Chapter 1

New World Beginnings

33,000 B.C. - A.D. 1783

225 Million Years Ago - Pangaea started to break apart.

10 Million Years Ago   - North America was shaped by nature - Canadian Shield

2 Million Years Ago     - Great Ice Age

35,000 Years Ago         - The oceans were glaciers and the sea level dropped, leaving an isthmus connecting Asia

           and North America.  The Bering Isthmus was crossed by people going into North America.

10,000 Years Ago         - Ice started to retreat and melt, raising the sea levels and covering up the Bering Isthmus.

Evidence suggests that early people may have come to the Americas in crude boats, or across the Bering Isthmus.

**Europeans Enter Africa**

People of Europe were able to reach sub-Saharan Africa around **1450**when the Portuguese invented the caravel, a ship that should sail into the wind.  This ship allowed sailors to sail back up the western coast of Africa and back to Europe.

The **Portuguese**set up trading posts along the African beaches trading with slaves and gold, trading habits that were originally done by the Arabs and Africans.  The Portuguese shipped the slaves back to Spain and Portugal where they worked on the sugar plantations.

**When Worlds Collide**

Possibly 3/5 of the **crops**cultivated around the world today originated in the Americas.

Within 50 years of the Spanish arrival in **Hispaniola**, the Taino natives decreased from 1 million people to 200 people due to diseases brought by the Spanish.

In centuries following Columbus's landing in the Americas, as much as **90%** of the Indians had died due to the diseases.

**The Spanish Conquistadores**

In the **1500's**, Spain became the dominant exploring and colonizing power.

The Spanish conquerors came to the Americas in the service of **God**as well as in search of **gold**and **glory**.

Due to the gold and silver deposits found in the New World, the European economy was transformed.

The islands of the Caribbean Sea served as offshore bases for the staging of the Spanish invasion of the mainland Americas.

By the **1530s**in **Mexico**and the **1550s**in **Peru**, colorless colonial administrators had replaced the conquistadores.

Some of the conquistadores wed Indian women and had children.  These offspring were known as **mestizos**and formed a cultural and biological bridge between Latin America's European and Indian races.

**The Conquest of Mexico**

In about **1519**, Hernan Cortes set sail from Cuba with men and horses.  Along the way, he picked up two translators - A Spanish prisoner of Mayan-speaking Indians, and an Indian slave named Malinche.

The Spaniards arrived at **Tenochtitlan**, the Aztec capital with the intention of stealing all of the gold and other riches; they were amazed by the beauty of the capitol.

On **June 30, 1520**, the Aztecs attacked the Spanish because of the Spaniards' lust for riches.  The Spanish countered, though, and took over the capital and the rest of the Aztec empire on **August 13, 1521**.

Due to the rule of the Spanish, the Indian population in Mexico went from 20 million to 2 million in less than a century.

**The Spread of Spanish America**

In **1565**, the Spanish built a fortress at St. Augustine, Florida to protect the sea-lanes to the Caribbean.

In **1680**, after the Spanish captured an area known today as New Mexico in **1609**, the natives launched a rebellion known as **Popes Rebellion**.  The natives burned down churches and killed priests.  They rebuilt a **kiva**, or ceremonial religious chamber, on the ruins of the Spanish plaza at Santa Fe.

The misdeeds of the Spanish in the New World led to the birth of the "**Black Legend**."  This false concept stated that the conquerors just tortured and killed the Indians, stole their gold, infected them with smallpox, and left little but misery behind.

**Chronology**

33,000-8,000 B.C. - First humans cross into Americas from Asia.

5,000 B.C.             - Corn is developed as a stable crop in highland Mexico.

4,000 B.C.             - First civilized societies develop in the Middle East.

1,200 B.C.             - Corn planting reaches present-day American Southwest.

1,000 A.D.             - Norse voyagers discover and briefly settle in northeastern North America.

    Corn cultivation reaches Midwest and southeastern Atlantic seaboard.

1,100 A.D.             - Height of Mississippian settlement at Cahokia.

1,100-1,300 A.D.   - Christian crusades arouse European interest in the East.

1295                       - Marco Polo returns to Europe.

Late 1400s             - Spain becomes united.

1488                       - Diaz rounds southern tip of Africa.

1492                       - Columbus lands in the Bahamas.

