - a. However, the Democrats did win the House and Senate.
  - iii. After Secretary of State Dulles died of cancer in 1959 and presidential assistant **Sherman Adams** was forced to leave under a cloud of scandal due to bribery charges, Eisenhower, without his two most trusted and most helpful aides, was forced to govern more and golf less.
  - iv. A drastic labor-reform bill in 1959 grew from recurrent strikes in critical industries.
  - v. Teamster chief "**Dave**" **Beck** was sent to prison for embezzlement, and his successor, **James R. Hoffa**'s appointment got the Teamsters expelled out of the **AF of L-CIO**.
    - a. Hoffa was later jailed for jury tampering and then disappeared in prison, allegedly murdered by some gangsters that he had crossed.
  - vi. The 1959 **Landrum-Griffin Act** was designed to bring labor leaders to book for financial shenanigans and prevent bullying tactics.
    - a. Anti-laborites forced into the bill bans against "secondary boycotts" and certain types of picketing.
  - vii. A "space-race" began in 1957.
    - 1. On October 4, 1957, the Russians launched **Sputnik I** into space, and a month later, they sent **Sputnik II** into orbit as well, thus totally demoralizing Americans, because this seemed to prove communist superiority in the sciences at least.
      - i. Plus, the Soviets might fire missiles at the U.S. from space.
    - 2. Critics charged that Truman had not spent enough money on missile programs while America had used its science for other things, like television.
    - 3. Four months after **Sputnik I**, the U.S. sent its own satellite (weighing only 2.5 lbs) into space, but the apparent U.S. lack of technology sent concerns over U.S. education, since American children seemed to be learning less advanced information than Soviet kids.
      - i. The 1958 **National Defense and Education Act** (NDEA) gave \$887 million in loans to needy college students and grants for the improvement of schools.
- XII. The Continuing Cold War
- i. Humanity-minded scientists called for an end to atmospheric nuclear testing, lest future generations be deformed and mutated.
    - a. Beginning October 1958, Washington did halt "dirty" testing, as did the U.S.S.R., but attempts to regularize such suspensions were unsuccessful.
  - ii. However, in 1959, Khrushchev was invited by Ike to America for talks, and when he arrived in New York, he immediately spoke of disarmament, but gave no means of how to do it.
    - a. Later, at **Camp David**, talks did show upward signs, as the Soviet premier said that his ultimatum for the evacuation of Berlin would be extended indefinitely.
  - iii. However, at the **Paris conference**, Khrushchev came in angry that the U.S. had flown a U-2 spy plane over Soviet territory (in this **U-2 incident**, the plane had been shot down and Eisenhower embarrassingly took personal responsibility), and tensions immediately tightened again.
- XIII. Cuba's Castroism Spells Communism
- i. Latin American nations resented the United States' giving billions of dollars to Europe compared to millions to Latin America, as well as the U.S.'s constant intervention (Guatemala, 1954), as well as its support of cold dictators who claimed to be fighting communism.
  - ii. In 1959, in Cuba, **Fidel Castro** overthrew U.S.-supported **Fulgencio Batista**, promptly denounced the Yankee imperialists, and began to take U.S. properties for a land-distribution program. When the U.S. cut off heavy U.S. imports of Cuban sugar, Castro confiscated more American property.
    - a. In 1961, America broke diplomatic relations with Cuba.
  - iii. Khrushchev threatened to launch missiles at the U.S. if it attacked Cuba; meanwhile, America induced the **Organization of American States** to condemn communism in the Americas.
    - a. Finally, Eisenhower proposed a "Marshall Plan" for Latin America, which gave \$500 million to the area, but many Latin Americans felt that it was too little, too late.
- XIV. Kennedy Challenges Nixon for the Presidency
- i. The Republicans chose Richard Nixon, gifted party leader to some, ruthless opportunist to others, in 1960 with **Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.** as his running mate; while **John F. Kennedy** surprisingly won for the Democrats and had **Lyndon B. Johnson** as his running mate.
  - ii. Kennedy was attacked because he was a Catholic presidential candidate, but defended himself and encouraged Catholics to vote for him. As it turned out, if he lost votes from the South due to his religion, he got them back from the North due to the staunch Catholics there.

- a. In four nationally televised debates, JFK held his own and looked more charismatic, perhaps helping him to win the election by a comfortable margin, becoming the youngest president *elected* (TR was younger after McKinley was assassinated).
- XV. An Old General Fades Away
- i. Eisenhower had his critics, but he was appreciated more and more for ending one war and keeping the U.S. out of others.
  - ii. Even though the 1951-passed **22<sup>nd</sup> Amendment** had limited him to two terms as president, Ike displayed more vigor and controlled Congress during his second term than his first.
  - iii. In 1959, Alaska and Hawaii became the 49<sup>th</sup> and 50<sup>th</sup> states to join the Union.
  - iv. Perhaps Eisenhower's greatest weakness was his ignorance of social problems of the time, preferring to smile them away rather than deal with them, even though he was no bigot.
- XVI. The Life of the Mind in Postwar America
- i. **Ernest Hemingway's** *The Old Man and the Sea* and **John Steinbeck's** *East of Eden* and *Travels with Charlie* showed that prewar writers could still be successful, but new writers, who, except for **Norman Mailer's** *The Naked and the Dead* and **James Jones's** *From Here to Eternity*, spurned realism, were successful as well.
  - ii. **Joseph Heller's** *Catch-22* and **Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.'s** *Slaughterhouse-Five* crackled with fantastic and psychedelic prose, satirizing the suffering of the war.
  - iii. Authors and books that explored problems created by the new mobility and affluence of American life: **John Updike's** *Rabbit, Run* and *Couples*; **John Cheever's** *The Wapshot Chronicle* and *The Wapshot Scandal*; **Louis Auchincloss's** books, and **Gore Vidal's** *Myra Breckinridge*.
  - iv. The poetry of **Ezra Pound**, **Wallace Stevens**, **William Carlos Williams**, **Theodore Roethke**, **Robert Lowell** (*For the Union Dead*), **Sylvia Plath** (*Ariel* and *The Bell-Jar*), **Anne Sexton**, and **John Berryman** reflected the twisted emotions of the war, but some poets were troubled in their own minds as well, often committing suicide or living miserable lives.
  - v. **Tennessee Williams's** *A Streetcar Named Desire* and *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* were two plays that searched for American values, as were **Arthur Miller's** *Death of a Salesman* and *The Crucible*.
  - vi. **Lorraine Hansberry's** *A Raisin in the Sun* portrayed African-American life while **Edward Albee's** *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* revealed the underside of middle class life.
  - vii. Books by black authors such as **Richard Wright** (*Black Boy*), **Ralph Ellison** (*Invisible Man*), and **James Baldwin** made best-seller's lists; Black playwrights like **LeRoi Jones** made powerful plays (*The Dutchman*).
  - viii. The South had literary artists like **William Faulkner** (*The Sound and the Fury*, *Light in August*), **Walker Percy**, and **Eudora Welty**.
  - ix. Jewish authors also had famous books, such as **J.D. Salinger's** *Catcher in the Rye*.

## Chapter 37 Vocabulary

**Dwight Eisenhower** -- When elected president, he was the most popular American. "I like Ike!" buttons were everywhere and he was elected to two consecutive terms in 1952 and 1956. He was president during the prosperous 1950s and orchestrated "Modern Republicanism" which tried but didn't undo the New Deal of the Democrats. He's well known for starting interstate highways and warning America against the "military-industrial complex."

**Earl Warren** – Warren was Chief Justice and the former governor of California. He brought originally taboo social issues, such as civil rights to African Americans, to the attention of Congress and the country, although his civil rights record is scant.

**Rosa Parks** – Parks was a seamstress and a secretary for the Montgomery chapter of the NAACP and is known as the "mother of the civil rights movement." In December of 1955, Parks refused to give up her seat on a segregated bus to a white rider. She was jailed and fined \$14 for the offense. This led to Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Montgomery bus boycott.

**Ho Chi Minh** – Ho was the Vietnamese leader who believed in Asian nationalism and anti-colonialism in his country. He was trying to get rid of the French colonial rule in Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh's beliefs were discouraged by the Cold War and he became increasingly communist. He led the North Vietnamese against the U.S. and the South Vietnamese. He was the American enemy in Vietnam.

**Ngo Dinh Diem** -- Ngo Dinh Diem, a strong anti-communist, proclaimed South Vietnam a republic on Oct. 26, 1956 and became its first president. He was formerly the Premier of Vietnam. He was assassinated in a military coup d'etat.

**Gamal Abdel Nasser** – Nasser was a hard-nosed Arab-nationalist president of Egypt during the Suez Canal crisis in 1956. He seized the Suez Canal from the English and French. England and France were willing to use force to get it back. The Soviets tried to interfere. Eisenhower made the Europeans back down when he put the Strategic Air Command on alert.

**Nikita Khrushchev** – Khrushchev was the premier of Russia during the race to get satellites into space between Russia and the United States. He used many propaganda techniques to try to fool the world of Russia's intentions. President's Eisenhower and Kennedy dealt with his communist tricks in Berlin and Cuba.

**Fidel Castro** --Castro engineered a revolution in Cuba in 1959. He denounced the imperialists and took valuable American property for a land-distribution program. When the U.S. cut off U.S. imports of Cuban sugar, Castro took more U.S. land and, resulting from that, his dictatorship became similar to Stalin's in Russia—communism had appeared in the Western Hemisphere just as the “domino theory” had foretold.

**John F. Kennedy** -- Kennedy was the youngest president ever elected, as well as the only Catholic to take office. He represented the Democratic party with his "New Frontier" platform in the 1960 election. He was a major contributor to the space program and to the civil rights movement. He was assassinated on Nov. 22, 1963 in Dallas, TX.

**McCarthyism** -- McCarthyism was the name for the communist witch hunts of the 1950s. This fear of communism ruined many lives and families as those accused were blacklisted. The Senate hearings on communism were run by McCarthy until he was seen to be foolish on TV during the Army hearings.

**Desegregation / integration** – These terms refer to the mixing of races. It started in 1948 when Truman integrated the Army, then in 1954 with the *Brown v. Board of Education* case. During the 1960's, integration of southern universities began. President Kennedy supported black's civil rights. Some desegregation was painless, but much of it resulted in violent campaigns and riots.

**massive retaliation** -- John Foster Dulles formulated this policy for Eisenhower. He was Eisenhower's Secretary of State in the 1950's. It stated that America would be willing to use nuclear weapons in full force against aggressor nations instead of "limited" warfare. This led to the stockpiling of nuclear weapons.

**military-industrial complex** -- During the Cold War, military funding increased tremendously and at the end of Eisenhower's administration he warned about forming a "military-industrial complex" in which industry received huge government contracts to build weaponry for the military.

***Brown v. Board of Education*** – This was the “desegregation of schools” case. The case was brought before the Supreme Court in May 1954 and the Court ruled that segregation of races in public schools was unconstitutional. The *Brown* case effectively overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the “separate but equal” case of 1896. Although the case took place in 1954, integration didn't really happen in public school until about 1970.

**Geneva Conference** -- The Geneva conference split the nation of Vietnam roughly in half along the seventeenth parallel and established a shaky peace in the nation of Laos.

**South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)** – SEATO was introduced by Secretary Dulles as a prop for his shaky policy in Vietnam. It was intended to be similar to NATO, only in Southeast Asia rather than the North Atlantic.

**Hungarian Revolt** -- When the Hungarians tried to win their freedom from the Russian communist regime in 1956, they were crushed by Soviet tanks.

**Suez Crisis** -- When President Nasser of Egypt announced his intention to build a dam in the Suez to provide power and irrigation to Egypt, the United States offered its financial support, then withdrawing it when Nasser spoke with the communists on the subject. Nasser responded by nationalizing the Suez Canal, which was previously owned by British and French stockholders. This hurt Europe by crippling their oil supply, most of which came from the Persian Gulf. The French and British retaliated by striking Egypt, confident that the United States would supply them with the oil they needed while they fought with the Middle East. President Eisenhower refused to do so, however, forcing the allies to withdraw their troops. As a result, U.N. troops acted for the first time to maintain peace and order in the world. The Soviets tried to interfere. Eisenhower put the Strategic Air Command on alert to halt this.

**Eisenhower Doctrine** – In 1957, Congress and the president pledged U.S. military and economic aid to Middle Eastern nations threatened by communist aggression. Under this Eisenhower Doctrine, the U.S. was able to openly land several thousand troops and help restore order.

**Sputnik** -- This Russian satellite was the first satellite ever launched into space, in October of 1957. Sputnik began the "race for space" where Americans competed with the Russians to get farther into space. Also caused American education to focus more on science and mathematics and less on the arts and humanities.

**Missile Gap** -- The United States and the Soviet Union were involved in a race to discover who had more missiles and war equipment. The missile gap was the difference in how much the United States had compared to how much the Soviet Union had. *Sputnik* showed that the U.S. might be lagging.

**National Defense and Education Act** -- (NDEA) After the Russian satellite "Sputnik" was successfully launched, there was a critical comparison of the Russian to the American education system. The American education system was already seen as too easygoing. So in 1958, Congress made the NDEA, authorizing \$887 million in loans to needy college students and in grants for the purpose of improving the teaching of the sciences and languages.