1494                       - Treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal.

1498                       - Da Gama reaches India.  Cabot explores northeastern coast of North America for England.

1513                       - Balboa claims all lands touched by the Pacific Ocean for Spain.

1513, 1521             - Ponce de Leon explores Florida.

1519-1521              - Cortes conquers Mexico for Spain.

1522                       - Magellan's vessel completes circumnavigation of the world.

1524                       - Verrazano explores eastern seaboard of North America for France.

1532                       - Pizarro crushes Incas.

1534                       - Cartier journeys up the St. Lawrence River.

1539-1542              - De Soto explores the Southeast and discovers the Mississippi River.

1540-1542              - Cabrillo explores present-day Southwest.

1542                       - Cabrillo explores California coast for Spain.

1565                       - Spanish build fortress at St. Augustine.

Late 1500s              - Iroquois Confederacy founded, according to Iroquois legend.

1598-1609              - Spanish under Onate conquer pueblo peoples of Rio Grande valley.

1609                       - Spanish found New Mexico.

1680s                     - French exploration down Mississippi River under La Salle.

1769                       - Serra founds first California mission, at San Diego.

Chapter 2

The Planting of English America

1500-1733

The Spanish were at Santa Fe in **1610.**

The French were at Quebec in **1608.**

The English were at Jamestown, Virginia in **1607.**

**England's Imperial Stirrings**

King Henry VIII broke with the Roman Catholic Church in the **1530s**, launching the **English Protestant Reformation**, and intensifying the rivalry with Catholic Spain.

**Elizabeth Energizes England**

In **1580**, Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe, plundering and returning with his ship loaded with Spanish booty.  He had a profit of about 4,600%.

When the English fleet defeated the Spanish Armada, Spain's empirical dreams and fighting spirit had been weakened - helping to ensure the English's naval dominance over the North Atlantic.

**England on the Eve of an Empire**

Because an economic **depression**hit **England**in the later part of the 1500s and many people were left without homes, the stage was set for the establishment of an English beachhead in North America.

**England Plants the Jamestown Seedling**

In **1606**, a joint-stock company, known as the **Virginia Company of London**,received a charter from King James I of England for a settlement in the New World.  The company landed in Jamestown on **May 24, 1607**.

In **1608**, Captain John Smith took over the town and forced the settlers into line.

By **1609**, of the 400 settlers who came to Virginia, only 60 survived the "**starving winter**" of 1609-1610.

**Cultural Clash in the Chesapeake**

Lord De La Warr reached Jamestown in **1610**with supplies and military.  He started the **First Anglo-Powhatan War**.

The Indians were again defeated in the**Second Anglo-Powhatan War**in **1644.**

By **1685**, the English considered the Powhatan people to be extinct.

**Virginia: Child of Tobacco**

John Rolfe married Pocahontas in **1614**, **ending**the First Anglo-Powhatan War.

In **1619**, self-government was made in Virginia.  The London Company authorized the settlers to summon an assembly, known as the**House of Burgesses**.

King James I didn't trust the House of Burgesses and so in **1624**, he made Virginia a colony of England, directly under his control.

**Maryland: Catholic Haven**

**Maryland**was formed in **1634**by Lord Baltimore.

Maryland was made for a refuge for the Catholics to escape the wrath of the Protestant English government.

The **Act of Toleration**, which was passed in **1649**by the local representative group in Maryland, granted toleration to all Christians.

**The West Indies: Way Station to mainland America**

By the mid-17th Century, England had secured its claim to several West Indian Islands.

**Sugar**was, by far, the major crop on the Indian Islands.

To support the massive sugar crops, millions of African slaves were imported.  By 1700, the number of black slaves to white settlers in the English West Indies by nearly 4 to 1.  In order to control the large number of slaves, the **Barbados Slave Code of 1661**deniedeven the most fundamental rights to slaves.

**Colonizing the Carolinas**

Civil war plagued England in the 1640s.

In **1707**, the Savannah Indians decided to end their alliance with the Carolinians and migrate to the back country of Maryland and Pennsylvania, where a new colony founded by Quakers under William Penn promised better relations.  Almost all of the Indians were killed in raids before they could depart - in**1710**.

**Rice**became the primary export of the Carolinas.

**Chronology**

1558                        - Elizabeth I becomes queen of England

1565-1590               - English crush Irish uprising

1577                        - Drake circumnavigates the globe

1585                        - Raleigh founds Roanoke colony

1588                        - England defeats Spanish Armada

1603                        - James I becomes king of England

1604                        - Spain and England sign peace treaty

1607                        - Virginia colony founded at Jamestown

1612                        - Rolfe perfects tobacco culture in Virginia

1614                        - First Anglo-Powhatan War ends

1619                        - First Africans arrive in Jamestown.  Virginia House of Burgesses established

1624                        - Virginia becomes a royal colony

1634                        - Maryland colony founded

1640s                      - Large-scale slave-labor system established in English West Indies

1644                        - Second Anglo-Powhatan War

1649                        - Act of Toleration in Maryland.  Charles I beheaded; Cromwell rules England

1660                        - Charles II restored to English throne

1661                        - Barbados slave code adopted

1670                        - Carolina colony created

1711-1713               - Tuscarora War in North Carolina

1712                        - North Carolina formally separates from South Carolina

1715-1716               - Yamasee War in South Carolina

1733                        - Georgia colony founded

**The Thirteen Original Colonies**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Name** | **Founded By** | **Year** |
| Virginia | London Co. | 1607 |
| New Hampshire | John Mason and Others | 1623 |
| MassachusettsPlymouthMaine | PuritansSeparatistsF. Gorges | 162816201623 |
| Maryland | Lord Baltimore | 1634 |
| ConnecticutNew Haven | Mass. EmigrantsMass. Emigrants | 16351638 |
| Rhode Island | R. Williams | 1636 |
| Delaware | Swedes | 1638 |
| N. Carolina | Virginians | 1653 |
| New York | Duke of York | 1664 |
| New Jersey | Berkeley and Carteret | 1664 |
| Carolina | Eight Nobles | 1670 |
| Pennsylvania | William Penn | 1681 |
| Georgia | Oglethorpe and others | 1733 |

Chapter 3

Settling the Northern Colonies

1619-1700

**The Protestant Reformation Produces Puritanism**

German friar Martin Luther denounced the authority of the priests and popes when he nailed his protests against Catholic doctrines to the door of Wittenberg's cathedral in **1517**.  He declared that the Bible alone was the source of God's words.  He started the "Protestant Reformation."

John Calvin of Geneva elaborated Martin Luther's ideas.  He spelled out his basic doctrine in Latin in 1536, entitled ***Institutes of the Christian Religion***.  These ideas formed **Calvinism**.

When King Henry VIII broke his ties with the Roman Catholic Church in the **1530s**, he formed the Protestant Church.  There were a few people who wanted to see the process of taking Catholicism out of England occur more quickly.  These people were called **Puritans**.

A tiny groupof Puritans, called **Separatists**, broke away from the Church of England.  Fearing that his subjects would defy him both as their political leader and spiritual leader, King James I, the head of state of England and head of the church from **1603-1625**,threatened to harass the more bothersome the Separatists out of the land.

**The Pilgrims End Their Pilgrimage at Plymouth**

Losing their identity as English, a group of Separatists in Holland came to America in search for religious freedom.  The group settled outside the domain of the Virginia Company and, without legal permission, settled in **Plymouth Bay**in **1620**.

Captain Myles Standish- prominent among the non-belongers of the Mayflower who came to Plymouth Bay; an Indian fighter and negotiator.

Before disembarking from the Mayflower, the Pilgrim leaders drew up and signed the **Mayflower Compact**.  This was a simple agreement to form a crude government and to submit to the will of the majority under the regulations agreed upon.  It was signed by 41 adult males.  It was the **first attempt at a government in America.**

In the Pilgrims' first winter of 1620-1621, only 44 of the 102 survived.

In **1621**, there was the **first Thanksgiving Day**in **New England.**

William Bradford- elected 30 times as governor of the Pilgrims in the annual elections; a self-taught scholar who read Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch; Pilgrim leader.

**The Bay Colony Bible Commonwealth**

Charles I dismissed Parliament in **1629**and sanctioned the anti-Puritan persecutions of the reactionary Archbishop William Laud.