**U-2 Incident** – This took place under Eisenhower's administration just before the "summit conference" in Paris scheduled for May 1960. The American U-2 spy plane was shot down over Russia. Eisenhower was forced to step up and assume personal responsibility for the incident. Francis Gary Powers was the pilot who was captured by the Russians, but later returned. The incident kept Khrushchev from meeting with Eisenhower.

# Chapter 38

## The Stormy Sixties

- I. Kennedy’s “New Frontier” Spirit
  - i. In 1960, young, energetic **John F. Kennedy** was elected as president of the United States—the youngest man ever *elected* to that office.
  - ii. The 1960s would bring a sexual revolution, a civil rights revolution, the emergence of a “youth culture,” a devastating war in **Vietnam**, and the beginnings of a feminist revolution.
  - iii. JFK delivered a stirring inaugural address (“Ask not, what your country can do for you...”), and he also assembled a very young cabinet, including his brother, **Robert Kennedy**, as attorney general.
    1. Robert Kennedy tried to recast the priorities of the FBI, but was resisted by **J. Edgar Hoover**.
    2. Business whiz **Robert S. McNamara** took over the Defense Department.
  - iv. Early on, JFK proposed the **Peace Corps**, an army of idealist and mostly youthful volunteers to bring American skills to underdeveloped countries.
  - v. A graduate of Harvard and with a young family, JFK was very vibrant and charming to everyone.
- II. The New Frontier at Home
  - i. Kennedy’s social program was known as the **New Frontier**, but conservative Democrats and Republicans threatened to kill many of its reforms.
    1. JFK did expand the **House Rules Committee**, but his program didn’t expand quickly, as medical and education bills remained stalled in Congress.
    2. JFK also had to keep a lid on inflation and maintain a good economy.
    3. However, almost immediately into his term, steel management announced great price increases, igniting the fury of the president, but JFK also earned fiery attacks by big business against the New Frontier.
  - ii. Kennedy’s tax-cut bill chose to stimulate the economy through price-cutting.
  - iii. Kennedy also promoted a project to land Americans on the moon, though apathetic Americans often ridiculed this goal.
- III. Rumbblings in Europe
  - i. JFK met Russian Premier **Nikita Khrushchev** and was threatened, but didn’t back down.
  - ii. In August of the 1961, the Soviets began building the **Berlin Wall** to separate East and West Germany.
  - iii. Western Europe, though, was now prospering after help from the super-successful **Marshall Plan**.
    1. America had also encouraged a **Common Market** (to keep trade barriers and tariff low in Europe), which later became the **European Union** (EU).
    2. The so-called **Kennedy Round** of tariff negotiations eased trade between Europe and the U.S.
  - iv. Unfortunately, French leader **Charles de Gaulle** was one who was suspicious of the U.S., and he rejected Britain’s application into the Common Market.
- IV. Foreign Flare-Ups and “Flexible Response”
  - i. There were many world problems at this time:
    1. The African **Congo** got its independence from Belgium in 1960 and then erupted into violence, but the **United Nations** sent a peacekeeping force.
    2. **Laos**, freed of its French overlords in 1954, was being threatened by communism, but at the **Geneva Conference** of 1962, peace was shakily imposed.
    3. Defense Secretary McNamara pushed a strategy of “**flexible response**,” which developed an array of military options that could match the gravity of whatever crises came to hand.
      - i. One of these was the Green Berets, AKA, the “Special Forces”.
- V. Stepping into the Vietnam Quagmire
  - i. The American-backed **Diem** government had shakily and corruptly ruled Vietnam since 1954, but it was threatened by the communist **Viet Cong** movement led by **Ho Chi Minh**.
  - ii. JFK slowly sent more and more U.S. troops to Vietnam to “maintain order,” but they usually fought and died, despite the fact that it was “Vietnam’s war.”
- VI. Cuban Confrontations

- i. Kennedy's **Alliance for Progress** was dubbed the "Marshall Plan for Latin America," and it aimed to close the rich-poor gap in Latin American and thus stem communism.
    1. However, too many Latin Americans felt that it was too little, too late.
  - ii. Kennedy also backed a U.S.-aided invasion of Cuba by rebels, but when the **Bay of Pigs Invasion** occurred, on April 17, 1961, it was a disaster, as Kennedy did not bring in the air support, and the revolt failed.
    1. This event pushed recently imposed Cuban leader **Fidel Castro** closer to the communist camp.
    2. JFK took full responsibility for the attack, and his popularity actually went up.
  - iii. Then, in 1962, U.S. spy planes recorded missile installations in Cuba. It was later revealed that these were, in fact, nuclear missiles aimed at America.
    1. The **Cuban Missile Crisis** lasted 13 nerve-racking days and put the U.S., the U.S.S.R., and the world at the brink of nuclear war. But in the end, Khrushchev blinked, backed off of a U.S. naval blockade, looked very weak and indecisive, and lost his power soon afterwards.
    2. The Soviets agreed to remove their missiles if the U.S. vowed to never invade Cuba again; the U.S. also removed their own Russia-aimed nuclear missiles in Turkey.
    3. There was also a direct phone call line (the "hot line") installed between Washington D.C. and Moscow, in case of any crisis.
    4. In June, 1963, Kennedy spoke, urging better feelings toward the Soviets and beginning the modest policy of **détente**, or relaxed tension in the Cold War.
- VII. The Struggle for Civil Rights
- i. While Kennedy had campaigned a lot to appeal to black voters, when it came time to help them, he was hesitant and seemingly unwilling, taking much action.
  - ii. In the 1960s, groups of **Freedom Riders** chartered buses to tour through the South to try to end segregation, but white mobs often reacted violently towards them. This drew more attention to the segregation and what went on down South.
  - iii. Slowly but surely, Kennedy urged civil rights along, encouraging the establishment of the **SNCC**, a **Voter Education Project** to register the South's blacks to vote.
  - iv. Some places desegregated painlessly, but others were volcanoes.
    1. 29 year-old **James Meredith** tried to enroll at the **University of Mississippi**, but white students didn't let him, so Kennedy had to send some 400 federal marshals and 3,000 troops to ensure that Meredith could enroll in his first class.
  - v. In spring of 1963, **Martin Luther King, Jr.** launched a peaceful campaign against discrimination in **Birmingham**, Alabama, but police and authorities responded viciously, often using extremely high-pressured water hoses to "hose down" the sit-in protesters.
    1. The entire American public watched in horror as the black protesters were treated with such contempt, since the actions were shown on national TV.
    2. Later, on June 11, 1963, JFK made a speech urging immediate action towards this "moral issue" in a passionate plea.
  - vi. Still, more violence followed, as in September 1963, a bomb exploded in a Birmingham church, killing four black girls who had just finished their church lesson.
- VIII. The Killing of Kennedy
- i. On November 22, 1963, while riding down a street in Dallas, Texas, JFK was shot and killed, allegedly by **Lee Harvey Oswald**, who was himself shot by self-proclaimed avenger **Jack Ruby**, and there was much controversy and scandal and conspiracy in the assassination.
  - ii. **Lyndon B. Johnson** became the new president of the United States as only the fourth president to succeed an assassinated president.
  - iii. It was only after Kennedy's death that America realized what a charismatic, energetic, and vibrant president they had lost.
- IX. The LBJ Brand on the Presidency
- i. Lyndon Johnson had been a senator in the 1940s and 50s, his idol was **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, and he could manipulate Congress very well (through his in-your-face "Johnson treatment"); also, he was very vain and egotistical.
  - ii. As a president, LBJ went from conservative to liberal, helping pass a **Civil Rights Act** of 1964, which banned all racial discrimination in most private facilities open to the public, including theaters, hospitals, and restaurants.
    1. Also created was the **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)**, which was aimed at eliminating discriminatory hiring.
  - iii. Johnson's program was dubbed the "**Great Society**," and it reflected its **New Deal** inspirations.

1. Public support for the program was aroused by **Michael Harrington's** *The Other America*, which revealed that over 20% of American suffered in poverty.
- X. Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964
- i. In 1964, LBJ was opposed by Republican Arizona senator **Barry Goldwater** who attacked the federal income tax, the **Social Security** system, the **Tennessee Valley Authority**, civil rights legislation, the nuclear test-ban treaty, and the Great Society.
  - ii. However, Johnson used the **Tonkin Gulf Incident**, in which North Vietnamese ships *allegedly* fired on American ships, to attack (at least partially) Vietnam, and he also got approval for the **Tonkin Gulf Resolution**, which gave him a virtual blank check on what he could do in affairs in Vietnam.
  - iii. But on election day, Johnson won a huge landslide over Goldwater to stay president.
- XI. The Great Society Congress
- i. Johnson's win was also coupled by sweeping Democratic wins that enabled him to pass his Great Society programs.
  - ii. Congress doubled the appropriation on the **Office of Economic Opportunity** to \$2 billion and granted more than \$1 billion to refurbish Appalachia, which had been stagnant.
  - iii. Johnson also created the **Department of Transportation** and the **Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)**, headed by **Robert C. Weaver**, the first black cabinet secretary in the United States' history.
  - iv. LBJ also wanted aid to education, medical care for the elderly and indigent, immigration reform, and a new voting rights bill.
    1. Johnson gave money to students, not schools, thus avoiding the separation of church and state by not technically giving money to Christian schools.
    2. In 1965, new programs called **Medicare** and **Medicaid** were installed, which gave certain rights to the elderly and the needy in terms of medicine and health maintenance.
    3. The **Immigration and Nationality Act** of 1965 abolished the "national origin" quota and doubled the number of immigrants allowed to enter the U.S. annually, up to 290,000.
    4. An antipoverty program called **Project Head Start** improved the performance of the underprivileged in education. It was "pre-school" for the poor.
- XII. Battling for Black Rights
- i. Johnson's **Voting Rights Act** of 1965 attacked racial discrimination at the polls by outlawing literacy tests and sending voting registrars to the polls.
  - ii. The **24<sup>th</sup> Amendment** eliminated poll taxes, and in the "freedom summer" of 1964, both blacks and white students joined to combat discrimination and racism.
    1. However, in June of 1964, a black and two white civil rights workers were found murdered, and 21 white Mississippians were arrested for the murders, but the all-white jury refused to convict the suspects.
    2. Also, an integrated "**Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party**" was denied its seat.
  - iii. Early in 1965, Martin Luther King, Jr. resumed a voter-registration campaign in **Selma**, Alabama, but was assaulted with tear gas by state troopers.
    1. LBJ's responded by calling for America to overcome bigotry, racism, and discrimination.
- XIII. Black Power
- i. 1965 began a period of violent black protests, such as the one in the **Watts** area of L.A., as black leaders, mocking Martin Luther King, Jr., like **Malcolm X** (born Malcolm Little), who was inspired by the **Nation of Islam** and its founder, **Elijah Muhammed**. They urged action now, even if it required violence, to the tune of his battle cry, "by any means necessary." But, Malcolm X was killed in 1965 by an assassin.
  - ii. The **Black Panthers** openly brandished weapons in Oakland, California.
  - iii. Trinidad-born **Stokely Carmichael** led the **Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee** and urged an abandonment of peaceful demonstrations.
  - iv. Black power became a rallying cry by blacks seeking more rights, but just as they were getting them, more riots broke out, and nervous whites threatened with retaliation.
  - v. Tragically, on April 4, 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated.
    1. Quietly, though, thousands of blacks registered to vote and went into integrated classrooms, and they slowly built themselves into a politically powerful group.
- XIV. Combating Communism in Two Hemispheres
- i. Johnson sent men to put down a supposedly communist *coup* in the Dominican Republic and was denounced as over-anxious and too hyper.
  - ii. In Vietnam, though, he slowly sent more and more U.S. men to fight the war, and the South Vietnamese became spectators in their own war. Meanwhile, more and more Americans died.