In **1629**, an energetic group of non-Separatist Puritans, fearing for their faith and for England's future, secured a royal charter to form the **Massachusetts Bay Company**.  (Massachusetts Bay Colony)

During the **Great Migration** of the 1630s, about 70,000 refugees left England for America.  Most of them were attracted to the warm and fertile West Indies, especially the sugar-rich island of Barbados.

John Winthrop- the Bay Colony's first governor - served for 19 years.

**Building the Bay Colony**

Governor Winthrop of the Bay Colony did not like Democracy.

The freemen annually elected the governor and his assistants and a representative assembly called the **General Court**.

**Visible Saints** was another name for the Puritans.

John Cotton- a very devoted Puritan.

Michael Wigglesworth wrote the poem, "The Day of Doom," in **1662**.

**Trouble in the Bible Commonwealth**

Anne Hutchinson- an intelligent woman who challenged the Puritan orthodoxy; was banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony because of her challenges to the Church.

Roger Williams- popular Salem minister who also challenged the Church; an extreme Separatist; was banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

**The Rhode Island "Sewer"**

Roger Williams fled to the Rhode Island area in **1636**.  There, he established religious freedom for all kinds of people.

**New England Spreads Out**

**Hartford** and Connecticut were founded in **1635**.  An energetic group of Boston Puritans poured into the Hartford area lead by Reverend Thomas Hooker.  (Colony)

In **1639**, the settlers of the new Connecticut River colony drafted a document known as the **Fundamental Orders**.  It was basically a constitution.

**New Haven**was established in **1638**.

**Part of Maine** was purchased by Massachusetts Bay in **1677** from the Sir Ferdinando Gorges heirs.

In **1641**, New Hampshire was absorbed by the greedy Massachusetts Bay.  The king took it back and made New Hampshire a royal colony in **1679**.

**Puritans versus Indians**

The **Wampanoag** chieftain, Massasoit, signed a treaty with the Plymouth Pilgrims in **1621**.  The Wampanoag helped the Pilgrims have the first Thanksgiving in that same year.

In **1637**, hostilities exploded between the English settlers and the powerful Pequot tribe.  The English militiamen and their Narragansett Indian allies annihilated the Pequot tribe.

In **1675**, Massasoit's son, Metacom (also nicknamed King Philip by the English) launched a series of attacks and raids against the colonists' towns.  The war ended in **1676**.

**Seeds of Colonial Unity and Independence**

In **1643**, 4 colonies banded together to form the **New England Confederation**.  It was made to defend against foes or potential foes.  The confederation consisted of only Puritan colonies - two Massachusetts colonies (the **Bay Colony**and small **Plymouth**) and two Connecticut colonies (**New Haven**and the scattered valley settlements).

Each colony had 2 votes, regardless of size.

As a slap at the Massachusetts Bay Colony, King Charles II gave rival Connecticut in **1662**a sea-to-sea charter grant, which legalized the squatter settlements.

In **1663**, the outcasts in Rhode Island received a new charter, which gave kingly sanction to the most religiously tolerant government yet devised in America.

In **1684**, the Massachusetts Bay Colony's charter was revoked by London authorities.

**Andros Promotes the First American Revolution**

In **1686**, the **Dominion of New England**was created by royal authority.  Unlike the homegrown New England Confederation, it was imposed from London.  It embraced all of New England until in **1688**when it was **expanded** to New York and East and West Jersey.

The **leader** of the Dominion of New England was Sir Edmund Andros - an able English military man.  He established headquarters in **Puritanical Boston**.

Andros stopped the town meetings; laid heavy restrictions on the courts, the press, and schools; and revoked all land titles.

In **1688-1689**, the people of old England engineered the**Glorious**(or **Bloodless**) **Revolution**.  They dethroned Catholic James II and enthroned the Protestant rulers of the Netherlands, the Dutch-born William III and his English wife, Mary, daughter of James II.

In **1691**, Massachusetts was made a royal colony.

There was **unrest**in New York and Maryland from **1689-1691**, until newly appointed royal governors restored a semblance of order.

**Old Netherlands at New Netherland**

Late in the **16th Century**, the **Netherlands** fought for and won its **independence from Catholic Spain** with the help of England.

In the 17th Century, the Dutch (the Netherlands) became a power.  **Golden Age.**  It fought **3 great Anglo-Dutch naval battles**.  The Dutch Republic became a leading colonial power, with by far its greatest activity in the East Indies.