- iii. By 1968, he had sent more than half a million troops to Asia, and was pouring in \$30 billion annually, yet the end was nowhere in sight.
- XV. Vietnam Vexations
  - i. America was floundering in Vietnam and was being condemned for its actions there, and French leader Charles de Gaulle also ordered NATO off French soil in 1966.
  - ii. In the **Six-Day War**, Israel stunned the world by defeating Egypt (and its Soviet backers) and gaining new territory in the **Sinai Peninsula**, the **Golan Heights**, the **Gaza Strip**, and the **West Bank** of the Jordan River, including **Jerusalem**.
  - iii. Meanwhile, numerous protests in America went against the Vietnam War and the draft.
    - 1. Opposition was headed by the influential **Senate Committee of Foreign Relations**, headed by Senator **William Fullbright** of Arkansas.
    - 2. "Doves" (peace lovers) and "Hawks" (war supporters) clashed.
  - iv. Both sides (the U.S. and North Vietnam) did try to have intervals of quiet time in bombings, but they merely used those as excuses to funnel more troops into the area.
  - v. Johnson also ordered the **CIA** to spy on domestic antiwar activists, and he encouraged the FBI to use its Counterintelligence Program ("**Cointelpro**") against the peace movement.
  - vi. More and more, America was trapped in an awful **Vietnam War**, and it couldn't get out, thus feeding more and more hatred and resentment to the American public.
- XVI. Vietnam Topples Johnson
  - i. Johnson was personally suffering at the American casualties, and he wept as he signed condolence letters and even prayed with Catholic monks in a nearby church—at night, secretly. And, the fact that North Vietnam had almost taken over Saigon in a blistering attack called the **Tet Offensive** didn't help either.
  - ii. Johnson also saw a challenge for the Democratic ticket from **Eugene McCarthy** and **Robert Kennedy**, and the nation, as well as the Democratic party, was starting to be split by Vietnam.
    - 1. LBJ refused to sign an order for more troops to Vietnam.
  - iii. Then, on March 31, 1968, Johnson declared that he would stop sending in troops to Vietnam and that he would not run in 1968, shocking America.
- XVII. The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968
  - i. On June 5, 1968, Robert Kennedy was shot fatally, and the Democratic ticket went to **Hubert Humphrey**, Johnson's "heir."
  - ii. The Republicans responded with Richard Nixon, paired with **Spiro Agnew**, and there was also a third-party candidate: **George C. Wallace**, former governor of Alabama, a segregationist who wanted to bomb the Vietnamese to death.
  - iii. Nixon won a nail-biter, and Wallace didn't do that badly either, though worse than expected.
  - iv. A minority president, he owed his presidency to protests over the war, the unfair draft, crime, and rioting.
- XVIII. The Obituary of Lyndon Johnson
  - i. Poor Lyndon Johnson returned to his Texas ranch and died there in 1973.
  - ii. He had committed Americans into Vietnam with noble intentions, and he really wasn't a bad guy, but he was stuck in a time when he was damned if he did and damned if he didn't.
- XIX. The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s
  - i. In the 60s, the youth of America experimented with sex, drugs, and defiance.
  - ii. They protested against conventional wisdom, authority, and traditional beliefs.
  - iii. Poets like **Allen Ginsberg** and novelists like **Jack Kerouac** (who wrote *On the Road*) voiced these opinions of the **Beatnik generation**.
  - iv. Movies like *The Wild One* with Marlon Brando and *Rebel without a Cause* starring James Dean also showed this belief. Essentially, they championed the "ne'er-do-well" and the outcast.
  - v. At the **UC-Berkeley**, in 1964, a so-called **Free Speech Movement** began.
    - 1. Kids tried drugs, "did their own thing" in new institutions, and rejected patriotism.
  - vi. In 1948, Indiana University "sexologist" **Dr. Alfred Kinsey** had published *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, and had followed that book five years later with a female version. His findings about the incidence of premarital sex and adultery were very controversial.
    - 1. He also estimated that 10% of all American males were gay.
    - 2. The **Manhattan Society**, founded in L.A. in 1951, pioneered gay rights.
  - vii. **Students for a Democratic Society**, once against war, later spawned an underground terrorist group called the **Weathermen**.
  - viii. The upheavals of the 1960s and the anti-establishment movement can largely be attributed to the three P's: the youthful population bulge, the protest against racism and the Vietnam War, and the



apparent permanence of prosperity, but as the 1970s rolled around, this prosperity gave way to stagnation.

- ix. However, the "counterculture" of the youths of the 1960s did significantly weaken existing values, ideas, and beliefs.

## Chapter 38 Vocabulary

**John F. Kennedy** -- Kennedy was the youngest and one of the most glamorous president ever elected. He won the 1960 presidential election against Nixon. He was the first Catholic president. During his presidency, he sent "advisors" to Vietnam. He helped develop the Peace Corps. His foreign policy of "Flexible Response" tried to give the U.S. more options than "massive retaliation". His domestic program was the "New Frontier." He appointed his brother, Robert Kennedy as Attorney General. Robert Kennedy aided the Civil Rights movement as well. John F. Kennedy was assassinated on Nov. 22, 1963.

**Robert F. Kennedy** -- "RFK" ran for president in 1968 and stirred a response from workers, African Americans, Hispanics, and younger Americans. He would have captured the Democratic nomination, but was assassinated by Sirhan Sirhan after a victory speech during the California primary in June 1968.

**Robert S. McNamara** -- Robert S. McNamara was the Secretary of Defense under John Kennedy. He helped develop the "flexible response" policy. He was against the war in Vietnam and was removed from office because of this.

**Charles de Gaulle** -- He was president of France and was suspicious of American plans for Europe. He wanted to recapture the feeling of the Napoleonic era—the waning glory of France. He constantly vetoed actions by or in the interest of the U.S. that would increase American influence in European affairs.

**Martin Luther King, Jr.** -- "MLK" was the foremost leader in the civil rights movement in the 1950's and 1960's. He preached non-violent forms of revolting, such as sit-ins, civil disobedience, and peaceful protests. It's often said he was influenced in these tactics by Henry David Thoreau and Gandhi. He was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee on April 4, 1968.

**Lee Harvey Oswald** -- On November 22, 1963, he assassinated President Kennedy who was riding through downtown Dallas, Texas. Oswald was later shot in front of television cameras by Jack Ruby.

**Lyndon B. Johnson** -- "LBJ" was a Democratic egotist who was Kennedy's vice president, and became president when Kennedy was assassinated. He escalated the war in Vietnam and the failure to win the war was largely blamed on him. Johnson had a great domestic policy called "The Great Society" and helped push for the passing of the Civil Rights Act to end discrimination. He also issued all federal contractors to take "affirmative action" against discrimination.

**Barry Goldwater** -- Goldwater was a Republican senator from Arizona who was nominated on the Republican ticket for the presidency in the election of 1964. He ran against Lyndon B. Johnson and lost the election.

**Malcolm X** -- He was a black Muslim leader who favored black separation and condemned the "blue-eyed white devils." His leadership had a decidedly more aggressive tone to the civil rights movement than Martin Luther King Jr. He was shot by a black gunman while giving a speech in New York City.

**Stokely Carmichael** -- Carmichael was a black civil rights activist in the 1960's. He was the leader of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and did a lot of work with Martin Luther King Jr., but later changed his attitude. Carmichael urged giving up peaceful demonstrations and encouraged pursuing "black power." He was known for saying, "Black power will smash everything Western civilization has created."

**Eugene McCarthy** -- McCarthy was a little known Democratic Senator from Minnesota. He represented the Democratic party in the 1968 presidential election. He was a devout Catholic and soft-spoken, sometimes poetic. He used a group of antiwar college students as his campaign workers. He, with the help of his "Children's Crusade," got 42% of the Democratic votes, but lost the election to Richard Nixon.

**Hubert H. Humphrey** -- The democratic nominee for the presidency in the election of 1968. He was LBJ's vice president, and was supportive of his Vietnam policies. This support split the Democratic party, allowing Nixon to win the election for the Republicans.

**Richard M. Nixon** -- Nixon was elected president in 1968 and 1972, representing the Republican party. He was responsible for getting the United States out of the Vietnam War by using "Vietnamization," which was the withdrawal of 540,000 troops from South Vietnam over an extended period. He was responsible for the "Nixon Doctrine" saying the U.S. would not supply American troops for foreign wars, and he took the United States off the gold standard also. He was involved in *détente*, which was a way to create eased relations between the United States and the communist countries of Moscow and Beijing. One of the most distinct factors relating to Nixon was that he was the first president to ever resign due to the Watergate scandal. He resigned on August 8, 1974.

**George Wallace** -- Wallace was a third party candidate for the American Independent party in 1968 that lost against Nixon. He was a former governor of Alabama and had stood in the doorway to prevent black students from entering the University of Alabama.

**Flexible response** -- This was Kennedy's plan to deal with foreign powers by not always resorting to the threat of nuclear weapons (massive retaliation), but by using specialists like the Green Beret.

**Credibility Gap** -- This was the gap between the people and the government that grew as the people became disillusioned with the Vietnam War and Watergate scandal and specifically what they were told or not told about each.

**New Frontier** -- The New Frontier was the new program introduced by President Kennedy in the early 1960's. These programs included the space program and the Peace Corp. It appealed to younger Americans especially.

**Peace Corps** -- Kennedy proposed this program, which was an army of idealistic and mostly youthful volunteers to bring American skills to underdeveloped countries.

**Alliance of Progress** -- This plan was the "Marshall Plan for Latin America." It was suggested by President Kennedy to help the Good Neighbors close the gap between the rich and the poor, and to help quiet the communist agitation. It was unsuccessful because there was little alliance and no progress.

**Bay of Pigs Invasion** -- Kennedy was told that there were enough people in Cuba that would support an uprising, so he sent American-trained Cuban exiles to the Bay of Pigs. When no one was there to support the raid, Kennedy withdrew air support. Therefore, Castro was able to defeat the uprising. This was Kennedy's largest failure in his foreign policy.

**Cuban Missile Crisis** -- In Oct. of 1962, U.S. intelligence confirmed reports that the U.S.S.R. was constructing missile launching sites in Cuba. President Kennedy rejected a full-scale attack and, instead, delivered a public ultimatum to the U.S.S.R. to halt missiles. JFK ordered a naval blockade around Cuba to enforce this halting. The U.S.S.R. backed down and the U.S. promised not to overthrow the Cuban government.

**nuclear-test ban treaty** -- In 1963, Kennedy and the Russians signed a pact prohibiting trial nuclear explosions in the atmosphere. This was signed following the Cuban missile crisis.

**March on Washington** -- In August of 1963, Martin Luther King Jr. organized a massive protest on Washington, D.C. where he gave his "I Have a Dream" speech. The march was organized to protest racial discrimination and to demonstrate support for major civil-rights legislation that was pending in Congress.

**War on Poverty** -- This was the name President Lyndon Johnson gave to his crusade to improve the lifestyle of America's poor, especially those in Appalachia. It included economic and welfare measures aimed at helping the large percentage of Americans who lived in poverty.

**Great Society** -- The Great Society was President Johnson's domestic program. It was a continuation of the democratic ideals of FDR's New Deal and Truman's Fair Deal. It included war on poverty in which such issues as health care, education, and welfare were covered and increased in importance. Medicare and Medicaid exemplify this program.

**Tonkin Gulf Resolution** -- In August 1964, shots were allegedly fired at American navy ships by the North Vietnamese. LBJ quickly ordered an air raid on North Vietnamese bases, and pushed the Tonkin Gulf Resolution through Congress. This gave the president a blank check to use for further force in Southeast Asia. Because of this, LBJ had total control, and did not need the approval of Congress to enter the war.

**Civil Right Act of 1964** -- Passed by Congress in 1964 in honor of the late President Kennedy, this act banned racial discrimination in places such as hospitals and restaurants. This act also gave the government the power to desegregate schools. It led to the creation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

**Twenty-Fourth Amendment** -- Passed in 1964, it abolished the poll tax in federal elections to increase Black voter turnout down South.

**Voting Rights Act** -- This act, passed in 1965, outlawed literacy tests and sent federal voter registrars into several Southern states. This act did not end discrimination and oppression overnight, but it helped blacks get a foothold on change.

**Operation Rolling Thunder** -- President Johnson launched Operation Rolling Thunder, a massive air bombardment of North Vietnam, in April of 1965. The targets were directly chosen by the president. These were regular, full-scale bombing attacks against Vietnam.

**Tet Offensive** -- Tet was the name given to a campaign in January 1968 by the Viet Cong to attack twenty-seven South Vietnamese cities, including Saigon. It ended in a military defeat for the Viet Cong, but at the same time, proved that Johnson's "gradual escalation" strategy was not working. It shocked an American public that had been led to believe the Vietnam conflict was a sure victory.

# Chapter 39

## The Stalemated Seventies

### I. Sources of Stagnation

- i. After the flurry of economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s, the U.S. economy grew stagnant in the 1970s. No year during that decade had a growth rate that matched any year of the preceding two decades.
  1. Part of the slowdown was caused by more women and teens in the work force who typically had less skill and made less money than males, while deteriorating machinery and U.S. regulations also limited growth.