The **Dutch East India Company**was nearly a state within a state and at one time supported an army of 10,000 men and a fleet of 190 ships, 40 of them men-of-war.

This company hired an English explorer, Henry Hudson, to seek great riches.  He sailed into the Delaware Bay and New York Bay in **1609** and then ascended the Hudson River.  He filed a Dutch claim to a wooded and watered area.  The **Dutch West India Company**was less powerful than the Dutch East India Company, and was based in the Caribbean.  It was more interested in raiding than trading.

In **1628**, in raided a fleet of Spanish treasure ships and stole $15 million.

The company established outposts in Africa and Brazil.

In **1623-1624**, the Dutch West India Company established New Netherland in the Hudson River area.  It was made for its quick-profit fur trade.  The company also purchased Manhattan Island from the Indians for worthless trinkets. The island encompassed 22,000 acres.

**New Amsterdam**, later New York City, was a**company town**.  The Quakers were savagely abused.

**Friction with English and Swedish Neighbors**

New England was hostile to the growth of its Dutch neighbor, and the people of Connecticut finally ejected intruding Hollanders from their verdant valley.  3 of the 4 member colonies of the New England Confederation were eager to wipe out New Netherland with military force.  Massachusetts, providing most of the troops, rejected this.

From **1638-1655**, the Swedish trespassed on Dutch preserves by planting the anemic colony of**New Sweden**on the Delaware River.

The **Golden Age**for Sweden was during and following the **Thirty Years' War of 1618-1648**, in which its brilliant King Gustavus Adolphus had carried the torch for Protestantism.

Resenting the Swedish intrusion, the Dutch dispatched a small military expedition in **1655**.  It was led by the able of the directors-general, Peter Stuyvesant, who had lost a leg while soldiering in the West Indies and was dubbed "Father Wooden Leg" by the Indians.  The main fort fell after a bloodless siege, whereupon Swedish rule came to an abrupt end.

**Dutch Residues in New York**

In **1664**, the Dutch were forced to surrender their territory (New Netherland) to the English when a strong English squadron appeared off the coast of New Amsterdam.  **New Amsterdam was named New York**, after the Duke of York.

**Penn's Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania**

A group of dissenters, commonly known as **Quakers,** arose in England in the **mid-1600s**.  Officially, they were known as the Religious Society of Friends.

Quakers were especially offensive to the authorities, both religious and civil.  They refused to support the Church of England with taxes.

William Penn was attracted to the Quaker faith in 1660.  In **1681**, he managed to secure from King Charles II an immense grant of fertile land, in consideration of a monetary debt owed to his deceased father by the crown.  The king called the area **Pennsylvania**.

**Quaker Pennsylvania and Its Neighbors**

The Quakers treated the Indians very well.  Many immigrants came to Pennsylvania seeking **religious freedom**.

"Blue Laws" prevented "ungodly revelers" from staging plays, playing cards, dice, games, and excessive hilarity.

By **1700,** Pennsylvania surpassed all but Massachusetts and Virginia as the most populous and wealthy colony.

William Penn was never fully liked by his colonists because of his friendly relations with James II.  He was arrested for treason thrice and thrown into prison.

In **1664**, New Netherland, a territory along the Hudson River, was taken by the English and granted to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. This grant that was given to Carteret and Berkeley divided the region into East and West New Jersey, respectively.

Berkeley sold West New Jersey in **1674** to a William Penn and his group of Quakers, who set up a sanctuary before Pennsylvania was launched.

In **1681** (the same year that Penn was given the region of Pennsylvania from King Charles II), William Penn and his Quakers purchased East New Jersey from Carteret's widow.

In **1702**, the proprieters of East and West New Jersey voluntarily surrendered their governmental powers over the region to the royal crown after confusion began to arise over the large number of landowners and growing resentment of authority. England combined the two territories (East and West New Jersey) into **one colony** in **1702**.

**The Middle Way in the Middle Colonies**

The middle colonies New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, were known as the **"bread colonies"**because of their heavy exports of **grain**.

These colonies were more ethnically mixed than any of the other colonies.  The people were given more religious tolerance than in any other colonies.

Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston, Massachusetts in 1706. He moved to Philadelphia at the age of 17.