2. A large reason for the 1970s economic woes was the upward spiral of inflation.
  - ii. Former President **Lyndon B. Johnson**’s spending on the **Vietnam War** and on his **Great Society** program also depleted the U.S. treasury, and this caused too much money in people’s hands and too little products to buy.
  - iii. Also, since the U.S. did not continue advancing, Americans were caught by the Japanese and the Germans in industries that the U.S. had once dominated: steel, automobiles, consumer electronics.
- II. Nixon “Vietnamizes” the War
- i. Upon taking office, President **Richard Nixon** urged American’s to stop tearing each other apart and to cooperate.
    1. He was very skilled in foreign affairs, and to cope with the Vietnam dilemma, he used a policy called “**Vietnamization**” in which 540,000 American troops would be pulled out of the Southeast Asian nation and the war would be turned back over to the Vietnamese.
    2. The South Vietnamese would slowly fight their own war, and the U.S. would only supply arms and money but not American troops; this was called the “**Nixon Doctrine**.”
  - ii. While outwardly seeming to appease, Nixon divided America into his supporters and opponents.
  - iii. Nixon appealed to the “**Silent Majority**,” Americans who supported the war, but without noise.
  - iv. The war was fought generally by the lesser-privileged Americans, since college students and critically skilled civilians were exempt, and there were also reports of dissension in the army.
    1. Soldiers slogged through grimy mud and jungle, trusting nothing and were paranoid and bitter toward a government that “handcuffed” them and a war against a frustrating enemy.
  - v. The **My Lai Massacre** of 1968, in which American troops brutally massacred innocent women and children in the village of My Lai, illustrated the frustration and led to more opposition to the war.
  - vi. In 1970, Nixon ordered an attack on Cambodia, Vietnam’s neighbor.
- III. Cambodianizing the Vietnam War
- i. North Vietnamese had been using Cambodia as a springboard for funneling troops and arms along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, and on April 29, 1970, Nixon suddenly ordered U.S. troops to invade Cambodia to stop this.
  - ii. Much uproar was caused, as riots occurred at **Kent State University** (where the National Guard opened fire and killed 4 people) and at **Jackson State College**.
    1. Two months later, Nixon withdrew U.S. troops from Cambodia.
  - iii. The Cambodian incident split even wider the gap between the “hawks” and the “doves.”
  - iv. The U.S. Senate repealed the **Tonkin Gulf Resolution**, and in 1971, the **26<sup>th</sup> Amendment**, lowering the voting age to eighteen, was also passed.
  - v. In June 1971, *The New York Times* published a top-secret Pentagon study of America’s involvement of the Vietnam War—papers that had been leaked by **Daniel Ellsberg**, a former Pentagon official—these “**Pentagon Papers**” exposed the deceit used by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations regarding Vietnam and people spoke of a “credibility gap” between what the government said and the reality.
- IV. Nixon’s Détente with Beijing (Peking) and Moscow
- i. Meanwhile, China and the Soviet Union were clashing over their own interpretations of Marxism, and Nixon seized this as a chance for the U.S. to relax tensions and establish “*détente*.”
  - ii. He sent national security adviser **Dr. Henry A. Kissinger** to China to encourage better relations, a mission in which he succeeded, even though he used to be a big anti-Communist.
  - iii. Nixon then traveled to Moscow in May 1972, and the Soviets, wanting foodstuffs and alarmed over the possibility of a U.S.—China alliance against the U.S.S.R., made deals with America in which the U.S. would sell the Soviets at least \$750 million worth of wheat, corn, and other cereals, thus ushering in an era of *détente*, or relaxed tensions.
    1. The **ABM Treaty** (anti-ballistic missile treaty) and the **SALT** (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) also lessened tension, but the U.S. also went ahead with its new **MIRV** (Multiple Independently-targeted Reentry Vehicles) missiles, which could overcome any defense by overwhelming it with a plethora of missiles; therefore, the U.S.S.R. did the same.
  - iv. However, Nixon’s *détente* policy did work, at least in part, to relax U.S.—Soviet tensions.
- V. A New Team on the Supreme Bench
- i. When **Earl Warren** was appointed as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, he headed many controversial but important decisions:
    1. **Griswold v. Connecticut** (1965) struck down a state law that banned the use of contraceptives, even by married couples, but creating a “right to privacy.”
    2. **Gideon v. Wainwright** (1963) said that all criminals were entitled to legal counsel, even if they were too poor to afford it.

3. **Escobedo** (1964) and **Miranda** (1966) were two cases in which the Supreme Court ruled that the accused could remain silent.
  4. **Engel v. Vitale** (1962) and **School District of Abington Township vs. Schempp** (1963) were two cases that led to the Court ruling against required prayers and having the Bible in public schools, basing the judgment on the First Amendment, which was argued separated church and state.
  - ii. Following its ruling against segregation in the case **Brown v. Board of Education**, the Court backed up its ruling with other rulings:
    1. **Reynolds v. Sims** (1964) ruled that the state legislatures, both upper and lower houses, would have to be reapportioned according to the human population. This was to ensure each person’s vote was weighed evenly.
  - iii. Trying to end this liberalism, Nixon chose **Warren E. Burger** to replace the retiring Earl Warren in 1969, and this succeeded—by the end of 1971, the Supreme Court had four new members that Nixon had appointed.
    1. Strangely though, this “conservative” court made the controversial **Roe v. Wade** decision allowing abortion.
- VI. Nixon on the Home Front
- i. Nixon also expanded Great Society programs by increasing appropriations for **Medicare** and **Medicaid**, as well as **Aid to Families with Dependent Children** (AFDC), and created the **Supplemental Security Income** (SSI), which gave benefits to the indigent, aged, blind, and disabled, and he raised **Social Security**.
  - ii. Nixon’s so-called “**Philadelphia Plan**” of 1969 required construction-trade unions working on the federal payroll to establish “goals and timetables” for Black employees.
    1. This plan changed “**affirmative action**” to mean preferable treatment on groups (minorities), not *individuals*, and the Supreme Court’s decision on **Griggs v. Duke Power Co.** (1971) supported this.
    2. However, whites protested to “reverse discrimination” (hiring of minorities for fear of repercussions if too many whites were hired).
  - iii. The **Environmental Protection Agency** (EPA) was also created to protect nature, as well as OSHA, or the **Occupational Health and Safety Administration**.
  - iv. In 1962, **Rachel Carson** boosted the environmental movement with her book *Silent Spring*, which exposed the disastrous effects of pesticides (namely, DDT), and in 1950, Los Angeles already had an **Air Pollution Control Office**.
  - v. The **Clean Air Act** of 1970 and the **Endangered Species Act** of 1973 both aimed to protect and preserve the environment and animals.
  - vi. Worried about inflation, Nixon also imposed a 90-day wage freeze and then took the nation off the gold standard, thus ending the “Bretton Woods” system of international currency stabilization, which had functioned for more than a quarter of a century after WWII.
- VII. The Nixon Landslide of 1972
- i. In 1972, the North Vietnamese attacked again, surprisingly, and Nixon ordered massive retaliatory air attacks, which ground the Vietnamese offense to a stop when neither China nor Russia stepped in to help, thanks to Nixon’s shrewd diplomacy.
  - ii. Nixon was opposed by **George McGovern** in 1972, who promised to end the war within 90 days after the election and also appealed to teens and women, but his running mate, **Thomas Eagleton** was found to have undergone psychiatric care before, and Nixon won in a landslide.
  - iii. Nixon also sought to “bomb Vietnam to the peace table.”
    1. Despite Kissinger’s promise of peace being near, Nixon went on a bombing rampage that eventually drove the North Vietnamese to the bargaining table to agree to a cease-fire, which occurred on January 23, 1973
      - a. This peace was little more than a barely-disguised American retreat.
      - b. In the terms of the peace, the U.S. would withdraw its remaining 27,000 troops and get back 560 prisoners of war.
- VIII. The Secret Bombing of Cambodia and the War Powers Act
- i. It was then discovered that there had been secret bombing raids of North Vietnamese forces in Cambodia that had occurred since March of 1969, despite federal assurances to the U.S. public that Cambodia’s neutrality was being respected.
    1. The public now wondered what kind of a government the U.S. had if it couldn’t be trusted and the **credibility gap** widened.
  - ii. Finally, Nixon ended this bombing in June of 1973.

- iii. However, soon Cambodia was taken over by the cruel **Pol Pot**, who tried to commit genocide by killing over 2 million people over a span of a few years.
  - iv. The **War Powers Act** of November 1973 (1) required the president to report all commitments of U.S. troops to Congress within 48 hours and and (2) setting a 60 day limit on those activities.
  - v. There was also a "**New Isolationism**" that discouraged the use of U.S. troops in other countries, but Nixon fended off all efforts at this.
- IX. The Arab Oil Embargo and the Energy Crisis
- i. After the U.S. backed Israel in its war against Syria and Egypt which had been trying to regain territory lost in the **Six-Day War**, the Arab nations imposed an oil embargo, which strictly limited oil in the U.S. and caused a fuel crisis.
    1. A speed limit of 55 MPH was imposed, and the oil pipeline in Alaska was approved in 1974 despite environmentalists' cries, and other types of energy were pursued.
    2. Since 1948, the U.S. had been importing more oil than it exported, and oil production had gone down since 1970; thus, this marked the end of the era of cheap energy.
  - ii. **OPEC** (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) lifted the embargo in 1974, and then quadrupled the price of oil by decade's end.
- X. Watergate and the Unmaking of a President
- i. On June 17, 1972, five men working for the Republican **Committee for the Re-election of the President** (CREEP) were caught breaking into the Watergate Hotel and planting some bugs in the room.
    1. What followed was a huge scandal in which many prominent administrators resigned.
    2. It also provoked the improper or illegal use of the FBI and the CIA.
    3. Lengthy hearings proceeded, headed by Senator **Sam Erving**, and **John Dean III** testified about all the corruption, illegal activities, and scandal that took place.
  - ii. Then, it was discovered that there were tapes that had recorded conversations that could solve all the mysteries in this case. But Nixon, who had explicitly denied participation in this **Watergate Scandal** earlier to the American people, refused to hand over the tapes to Congress.
    1. Also, Vice President **Spiro Agnew** was forced to resign in 1973 due to tax evasion.
    2. Thus, in accordance with the new **25<sup>th</sup> Amendment**, Nixon submitted a name to Congress to approve as the new vice president—**Gerald Ford**.
    3. Then came the "**Saturday Night Massacre**" (Oct. 20, 1973), in which **Archibald Cox**, special prosecutor of the case who had issued a subpoena of the tapes, was fired and the attorney general and deputy general resigned because they didn't want to fire Cox.
  - iii. Nixon's presidency was coming unraveled.
    1. On July 24, 1974, the Supreme Court ruled that Nixon had to give all of his tapes to Congress.
      - a. The tapes that had already been handed over showed Nixon cursing and swearing—poor behavior for our president.
    2. Late in July 1974, the House approved its first article of impeachment for obstruction of the administration of justice.
    3. On August 5, 1974, Nixon finally released the three tapes that held the most damaging information—the same three tapes that had been "missing." The tapes showed Nixon had indeed ordered a cover-up of the Watergate situation.
    4. On August 8 of the same year, he resigned, realizing that he would be convicted if impeached, and with resignation, at least he could still keep the privileges of a former president.
      - a. The lesson learned was that the Constitution indeed works.
- XI. The First Unelected President
- i. Gerald Ford was the first unelected president ever, since his name had been submitted by Nixon as a V.P. candidate when Spiro Agnew resigned due to a bribery scandal while he was Maryland governor. All the other V.P.'s that had ascended to the presidency had at least been supported as running mates of the president that had been elected.
  - ii. He was also seen as a dumb jock of a president (he was a former Univ. of Michigan football player), and his popularity and respect further sank when he issued a **full pardon** of Nixon, thus setting off accusations of a "buddy deal."
  - iii. His popularity also declined when he granted **amnesty** to "draft dodgers" thus allowing them to return to the U.S. from wherever they'd run to (usually Canada or Europe).
  - iv. In July 1975, Ford signed the **Helsinki accords**, which recognized Soviet boundaries, guaranteed human rights, and eased the U.S.—Soviet situation.

1. Critics charged that *détente* was making the U.S. lose grain and technology while gaining nothing from the Soviets.
- XII. Defeat in Vietnam
  - i. Disastrously for Ford, South Vietnam fell to the communist North in 1975, and American troops had to be evacuated, the last on April 29, 1975, thus ending the U.S. role in Vietnam War.
  - ii. America seemed to have lost the war, and it had also lost a *lot* of respect.
- XIII. Feminist Victories and Defeats
  - i. During the 1970s, the feminist movement became energized and took a decidedly aggressive tone.
  - ii. Title IX prohibited sex discrimination in any federally funded education program.
    1. It’s largest impact was seen in the emergence of girls’ sports.
  - iii. The Supreme Court entered the fray in the feminist movement.
    1. The Court’s decisions challenged sex discrimination in legislation and employment.
    2. The super-hot *Roe v. Wade* case legalized abortion, arguing that ending a pregnancy was protected under a right to privacy.
  - iv. Even more ambitious was the ERA (Equal Rights Amendment) to the Constitution.
    1. ERA sought to guarantee gender equality through words.
    2. Phyllis Schlafly led other women against ERA. Schlafly said ERA advocates were, “bitter women seeking a constitutional cure for their personal problems.” She used the following arguments against the ERA amendment:
      - a. It would deprive a woman’s right to be a wife.
      - b. It would require women to serve in combat.
      - c. It would legalize homosexual marriage.
    3. 38 state legislatures adopted the amendment, 41 were necessary, and the ERA ended.
- XIV. The Seventies in Black and White
  - i. Race was a burning issue, and in the 1974 *Milliken v. Bradley* case, the Supreme Court ruled that desegregation plans could not require students to move across school-district lines.
    1. This reinforced the “**white flight**” to the suburbs that pitted the poorest whites and blacks against each other, often with explosively violent results.
  - ii. **Affirmative action**, where minorities were given preference in jobs or school admittance, was another burning issue, but some whites used this to argue “reverse discrimination.”
    1. In the *Bakke* case of 1978, the Supreme Court ruled 5 to 4 that Allan Bakke (a white applicant claiming reverse discrimination) should be admitted to U.C.—Davis med school. The decision was ambiguous saying (1) admission preference based on any race was not allowed, but conversely that (2) race could be factored into the admission policy.
  - iii. The Supreme Court’s only black justice, **Thurgood Marshall**, warned that the denial of racial preferences might sweep away the progress gained by the civil rights movement.
- XV. The Bicentennial Campaign and the Carter Victory
  - i. In 1976, **Jimmy Carter** barely squeezed by Gerald Ford (297 to 240) for president, promising to never lie to the American public. He also had Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress.
  - ii. He capitalized on being a “Washington outsider,” and therefore untainted by the supposed corruption of D.C. (He’d previously been governor of Georgia.)
  - iii. In 1978, Carter got an \$18 billion tax cut for America, but the economy soon continued sinking.
  - iv. Despite an early spurt of popularity, Carter soon lost it.
- XVI. Carter’s Humanitarian Diplomacy
  - i. Carter was a champion for human rights, and in Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe) and South Africa, he championed for black rights and privileges.
  - ii. On September 17, 1978, **President Anwar Sadat** of Egypt and Prime Minister **Menachem Begin** of Israel signed peace accords at Camp David.
    1. Mediated by Carter after relations had strained, this was Carter’s greatest foreign policy success.
    2. Israel agreed to withdraw from territory gained in the 1967 war, while Egypt would respect Israel’s territories.
  - iii. In Africa, though, several Communist revolutions took place—not all successful, but disheartening and threatening still.
  - iv. Carter also pledged to return the **Panama Canal** to Panama by the year 2000, and resumed full diplomatic relations with China in 1979.
- XVII. Economic and Energy Woes
  - i. Inflation had been steadily rising, and by 1979, it was at a huge 13%. Americans would learn that they could no longer hide behind their ocean moats and live happily insulated from foreign affairs.

- ii. Carter diagnosed America's problems as stemming primarily from the nation's costly dependence on foreign oil, which was true.
- iii. He called for legislation to improve energy conservation, but the gas-guzzling American people, who had already forgotten about the long gas lines of 1973, didn't like these ideas.
- iv. Energy problems escalated under Carter.
  1. In, 1979, **Iran's shah** Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, who had been installed by America in 1953 and had ruled his land as a dictator, was overthrown and succeeded by the Ayatollah Khomeini.
    - a. Iranian fundamentalists were *very much* against Western/U.S. customs, and Iran stopped exporting oil; OPEC also hiked up oil prices, thus causing another oil crisis.
  2. In July 1979, Carter retreated to Camp David and met with hundreds of leaders of various things to advise and counsel him, then he came back on July 15, 1979 and chastised the American people for their obsession of material woes ("If it's cold, turn down the thermostat and put on a sweater.") This tough talking stunned the nation.
    - a. Then, a few days later, he fired four cabinet secretaries and tightened the circle around his Georgian advisors even more tightly.

## XVIII.

### Foreign Affairs and the Iranian Imbrolio

- i. Carter signed the SALT II agreements with Soviet Premier **Leonid Brezhnev**, but the U.S. Senate wouldn't ratify it.
- ii. Then, on November 4, 1979, a bunch of anti-American Muslim militants stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took the people inside hostage, demanding that the U.S. return the exiled shah who had arrived in the U.S. two weeks earlier for cancer treatments.
- iii. Then, in December 27, 1979, the U.S.S.R. invaded Afghanistan, which later turned into their version of Vietnam.
  1. However, at the moment, their action threatened precious oil supplies.
- iv. Carter put an embargo on the Soviet Union and boycotted the Olympic games in Moscow.
  1. He also proposed a "**Rapid Deployment Force**" that could respond to crises anywhere in the world in a quick manner.
- v. President Carter and America fell into an Iran hostage mess.
  1. The American hostages languished in cruel captivity while night TV news reports showed Iranian mobs burning the American flag and spitting on effigies of Uncle Sam.
  2. At first Carter tried economic sanctions, but that didn't work.
  3. Later, he tried a daring commando rescue mission, but that had to be aborted, and when two military aircraft collided, eight of the would-be rescuers were killed.
    - a. It was a humiliating failure for the U.S. and for Carter especially.
  4. The stalemated hostage situation dragged on for most of Carter's term, and was never released until January 20, 1981—the inauguration day of **Ronald Reagan**.

## Chapter 39 Vocabulary

**Spiro Agnew** – Agnew was the governor of Maryland who ran as vice president with Richard Nixon in 1968. He was known for his tough stands against dissidents and black militants. He strongly supported Nixon's desire to stay in Vietnam. He was forced to resign in October 1973 after having been accused of accepting bribes or "kickbacks" from Maryland contractors while governor and V.P. He was replaced by Gerald Ford.

**Daniel Ellsberg** -- He was a former employee of the Defense Department and gave *The New York Times* the "Pentagon Papers." These papers were very embarrassing to JFK and LBJ and revealed that the government wasn't exactly truthful about how the U.S. got involved with Vietnam. The papers helped open up the "credibility gap" between what was said, and the truth.

**Henry Kissinger**-- Kissinger was Nixon's national security adviser. He and his family escaped Hitler's anti-Jewish persecutions. He was a former Harvard professor. In 1969, he'd begun meeting secretly on Nixon's behalf with North Vietnamese officials in Paris to negotiate an end to the war in Vietnam. He also helped ease relations with China.

**Earl Warren** -- Warren was the Chief Justice who discussed such taboo issues as black civil rights. He oversaw the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* case which said that segregation in public schools was not equal. He conducted the investigation into Kennedy's assassination which accepted the ruling of the lone gunman. His court also addressed hot topics such as criminal rights, reapportionment, separation of church and state, and the right to privacy.

**Warren Burger** -- Burger was the Supreme Court justice during the Nixon administration. He was chosen by Nixon because of his strict interpretation of the Constitution. He presided over the highly controversial pro-abortion case *Roe v. Wade* in 1973.

**George McGovern** – McGovern was a senator from South Dakota who ran for president in 1972 on the Democrat ticket. His promise was to pull the remaining American troops out of Vietnam in 90 days, which earned him the support of the anti-war “doves.” The working-class supported him, also. He lost however to Nixon.

**John Dean** -- Dean testified against Nixon as well as other cabinet members in the Watergate hearings. His testimony helped lead to the removal of several White House officials and the resignation of Nixon. Before his testimony, he had been a White House lawyer.

**Gerald Ford** -- Gerald Ford was the first president to take office without receiving any votes by the people. He became V.P. when Spiro Agnew was forced to resign. He then entered the presidency in August of 1974 when Nixon resigned. He pardoned Nixon of all crimes that he may have committed. The Vietnam War ended in 1975, in which Ford evacuated nearly 500,000 Americans and South Vietnamese from Vietnam. He closed the book on the war.

**Jimmy Carter** -- Carter was Georgia's governor for four years before he was elected as the dark-horse president of 1976, promising to never lie to the people. He was politically successful at first, but was accused of being isolated with Georgians after a while. His greatest foreign policy achievement was when he peacefully resolved Egypt and Israel relations in 1978. Economic problems cost him reelection.

**Shah of Iran** -- Pahlavi became Shah in 1941 with U.S. help, when the allies of WWII forced the abdication of his father. Communist and nationalist movements created unrest and tension during the early years of his reign. The Shah distributed royal lands to poverty-stricken farmers. He is known for both social and economic reform in Iran. With the abundance of oil-drinking machines, the Shah became a powerful world leader, and the main military power in the Middle East. Muslims and the Ayatollah forced the Shah and his family into exile in 1979, where he died in Cairo on July 27, 1980.

**Ayatollah Khomeini** -- Khomeini was a radical Muslim holy man who sparked opposition and violence toward the United States in the Middle East. His rein sparked the taking of American hostages in Iraq.

**Détente** – This was a period of relaxed tension between the communist powers of the Soviet Union and China. During this time the Anti-ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty as well as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) cut back nuclear weapons.

**Executive Privilege** – Executive privilege was a policy that came into effect during the Nixon administration when members of the executive branch were being questioned by authorities. The policy stated that Congress could not question any of the past or present employees about any topic without the presidents' approval.

**Vietnamization** – This was President Nixon's policy to withdraw the 540,000 U.S. troops in South Vietnam over an extended period, thus turning the war over to Vietnam. It would bring an end to the war in 1973.

**Nixon Doctrine** -- During the Vietnam War, the Nixon Doctrine stated that the United States would honor its existing defense commitments, but in the future, other countries would have to fight their own wars without support of American troops.

**My Lai massacre** -- In 1968, American troops massacred women and children in the Vietnamese village of My Lai. This showed the troops' frustration and deepened American people's disgust for the Vietnam War.

**Kent State Killings** -- In April of 1970, police fired into an angry crowd of college students at Kent State University. Four students were killed and many others were wounded. The students were protesting against Nixon ordering U.S. troops invasion of Cambodia without consulting Congress.

**Twenty-Sixth Amendment** -- This amendment lowered the voting age to 18 years old. It was a result of the Vietnam War, in which young men felt that if they could fight, they should be able to vote.

**Pentagon Papers** -- These were papers that "leaked" to *The New York Times* about the blunders and deceptions of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations in Vietnam, especially the provoking of the 1964 North Vietnamese attack in the Gulf of Tonkin. These papers were linked to Watergate in that the “credibility gap” made people distrust the government.

**SALT** – (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) This was a 1972 pact that served to freeze the numbers of long-range nuclear missiles for five years. This treaty between Nixon (U.S.), China, and the Soviet Union served to slow the arms race that had been going on between these nations since World War II.

**MIRVs** – (Multiple Independently-targeted Reentry Vehicles) MIRVs were designed to overcome any defense by "saturating" it with large numbers of nuclear warheads all on one rocket.

**Watergate Scandal** -- The Watergate Scandal hit Washington during the presidency of Richard Nixon. Members of the Committee to Re-Elect the President, CREEP, were involved in a burglary, and it was then linked to Nixon. The CREEP group had also gotten lots of money from unidentifiable places. Suspicion set in and Nixon was accused of getting illegal help in being reelected. Nixon tried to use the government to cover-up his involvement. Audio tapes proved Nixon's involvement in the cover-up. Impeachment proceedings were started but Nixon resigned from his office in August of 1974.

**CREEP** -- (Committee to Re-Elect the President) This committee was found to have been engaged in a "dirty tricks" campaign against the Democrats in 1972. They raised tens of millions of dollars in campaign funds using unethical means. They were involved in the infamous Watergate break-in.

**War Powers Act** -- This act was passed during the Vietnam War to restrict presidential powers dealing with war. It was passed over Nixon's veto, and required the president to report to Congress within 48 hours after committing troops to a foreign conflict or enlarging units in a foreign country. Congress wanted to never repeat its Tonkin Gulf Resolution blank check error.

**OPEC** – (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) OPEC was an oil cartel of Middle Eastern nations. They cut production in 1979, helping American inflation rise well above 13%. Oil prices eventually quadrupled in about a decade.

**Iran Hostage Crisis** – This was called Carter's and America's “bed of nails.” In it, captured Americans languished in cruel captivity after Muslim radicals captured them. American nightly television news showed scenes of Iranians burning the



American flag. Carter tried to apply economic sanctions and the pressure of world opinion against Iranians. Carter then called for rescue mission, but the rescue attempt failed. The stalemate with Iran went on through the rest of Carter's term, hurting his bid for reelection.

# Chapter 40

## The Resurgence of Conservatism

### I. The Election of Ronald Reagan, 1980

- i. President **Jimmy Carter**'s administration seemed to be befuddled and bungling, since it could not control the rampant double-digit inflation or handle foreign affairs, and he would not remove regulatory controls from major industries such as airlines.
  1. Late in 1979, **Edward (Ted) Kennedy** declared his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for 1980. But, he was hurt by his suspicious **Chappaquiddick** 1969 driving accident in when a young female passenger drowned and he delayed reporting the incident.
- ii. As the Democrats dueled it out, the Republicans chose conservative former actor **Ronald Reagan**, signaling the return of conservatism, since the average American was older than during the stormy sixties and was more likely to favor the right (conservatives).
- iii. New groups that spearheaded the "new right" movement included **Moral Majority** and other conservative Christian groups.
- iv. Ronald Reagan was a man whose values had been formed before the turbulent sixties, and Reagan adopted a stance that depicted "big government" as bad, federal intervention in local affairs as condemnable, and favoritism for minorities as negative.
  1. He drew on the ideas of a group called the "**neoconservatives**," a group that included **Norman Podhoretz**, editor of *Commentary* magazine, and **Irving Kristol**, editor of *Public Interest*, two men who championed free-market capitalism.
- v. Reagan had grown up in an impoverished family, become a B-movie actor in Hollywood in the 1940s, became president of the **Screen Actors Guild**, purged suspected "reds" in the McCarthy era, acted as spokesperson for **General Electric**, and become Californian governor.
- vi. Reagan's photogenic personality and good looks on televised debates, as well as his attacks on President Carter's problems, helped him win the election of 1980 by a landslide (489-49).
  1. Also, Republicans regained control of the Senate.
- vii. Carter's farewell address talked of toning down the nuclear arms race, helping human rights, and protecting the environment (one of his last acts in office was to sign a bill protecting 100 million acres of Alaskan land as a wildlife preserve).

### II. The Reagan Revolution

- i. Reagan's inauguration day coincided with the release by the Iranians of their U.S. hostages, and Reagan also assembled a cabinet of the "best and brightest," including Secretary of the Interior **James Watt**, a controversial man with little regard to the environment.
  1. Watt tried to hobble the **Environmental Protection Agency** and permit oil drilling in scenic places, but finally had to resign after telling an insulting ethnic joke in public.
- ii. For over two decades, the government budget had slowly and steadily risen, much to the disturbance of the tax-paying public, and by the 1980s, the public was tired of the **New Deal** and the **Great Society** and ready to slash bills, just as Reagan proposed.
- iii. His federal budget had cuts of some \$35 billion, and he even wooed some Southern Democrats to abandon their own party and follow him. But on March 30, 1981, the president was shot and wounded by a deranged John Hinckley. He recovered in only twelve days, showing his devotion to physical fitness despite his age (near 70) and gaining massive sympathy and support.

### III. The Battle of the Budget

- i. Reagan's budget was \$695 billion with a \$38 billion deficit. He planned cuts, and vast majority of budget cuts fell upon social programs, not on defense, but there were also sweeping tax cuts of 25% over three years.
  1. The president appeared on national TV pleading for passage of the new tax-cut bill, and bolstered by "**boll weevils**," or Democrats who defected to the Republican side, Congress passed it.

2. The bill used “**supply side economics**” or “**Reaganomics**” (policies favorable to businesses) to lower individual taxes, almost eliminate federal estate taxes, and create new tax-free savings plans for small investors.
  - ii. However, this theory backfired as the nation slid into its worst recession since the **Great Depression**, with unemployment reaching nearly 11% in 1982 and several banks failing.
    1. Critics (Democrats) yapped that Reagan’s programs and tax cuts had caused this mayhem, but in reality, it had been Carter’s “**tight money**” policies that had led to the recession, and Reagan and his advisors sat out the storm, waiting for a recovery that seemed to come in 1983.
  - iii. However, during the 1980s, income gaps widened between the rich and poor for the first time in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (this was mirrored by the emergence of “**yuppies**”—Young Urban Professionals, very materialistic professionals). And it was massive military spending (a \$100 billion annual deficit in 1982 and nearly \$200 billion annual deficits in the later years) that upped the American dollar. The trade deficit, also rose to a record \$152 billion in 1987. These facts helped make America the world’s biggest borrowers.
- IV. Reagan Renews the Cold War
- i. Reagan took a get-tough stance against the USSR, especially when they continued to invade Afghanistan, and his plan to defeat the Soviets was to wage a super-expensive arms race that would eventually force the Soviets into bankruptcy and render them powerless.
    1. He began this with his **Strategic Defense Initiative** (SDI), popularly known as “Star Wars,” which proposed a system of lasers that could fire from space and destroy any nuclear weapons fired by Moscow before they hit America—a system that many experts considered impossible as well as upsetting to the “balance of terror” (don’t fire for fear of retaliation) that had kept nuclear war from being unleashed all these years. SDI was never built.
  - ii. Late in 1981, the Soviets clamped down on Poland’s massive union called “**Solidarity**” and received economic sanctions from the U.S.
    1. The deaths of three different aging Soviet oligarchs from 1982-85 and the breaking of all arms-control negotiations in 1983 further complicated dealings with the Soviets.
- V. Troubles Abroad
- i. Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982 to destroy guerilla bases, and the next year, Reagan sent U.S. forces as part of an international peace-keeping force. But, when a suicide bomber crashed a bomb-filled truck into U.S. Marine barracks on October 23, 1983 killing over 200 marines, Reagan had to withdraw the troops, though he miraculously suffered no political damage.
    1. Afterwards, he became known as the “Teflon president,” the president to which nothing harmful would stick.
  - ii. Reagan accused Nicaraguan “**Sandinistas**,” a group of leftists that had taken over the Nicaraguan government, of turning the country into a forward base from which Communist forces could invade and conquer all of Latin America.
    1. He also accused them of helping revolutionary forces in El Salvador, where violence had reigned since 1979, and Reagan then helped “**contra**” rebels in Nicaragua fight against the Sandinistas.
    2. In October 1983, Reagan sent troops to Grenada, where a military coup had killed the prime minister and brought communists to power. The U.S. crushed the communist rebels.
- VI. Round Two for Reagan
- i. Reagan was opposed by Democrat **Walter Mondale** and V.P. candidate **Geraldine Ferraro**, the first woman to appear on a major-party presidential ticket, but won handily.
  - ii. Foreign policy issues dominated Reagan’s second term, one that saw the rise of **Mikhail Gorbachev**, a personable, energetic leader who announced two new Soviet policies: *glasnost*, or “openness,” which aimed to introduce free speech and political liberty to the Soviet Union, and *perestroika*, or “restructuring,” which meant that the Soviets would move toward adopting free-market economies similar to those in the West.
  - iii. At a summit meeting at Geneva in 1985, Gorbachev introduced the idea of ceasing the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF). At a second meeting at Reykjavik, Iceland, in November 1985, there was stalemate. At the third one in Washington D.C., the treaty was finally signed, banning all INF’s from Europe.
    1. The final summit at Moscow saw Reagan warmly praising the Soviet chief for trying to end the **Cold War**.
  - iv. Also, Reagan supported **Corazon Aquino**’s ousting of Filipino dictator, **Ferdinand Marcos**.

- v. He also ordered a lightning raid on Libya, in 1986, in retaliation for Libya’s state-sponsored terrorist attacks, and began escorting oil tankers through the Persian Gulf during the Iran—Iraq War.
- VII. The Iran-Contra Imbroglio
- i. In November 1986, it was revealed that a year before, American diplomats led by **Col. Olive North** had secretly arranged arms sales to Iranian diplomats in return for the release of American hostages (at least one was) and had used that money to aid Nicaraguan contra rebels.
    - 1. This brazenly violated the congressional ban on helping Nicaraguan rebels, not to mention Reagan’s personal vow not to negotiate with terrorists.
    - 2. An investigation concluded that even if Reagan had no knowledge of such events, as he claimed, he *should* have. This scandal not only cast a dark cloud over Reagan’s foreign policy success, but also brought out a picture of Reagan as a somewhat senile old man who slept through important cabinet meetings.
      - a. Still, Reagan remained ever popular.
- VIII. Reagan’s Economic Legacy
- i. **Supply-side economics** claimed that cutting taxes would actually *increase* government revenue, but instead, during his eight years in office, Reagan accumulated a \$2 trillion debt—more than all his presidential predecessors *combined*.
    - 1. Much of the debt was financed by foreign bankers like the Japanese, creating fear that future Americans would have to work harder or have lower standards of living to pay off such debts for the United States.
  - ii. Reagan did triumph in containing the welfare state by incurring debts so large that future spending would be difficult, thus prevent any more welfare programs from being enacted successfully.
  - iii. Another trend of “**Reaganomics**” was the widening of the gap between the rich and the poor. The idea of “trickle-down economics” (helping the rich who own business would see money trickle down to working classes) seemed to prove false.
- IX. The Religious Right
- i. Beginning in the 1980s, energized religious conservatives began to exert their political muscle in a cultural war.
    - 1. Rev. Jerry Falwell started the Moral Majority, consisting of evangelical Christians.
    - 2. 2-3 million registered as Moral Majority voters in its first two years.
    - 3. Using the power of media, they opposed sexual permissiveness, abortion, feminism, and homosexuality.
  - ii. In large part, the conservative movement of the 80s was an answer to the liberal movement of the 60s. The pendulum was swinging back.
    - 1. Conservatives viewed America as being hijacked in the 60s by a minority of radicals with political aims; the conservatives saw themselves as taking back America.
- X. Conservatism in the Courts
- i. Reagan used the courts as his instrument against affirmative action and abortion, and by 1988, the year he left office, he had appointed a near-majority of all sitting federal judges.
    - 1. Included among those were three conservative-minded judges, one of which was **Sandra Day O’Connor**, a brilliant Stanford Law School graduate and the first female Supreme Court justice in American history.
  - ii. In a 1984 case involving Memphis firefighters, the Court ruled that union rules about job seniority could outweigh affirmative-action concerns.
  - iii. In **Ward’s Cove Packing v. Arizona** and **Martin v. Wilks**, the Court ruled it more difficult to prove that an employer practiced discrimination in hiring and made it easier for white males to argue that they were victims of reverse-discrimination.
  - iv. The 1973 case of **Roe v. Wade** had basically legalized abortion, but the 1989 case of **Webster v. Reproductive Health Services** seriously compromised protection of abortion rights.
    - 1. In **Planned Parenthood v. Casey** (1992), the Court ruled that states could restrict access to abortion as long as they didn’t place an “undue burden” on the woman.
- XI. Referendum on Reaganism in 1988
- i. Democrats got back the Senate in 1986 and sought to harm Reagan with the Iran-Contra scandal and unethical behavior that tainted an oddly large number of Reagan’s cabinet.
    - 1. They even rejected **Robert Bork**, Reagan’s ultraconservative choice to fill an empty space on the Supreme Court.
  - ii. The federal budget and the international trade deficit continued to soar while falling oil prices hurt housing values in the Southwest and damaged **savings-and-loans institutions**, forcing Reagan to order a \$500 million rescue operation for the S&L institutions.

1. On October 19, 1987, the stock market fell 508 points, sparking fears of the end of the money culture, but this was premature.
  - iii. In 1988, **Gary Hart** tried to get the Democratic nomination but had to drop out due to a sexual misconduct charge while **Jesse Jackson** assembled a "rainbow coalition" in hopes of becoming president. But, the Democrats finally chose **Michael Dukakis**, who lost badly to Republican candidate and Reagan's vice president **George Herbert Walker Bush**, 112 to 426.
- XII. George H. W. Bush and the End of the Cold War
- i. Bush had been born into a rich family, but he was committed to public service and vowed to sculpt "a kinder, gentler America."
  - ii. In 1989, it seemed that Democracy was reviving in previously Communist hot-spots.
    1. In China, thousands of democratic-seeking students protested in **Tiananmen Square** but they were brutally crushed by Chinese tanks and armed forces.
    2. In Eastern Europe, Communist regimes fell in Poland (which saw Solidarity rise again), Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Romania.
      - a. Soon afterwards, the **Berlin Wall** came tumbling down.
  - iii. In 1990, **Boris Yeltsin** stopped a military coup that tried to dislodge Gorbachev, then took over Russia when the Soviet Union fell and disintegrated into the **Commonwealth of Independent States**, of which Russia was the largest member. Thus, the Cold War was over.
    1. This shocked experts who had predicted that the Cold War could only end violently.
  - iv. Problems remained however, as the question remained of who would take over the U.S.S.R.'s nuclear stockpiles or its seat in the U.N. Security Council? Eventually, Russia did.
  - v. In 1993, Bush signed the START II accord with Yeltsin, pledging both nations to reduce their long-range nuclear arsenals by two-thirds within ten years.
    1. Trouble was still present when the **Chechnyen** minority in Russia tried to declare independence and was resisted by Russia; that incident hasn't been resolved yet.
  - vi. Europe found itself quite unstable when the economically weak former communist countries re-integrated with it.
  - vii. America then had no rival to guard against, and it was possible that it would revert back to its isolationist policies. Also, military spending had soaked up so much money that upon the end of the Cold War, the Pentagon closed 34 military bases, canceled a \$52 billion order for a navy attack plane, and forced scores of Californian defense plants to shut their doors.
  - viii. However, in 1990, South Africa freed **Nelson Mandela**, and he was elected president 4 years later.
  - ix. Free elections removed the Sandinistas in Nicaragua in 1990, and in 1992, peace came to Ecuador at last.
- XIII. The Persian Gulf Crisis
- i. On August 2, 1990, Iraqi leader **Saddam Hussein** invaded oil-rich Kuwait with 100,000 men, hoping to annex it as a 19<sup>th</sup> province and use its oil fields to replenish debts incurred during the Iraq—Iran War, a war which oddly saw the U.S. supporting Hussein despite his bad reputation.
  - ii. Saddam attacked swiftly, but the U.N. responded just as swiftly, placing economic embargoes on the aggressor and preparing for military punishment.
  - iii. Fighting "Operation Desert Storm"
    1. Some 539,000 U.S. military force members joined 270,000 troops from 28 other countries to attack Iraq in a war, which began on January 12, 1991, when Congress declared it.
      - a. On January 16, the U.S. and U.N. unleashed a hellish air war against Iraq for 37 days.
      - b. Iraq responded by launching several ultimately ineffective "scud" missiles at Saudi Arabia and Israel, but it had far darker strategies available, such as biological and chemical weapons and strong desert fortifications with oil-filled moats that could be lit afire if the enemy got too close.
    2. American General **Norman Schwarzkopf** took nothing for granted, strategizing to suffocate Iraqis with an onslaught of air bombing raids and then rush them with troops.
      - a. On February 23, "**Operation Desert Storm**" began with an overwhelming land attack that lasted four days, saw really little casualties, and ended with Saddam's forces surrender.
      - b. American cheered the war's rapid end and well-fought duration and was relieved that this had not turned into another Vietnam, but Saddam Hussein had failed to be dislodged from power and was left to menace the world another day.
    3. The U.S. found itself even more deeply ensnared in the region's web of mortal hatreds.
- XIV. Bush on the Home Front

- i. President Bush's 1990 **Americans with Disabilities Act** was a landmark law that banned discrimination against citizens with disabilities.
- ii. Bush also signed a major water projects bill in 1992 and agreed to sign a watered-down civil rights bill in 1991.
- iii. In 1991, Bush proposed **Clarence Thomas** (a Black man) to fill in the vacant seat left by retiring **Thurgood Marshall** (the first Black Supreme Court justice), but this choice was opposed by the NAACP since Thomas was a conservative and by the **National Organization for Women (NOW)**, since Thomas was supposedly pro-abortion.
  1. In early October 1991, **Anita Hill** charged Thomas with sexual harassment, and even though Thomas was still selected to be on the Court, Hill's case publicized sexual harassment and tightened tolerance of it (Oregon's Senator **Robert Packwood** had to step down in 1995 after a case of sexual harassment).
  2. A gender gap arose between women in both parties.
- iv. In 1992, the economy stalled, and Bush was forced to break an explicit campaign promise ("Read my lips, no new taxes") and add \$133 billion worth of new taxes to try to curb the \$250 billion annual budget.
  1. When it was revealed that many House members had written bad checks from a private House "bank," public confidence lessened even more.
- v. The **27<sup>th</sup> Amendment** banned congressional pay raises from taking effect until an election had seated a new session of Congress, an idea first proposed by **James Madison** in 1789.

## Chapter 40 Vocabulary

**Martin Luther King Jr.** -- He was an African American minister who was instrumental in starting the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's. He formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of 1957. He led a peaceful "March on Washington" in 1963. King fought for, and won, the outlawing of literacy tests at the voting booth. He was assassinated on April 4, 1968.

**Viet Cong (V.C.)** -- The V.C. were South Vietnamese communists. They frustrated the American soldiers who found it difficult to identify their enemy. They faced the question, was a village on the American side (as they'd say) or with the V.C.?

**Jimmy Carter** -- He was a Democratic, dark-horse candidate who won the 1976 presidential election. Carter was a humanitarian, and got Israel and Egypt to sign a peace treaty in 1978 at Camp David. Economic woes caused him to lose reelection.

**Edward Kennedy** -- He was a Senator from Massachusetts and the last of the Kennedy brothers. In 1979, he said that he was going to challenge Carter for the presidency, but the Chappaquiddick incident back in 1969 with a car crash that killed a girl, handicapped his campaign.

**Ronald Reagan** -- Ronald Reagan was first elected president in 1980 and then again in 1984. He ran on a campaign based on the common man and "populist" ideas. He served as governor of California from 1966-1974, and he participated in the McCarthy communist hearings. While president, he developed "Reaganomics," the trickle-down effect of government incentives. He cut out many welfare and public works programs. He proposed the Strategic Defense Initiative, though it never came to be. His meetings with Gorbachev were the first steps toward ending the Cold War. He was also in office during the Iran-Contra Affair, which bought hostages with guns, though he was unaware of the dealings.

**John Anderson** -- Anderson ran against Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter on the independent ticket, tallying 7 percent of the popular vote and not a single electoral vote.

**Anwar Sadat** -- He was the president of Egypt. Carter invited Sadat and Israel's Menachem Begin to a conference at Camp David where the two signed an agreement that served as a step toward peace between Egypt and Israel.

**Walter Mondale** -- He was the Vice President for Carter and when he won the Democratic nomination for president in 1984, he was defeated by a landslide by Reagan. He was the first presidential candidate to have a woman vice presidential candidate, Geraldine Ferraro.

**Geraldine Ferraro** -- In 1984, she was the first woman to appear on a major-party presidential ticket. She was a congresswoman running for Vice President with Walter Mondale.

**Jesse Jackson** -- Jackson was a black candidate for the Democratic nomination in the 1988 election. He attempted to appeal to minorities, but eventually lost the nomination to Michael Dukakis.

**Sandra Day O'Connor** -- She was appointed by Reagan as a Supreme Court justice. She was a brilliant Stanford Law School graduate and was sworn in on Sept. 25, 1981. She was the first woman to ascend to the high bench in the court's nearly 200 year history.

**"supply-side economics"**-- This was the nickname given to the type of economy that Ronald Reagan brought before Congress. It involved, among other things, a 25% tax cut that encouraged budgetary discipline and would hopefully spur investments. However, the plan was not a success in closing the rich-poor gap. It was also called "Reaganomics" and "trickle-down economics" as helping the rich was supposed to see money trickle-down to the poor.

**Moral Majority** – The Moral Majority was an evangelical Christian group that was created to fight against the liberal ideas and politics that developed in the 1960's and after. It was a "right-wing," conservative group, that proved politically powerful.

**Chappaquiddick** -- Senator Edward Kennedy, brother of John F. Kennedy, was at a bachelor party on Martha's Vineyard. There were some young women there and there was some drinking and Kennedy ended up taking one of the young ladies into going for a ride. When they were crossing a bridge, Kennedy's car went off into the water and young woman was killed. Kennedy's story was that he swam across a bay to get help, but it was too late. There was much controversy over this incident about Kennedy's motives such as if he was trying to kill the woman because she knew something, and that Kennedy was already married. Many thought his family wealth covered up everything and Kennedy was not charged for the death of the young lady. This controversy cost Kennedy the presidency however when he ran in 1980.

**Grenada Invasion** -- Ronald Reagan dispatched a heavy fire-power invasion force to the island of Grenada, where a military coup had killed the prime minister and brought Marxists (communists) to power. The Americans captured the island quickly, demonstrating Reagan's determination to assert the dominance of the U.S. in the Caribbean.

**Yuppies** – Yuppies were "Young Urban Professionals," who wore ostentatious gear such as Rolex watches or drove BMW cars. They came to symbolize the increased pursuit of wealth and materialism of Americans in the "me-decade" of the 1980s.

**Strategic Defense Initiative** – "SDI" was Regan's proposed high-tech, anti-nuclear, missile defense system. Satellites were to shoot down Russian nuclear missiles using laser beams. The science was said to be scientifically impossible, and would've cost an enormous amount of money. It was nicknamed "Star Wars" and never came to be.

**Betty Friedan** -- She was a leader in the modern feminist movement in the 1960s. She wrote *The Feminist Mystique*, which essentially asked, "Is this (homemaking) all there is for women?" She also co-founded NOW, the National Organization for Women.

**Reverse Discrimination** -- During the 1970's, white workers and students felt that they were being discriminated against by employers and admission offices using "affirmative action." Whites claimed too much weight was put on race and ethnic background at the expense of accomplishments. In the court case, *Bakke vs. California*, the Supreme Court declared that preference in admissions to a college could not be given to a certain race, but racial factors could be taken into account in a school's overall admissions policy.

**Affirmative Action** – These were programs designed to encourage employers and colleges to hire or accept more minorities and women to even out the workforce, eliminate racism in the hiring process, and improve the lives of impoverished minorities in America. The programs were opposed by many as reverse discrimination in an effort to keep the workplace ethnically diverse.

**Neo-conservatism** – This was an influential group of thinkers who were supporters of Ronald Regan. They were acting against the 1960's liberalism. They took tough anti-Soviet positions in foreign policy. They championed free-market capitalism and liberated businesses from government restraints. They questioned liberal forms of welfare programs and affirmative action policies. They encouraged traditional values, individualism, and the centrality of the family.

**Sunbelt** – The Sunbelt was the 15 state area from Virginia to Florida and west to California. Many people were moving into these areas after WWII because they had great weather and a strong economy, and notably, the invention of air conditioning.

**Roe v. Wade** – This case was decided by the Supreme Court in 1973 and prohibited state legislatures from banning abortion. This case legalized abortion. Ironically, Norma McCarvey, AKA "Jane Roe," had the baby anyway, and later said in 1995 that she no longer favored abortion rights.

# Chapter 41

## America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era

- I. Bill Clinton: the First Baby-Boomer President
  - i. In 1992, the Democrats chose **Bill Clinton** as their candidate (despite accusations of womanizing, drug use, and draft evasion) and **Albert Gore, Jr.** as his running mate.
  - ii. The Democrats tried a new approach, promoting growth, strong defense, and anticrime policies while campaigning to stimulate the economy.
  - iii. The Republicans dwelt on "family values" and selected Bush for another round and **J. Danforth Quayle** as his running mate. They claimed that "character matters" and so Clinton and his baggage should not be elected.
  - iv. Third party candidate **Ross Perot** added color to the election by getting 19,237,247 votes in the election (no electoral votes, though), but Clinton won, 370 to 168 in the Electoral College.
    1. Democrats also got control of both the House and the Senate.

- v. Congress and the presidential cabinet were filled with minorities and more women, including the first female attorney general ever, **Janet Reno**, Secretary of Health and Human Services **Donna Shalala**, and **Ruth Bader Ginsburg** in the Supreme Court
- II. A False Start for Reform
- i. Upon entering office, Clinton called for accepting homosexuals in the armed forces, but finally had to settle for a “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy that unofficially accepted gays and lesbians.
  - ii. Clinton also appointed his wife, Hillary, to revamp the nation’s health and medical care system, and when it was revealed in October 1993, critics blasted it as cumbersome, confusing, and unpractical, thus suddenly making **Hillary Rodham Clinton** a liability whereas before, she had been a full, equal political partner of her husband.
  - iii. By 1996, Clinton had shrunk the federal deficit to its lowest level in a decade, and in 1993, he passed a gun-control law called the **Brady Bill**, named after presidential aide **James Brady** who had been wounded in President Reagan’s attempted assassination.
    - 1. In July 1994, Clinton persuaded Congress to pass a \$30 billion anticrime bill.
  - iv. During the decade, a radical Muslim group bombed the **World Trade Center** in New York, killing six. An American terrorist, Timothy McVeigh, bombed the federal building in Oklahoma in 1995, taking 169 lives. And a fiery standoff at Waco, Texas, between the government and the Branch Davidian religious cult ended in a huge fire that killed men, women, and children.
    - 1. By this time, few Americans trusted the government, the reverse of the WWII generation.
- III. The Politics of Distrust
- i. In 1994, **Newt Gingrich** led Republicans on a sweeping attack of Clinton’s liberal failures with a conservative “**Contract with America**,” and that year, Republicans won all incumbent seats as well as eight more seats in the Senate and 53 more seats in the House. Gingrich became the new Speaker of the House.
  - ii. However, the Republicans went too far, imposing federal laws that put new obligations on state and local governments without providing new revenues and forcing Clinton to sign a welfare-reform bill that made deep cuts in welfare grants.
    - 1. Clinton tried to fight back, but gradually, the American public grew tired of Republican conservatism, such as Gingrich’s suggestion of sending children of welfare families to orphanages, and of its incompetence, such as the 1995 shut down of Congress due to a lack of a sufficient budget package.
  - iii. In 1996, Clinton ran against Republican **Bob Dole** and won, 379 to 159, and Ross Perot again finished a sorry third.
- IV. Clinton Again
- i. Clinton became the first Democrat to be re-elected since FDR.
  - ii. He put conservatives on the defensive by claiming the middle ground.
    - 1. He embraced the Welfare Reform Bill.
    - 2. He balanced affirmative action (preferential treatment for minorities). When voters and courts began to move away from affirmative action, Clinton spoke against the direction away from affirmative action, but stopped short of any action.
  - iii. Mostly, Clinton enjoyed the popularity of a president during an economic good-time.
    - 1. He supported the controversial NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) which cut tariffs and trade barriers between Mexico—U.S.—Canada.
    - 2. Similarly, he supported the start of the WTO (World Trade Agreement) to lower trade barriers internationally.
  - iv. The issue of campaign finance reform rose to water level. Republicans and Clinton alike, gave the issue lip service, but did nothing.
- V. Problems Abroad
- i. Clinton sent troops to Somalia (where some were killed), withdrew them, and also meddled in Northern Ireland to no good effect. But after denouncing China’s abuses of human rights and threatening to punish China before he became president, Clinton as president discovered that trade with China was too important to throw away over human rights.
  - ii. Clinton committed American troops to NATO to keep the peace in the former Yugoslavia, and he sent 20,000 troops to return **Jean-Bertrand Aristide** to power in Haiti.
  - iii. He resolutely supported the **North American Free Trade Agreement** (NAFTA) that made a free-trade zone surrounding Mexico, Canada, and the U.S., then helped form the **World Trade Organization** (WTO), the successor to the **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade** (GATT), and also provided \$20 billion to Mexico in 1995 to help its faltering economy.

- iv. Clinton also presided over an historic reconciliation meeting in 1993 between Israel's **Yitzhak Rabin** and Palestinian **Yasir Arafat** at the White House, but two years later, Rabin was assassinated, thus ending hopes for peace in the Middle East.

#### VI. Scandal and Impeachment

- i. The end of the Cold War left the U.S. groping for a diplomatic formula to replace anti-Communism and revealed misconduct by the CIA and the FBI.
- ii. Political reporter Joe Klein wrote *Primary Colors*, mirroring some of Clinton's personal life/womanizing. Meanwhile Clinton also ran into trouble with his failed real estate investment in the Whitewater Land Corporation.
  - 1. In 1993, Vincent Foster, Jr. apparently committed suicide, perhaps overstressed at having to (perhaps immorally) manage Clinton's legal and financial affairs.
- iii. As Clinton began his second term, the first by a Democratic president since FDR, he had Republican majorities in both houses of Congress going against him.
- iv. Oddly for a president who seemed obsessed with making a place for himself in history, his place likely was made with the infamous **Monica Lewinski** sex scandal. In it, Clinton had oral sex in the White House Oval Office with the intern Lewinski. Then he denied, under oath, that he had done so, figuring that oral sex was not actually sex.
  - 1. For his "little white lie," Clinton was impeached by the House (only the 2<sup>nd</sup> president to be impeached, behind Andrew Johnson right after the Civil War).
  - 2. However, Republicans were unable to get the necessary 2/3 super-majority vote in the Senate to kick Clinton from the White House. So, Clinton fulfilled his final years as president, but did so with a tarnished image and his place in history assured. His actions saw Americans lean toward the realization that character indeed must really matter after all.

#### VII. Clinton's Legacy

- i. In his last several months as president, Clinton tried to secure a non-Monica legacy.
  - 1. He named tracts of land as preservations.
  - 2. He initiated a "patients' bill of rights."
  - 3. He hired more teachers and police officers.
- ii. On the good side, Clinton proved to be a largely moderate Democrat. The economy was strong, the budget was balanced, and he cautioned people from expected big-government from being the do-all and give-all to everyone.
- iii. On the bad side, the Monica Lewinski situation created great cynicism in politics, he negotiated a deal with the Lewinski prosecutor where he'd gave immunity in exchange for a fine and law license suspension, and his last-minute executive pardons gave the appearance of rewarding political donors.

#### VIII. The Bush-Gore Presidential Battle

- i. The 2000 election began to shape up as a colorful one.
  - 1. Democrats chose Vice President **Albert Gore**. He had to balance aligned with Clinton's prosperity and against his scandals.
  - 2. The Green Party (consisting mostly of liberals and environmentalists) chose consumer advocate **Ralph Nader**.
  - 3. Republicans chose Texas governor **George W. Bush** (son of George H. W. Bush and known simply as "W" or, in Texas, as "Dubya").
- ii. A budget surplus beckoned the question, "What to do with the extra money?"
  - 1. Bush said to make big cut taxes for all.
  - 2. Gore said to make smaller tax cuts to the middle class only, then use the rest to shore up the debt, Social Security, and Medicare.
  - 3. Nader, in reality, was little more than a side-show.

#### IX. The Controversial Election of 2000

- i. A close finish was expected, but not to the degree to which it actually happened.
  - 1. The confused finish was reminiscent of the Hayes-Tilden standoff of 1876.
- ii. Controversy surrounded Florida.
  - 1. Having the nation's 4<sup>th</sup> most electoral votes, Florida was the swing-state.
  - 2. Florida effectively had a tie, with Bush ahead by the slightest of margins.
  - 3. State law required a recount.
    - a. The recount upheld Bush's narrow win.



- b. Democrats charged there were irregularities in key counties (notably Palm Beach county that had a large Jewish populace and therefore would figure to be highly Democratic in support of Gore's V.P. candidate Joseph Lieberman, the 1<sup>st</sup> Jewish candidate for president or V.P.).
- c. At heart of the matter was the infamous "butterfly ballot" which supposedly confused the easily-confounded elderly of Palm Beach county—supposedly to Bush's advantage.
- d. As the confusion wore on and America needed a president A.S.A.P., Florida eventually validated the Bush vote. Additionally, George W.'s brother Jeb Bush was the Florida governor; and, the Florida Secretary of State Katherine Harris, who officially validated the Bush-vote, had been appointed by Jeb.
  - i. For conspiracy theorists, it was like a field-day on Christmas morning.
4. One irony of the election was the role of Ralph Nader. He energized the liberalist liberals (and therefore those who disliked Bush the most). The irony: Green votes for Nader stole votes that would've gone to Gore and ostensibly gave the election to Bush.
5. Drama aside, Bush won. Gore actually got more popular votes (50,999,897 to Bush's 50,456,002), but lost the critical electoral vote (266 to Bush's 271).

#### X. Bush Begins

- i. Bush took office talking up his Texas upbringing (true) and talking down his family's Back-East privilege (also true).
- ii. Bush took on hot topics and fired up both sides of the political spectrum.
  1. He withdrew U.S. support from international programs that okayed abortion.
  2. He advocated faith-based social welfare programs.
  3. He opposed stem-cell research, which had great medical possibilities, on the grounds that the embryo in reality was a small person and doing tests on it was nothing other than abortion.
  4. He angered environmentalists with his policies.
  5. He even worried conservatives by cutting taxes \$1.3 trillion. The budget surpluses of the 90s turned into a \$400 billion deficit by 2004.

#### XI. Terrorism Comes to America

- i. On **September 11, 2001**, America's centuries-old enjoyment of being on "our side of the pond" ended when militant Muslim radicals attacked America. The radicals hijacked passenger planes and used the planes, and hostages, as guided missiles.
  1. Two planes slammed into the World Trade Center towers in New York City. The towers caught afire, then came down.
  2. A third plane slammed into the Pentagon.
  3. A fourth plane was aiming for the White House, but heroic passengers took back the plane before it crashed in a Pennsylvania field.
- ii. America was stunned, to say the least.
- iii. President Bush's leadership after the attacks was solemn and many began to forget the disputed election of 2000.
  1. He identified the culprits as **Al Qaeda**, a religious militant terrorist group, led by **Osama Bin Laden**.
  2. Bin Laden's hatred toward America revolved around resent of America's economic, military, and cultural power.
- iv. Texas-style, Bush called for Bin Laden's head. Afghanistan refused to hand him over so Bush ordered the military to go on the offensive and hunt him down. The hunt proved to be difficult and Bin Laden proved elusive.
- v. At the same time, the American economy turned for the worse, and a few Americans died after receiving anthrax-laden letters. Coupled with fear of another attack, anxiety loomed.
- vi. Terrorism launched a "new kind of war" or a "war on terror" that required tactics beyond the conventional battlefield. Congress responded in turn.

1. The **Patriot Act** gave the government extended surveillance rights. Critics charged this was a Big Brother-like infringement of rights—a reversal of the freedoms that Americans were fighting for.
2. The **Department of Homeland Security** was established as the newest cabinet department. Its goal was to secure America.

## XII. Bush Takes the Offensive Against Iraq

- i. Saddam Hussein had been a long time menace to many people. With Bush, his time had run out. Bush stated he'd not tolerate Hussein's defiance of the U.N.'s weapons inspectors.
- ii. At heart of problems: intelligence at the time suggested that Hussein had and was actively making weapons of mass destruction ("WMDs"). Hussein continually thumbed his nose at the weapon's inspectors who tried to validate or disprove the threat.
- iii. Bush decided it was time for action.
  1. Bush sought the U.N.'s approval for taking military action, but some nations, notably France with its Security Council veto, had cold feet.
  2. So, Bush decided to go it alone. Heavy majorities of Congress in October of 2002 approved armed force against Iraq.
  3. The U.N. tried one last time to inspect, Hussein blocked the inspectors again. The U.N. and inspectors asked for more time still.
  4. For Bush, time was up. He launched an attack and Baghdad fell within a month. Saddam went on the run, then was found nine months later hiding in a hole in the ground.
  5. Taking Iraq, though not easy, was swift and successful; securing and rebuilding Iraq would prove tougher.

## XIII. Owning Iraq

- i. Most Iraqi people welcomed the Americans, but certainly not all.
- ii. Factions broke out. Iraqi insurgents attacked American G.I.'s and casualties mounted to nearly 1,200 by 2004.
- iii. Americans soon began to wonder, "How long will we be there?"
- iv. The new goals were to (1) establish security in Iraq, hopefully by Iraqi troops, and (2) create and turn over control to a new democratically elected Iraqi government.
  1. Training Iraqi troops proved pitifully slow.
  2. A new government was created and limited power handed over on June 28, 2004.
- v. Iraq became a divisive issue in America. Conservatives generally supported the war and post-war efforts. Liberals charged that Bush was on some ego-tripping battle charge to hunt down phantom weapons of mass destruction.

## XIV. A Country in Conflict

- i. Other issues divided America:
  1. Democrats continually grumbled about the "stolen" 2000 election.
  2. Civil libertarians fumed over the Patriot Act.
  3. Pacifists said the WMD reasoning was made up from the get-go to start a war.
  4. Big business (like Enron and WorldCom that monkeyed with their books) supposedly fattened the rich and gleaned the poor.
  5. Social warfare continued over abortion and homosexuality.
  6. Affirmative action still boiled, and the Supreme Court came up with mathematical formulae for minority admittance to undergrads. The Court also stated that in 25 years racial preferences would likely be unnecessary.

## XV. Reelecting George W. Bush

- i. Republicans put Bush up for reelection in 2004.
- ii. Democrats selected Sen. **John Kerry** of Massachusetts.
- iii. Despite the usual litany of issues (education, health care, etc.) the key issue of the 2004 election was national security.
  1. At the heart of the security issue, was the question of the war in Iraq.
  2. Bush said to stay the course; Kerry took an anti-war position. However, Kerry's position and image was somewhat confounding:
    - a. Kerry was a Vietnam war hero, but then a Vietnam war protestor.

- b. Kerry voted for military action in Iraq, but then voted against a bill for military spending for the war.
- iv. Kerry gained much support by criticizing Bush's management (or mismanagement) of the Iraq situation. Kerry charged that Bush had no plan for Iraq after the initial take-over. However, Kerry focused only on Bush's failure and failed to effectively present his own alternative course of action.
- v. In the election, and despite polls to the contrary, Bush won with a surprisingly strong showing (a popular vote of 60,639,281 to Kerry's 57,355,978) of 286 electoral votes to Kerry's 252.

## Chapter 41 Vocabulary

**Bill Clinton** – Clinton was elected president in 1992 and then again in 1996. His record was largely strong—somewhat moderate and with a balanced budget. His side antics with intern Monica Lewinsky largely overshadowed his successes and led to his impeachment.

**George W. Bush** – Bush was elected president in 2000 and again in 2004. The 2000 election was one of the most hotly contested in American history and plagued with conspiracy theories. Florida, where George W. Bush's brother Jeb was governor, was the swing state. Bush launched attacks on Afghanistan against terrorism and Iraq against perceived threats against the U.S.

**Albert Gore** – Gore was Clinton's vice president the 2000 Democratic candidate for president. He garnered the most popular votes, yet lost the electoral vote to Bush.

**John Kerry** – Kerry was a senator from Massachusetts and Democratic candidate for president in 2004. He relied on his Vietnam war record and stance against Bush's management of the Iraqi war. He lost to Bush in the election.

# Chapter 42

## The American People Face a New Century

### Chapter 42 Vocabulary

**Cesar Chavez** – Chavez was the leader of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee who improved working conditions for Chicano workers.

**IBM** -- IBM, International Business Machines, was part of the historic shift to a mass consumer economy after World War II, and symbolized another momentous transformation to the fast-paced "Information Age."

**Microsoft** -- This computer company sent the U.S. down an information superhighway. The internet and computer discs allowed for more information to be available to anyone at the click of a button.

**OPEC** -- (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) Through the OPEC, Middle Eastern Sheiks quadrupled the price for crude oil beginning in 1974, disrupting the balance of international trade for the U.S. This helped show the U.S. government that they could never have economic isolation.

**New Immigration** -- The New Immigrants in the 1980's and 1990's came from Asia, Latin America and mostly from Mexico. These new immigrants came for many of the same reasons that the old immigrants came, such as growth in population and to look for jobs. They mostly settled in the Southwest. During this time, nearly a million people came to America each year.

**gated communities** -- These were suburban housing communities with gates and guards that started to gain popularity in the latter half of this century.

**O.J. Simpson Trial** -- This case gained worldwide exposure because O.J. was a star football player and was accused of murdering his wife and friend. The main issue in this case that may have caused turmoil was allowing cameras in the courtroom.

**Comparable Worth** – This principle states that people should receive equal pay for work that is in a different form, but just as demanding as other types of work. This idea has been applied to many discrimination cases including race, age, and gender discrimination.

**Immigration and Nationality Act** – Passed in 1965, this law made it easier for entire families to migrate to America and established "special categories" for political refugees. This act increased the amount of immigration.

**United Farm Workers** -- This was a committee headed by Cesar Chavez. It succeeded in helping to improve working conditions for migrants, mainly for the Chicano population.

**Immigration Reform and Control Act** – This law was passed to decrease the number of illegal aliens in the U.S. It penalized employers of aliens and granted amnesty to aliens already in the U.S.

**Information superhighway** -- This phrase was associated with the new computer age. It refers to the communication revolution that occurred in the 1990s. Essentially, it is the Internet.

**"classrooms without walls"** – This is the popular idea that supports having classrooms in which students are able to use a computer to do their studies without a teacher giving a lecture, but are there to be more of a mediator.

**biological engineering** – This posed a modern scientific question to America about whether or not the human gene pool should be engineered and conformed with how scientists or parents want it to be. The question may never be answered, but biological engineering is the manipulation of human genes to produce the desired outcome.

**Family Leave Bill** -- In 1993, Congress passed this law to mandate job protection for working fathers as well as mothers who needed to take time off work for family-related reasons.

**Electronic Revolution** -- The electronic revolution began in the 1970's. The information economy brought the large use of computers to America. The silicon chip, first made in 1959 but popularized around 1980 by Apple Computers and then IBM, was a small 1/4 of an inch square that could hold incredible amounts of information. It was called a "microchip," and it helped to move computers from room-sized units in laboratories to desktop PC's (personal computers).

**Underclass** -- The underclass in America was made up of mostly blacks and minorities living in the ghettos of old industrial cities. This was due to the minority groups that settled in the old industrial cities while most whites and upper class blacks moved away from the big cities at the end of the twentieth century. Without a middle class in the cities, the underclass suffered. They had poor schooling, unemployment, drug addiction, and a lack of hope.

**"Stagflation"** – This took place in the 1970's and was the product of a stagnant economy plus high inflation and high unemployment rates.

**Cultural nationalism** -- In the 1980s, new social issues came up as conservatives fought new-right activists. During this time, many Americans with different cultural backgrounds (like the Japanese, Chinese, etc.) began to seek rights like the African-Americans had in the 1960s.

**Immigration and Nationality Act** -- This act was signed by Lyndon Johnson back in 1965. It abolished the national origins system. This new act stated that no more than 20,000 people from any one country could immigrate to America in a year.

**Equal Rights Amendment** -- In 1923, the National Women's Party campaigned for the equal rights of women in the work place. This amendment was pushed for by feminists in the 1970s. It was never passed.

**International Economy** -- Beginning in the 1920's and continuing to the present day, the U.S. has become a mass consumer economy with heavy machinery and automobile corporations. The "information age" developed, and technology has become and industry in itself. Communication to businessmen became much quicker and also made business transactions in different areas of the world much easier. The U.S. has become more and more involved with foreign trade as technology and communication has advanced.