**The Stuart Dynasty in England**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  **Name, Reign** | **Relation to America** |
| James I, 1603-1625 | VA., Plymouth founded; Separatists persecuted |
| Charles I, 1625-1649 | Civil Wars, 1642-1649; MA, MD formed |
| Interregnum, 1649-1660 | Commonwealth; Protectorate (Oliver Cromwell) |
| Charles II, 1660-1685 | The Restoration; Carolina, Pa., NY founded; CT chartered |
| James II, 1685-1688 | Catholic trend; Glorious Revolution, 1688 |
| William and Mary, 1689-1702(Mary died in 1694) | King William's War, 1689-1697 |

**Chronology**

1517                        - Martin Luther begins Protestant Reformation

1536                        - John Calvin of Geneva publishes *Institutes of the Christian Religion*

1620                        - Pilgrims sail on the Mayflower to Plymouth Bay

1624                        - Dutch found New Netherland

1629                        - Charles I dismisses Parliament and persecutes Puritans

1630                        - Puritans found Massachusetts Bay Colony

1635-1636               - Roger Williams convicted of heresy and founds Rhode Island colony

1635-1638               - Connecticut and New Haven colonies founded

1637                        - Pequot War

1638                        - Anne Hutchinson banished from Massachusetts colony

1639                        - Connecticut's Fundamental Orders drafted

1642-1648               - English Civil War

1643                        - New England Confederation formed

1655                        - New Netherland conquers New Sweden

1664                        - England seizes New Netherland from Dutch, East and West Jersey colonies    founded

1675-1676               - King Philip's War

1681                        - William Penn founds Pennsylvania colony

1686                        - Royal authority creates Dominion of New England

1688-1689               - Glorious Revolution overthrows Stuarts and Dominion of New England

Chapter 4

American Life in the 17th Century

1607-1692

**The Unhealthy Chesapeake**

Half the people born in early Virginia and Maryland did not survive to celebrate their 20th birthday.

At the beginning of the 18th Century, **Virginia**was the **most populous**colony with 59,000 people.  Maryland was the 3rd largest, after Massachusetts, with 30,000.

**The Tobacco Economy**

By the **1630s, 1.5 million pounds of tobacco**were being shipped out of the Chesapeake Bay every year and almost 40 million by the end of the century.

Because of the massive amounts of tobacco crops planted by families, "**indentured servants**" were brought in from England to work on the farms.  In exchange for working, they received transatlantic passage and eventual "**freedom dues**", including a few barrels of corn, a suit of clothes, and possibly a small piece of land.

**Virginia and Maryland** employed the "**headright**" system to encourage the importation of servant workers.  Under its terms, whoever paid the passage of a laborer received the right to acquire 50 acres of land.

Chesapeake planters brought some **100,000 indentured servants**to the region by **1700**.  These "white slaves" represented more than **3/4 of all European immigrants**to Virginia and Maryland in the 17th Century.

**Frustrated Freemen and Bacon's Rebellion**

In **1676**, about **1,000 Virginians**broke out of control - led by a 29-year-old planter, Nathaniel Bacon.  They fiercely resented Virginia's Governor William Berkeley for his friendly policies towards the Indians.  When Berkeley refused to retaliate for a series of savage Indian attacks on frontier settlements (due to his monopolization of the fur trading with them), the crowd took matters into their own hands.  The crowd murderously attacked Indians and chased Berkeley from Jamestown, Virginia.  They torched the capitol.

As the civil war in Virginia continued, Bacon suddenly died from disease.  Berkeley took advantage of this and crushed the uprising, hanging more than 20 rebels.  Charles II complained of the penalties dealt by Berkeley.

Due to the rebellions and tensions started by Bacon, lordly planters looked for other, less troublesome laborers to work their tobacco plantations.  They soon looked to Africa.

**Colonial Slavery**

**Africans** had been brought to **Jamestown** as early as **1619**, but as late as**1670**, they numbered only about 2,000 in Virginia-only about 7% of the total population of the South.

In the **1680s**, the **wages in England rose**, therefore decreasing the number of indentured servants coming to America.  By the **mid-1680s**, **black slaves outnumbered white servants**among the plantation colonies' new arrivals.

In **1698**, the **Royal African Company**, first chartered in **1672**, **lost its monopoly**on carrying slaves to the colonies.  Due to this, many Americans, including many Rhode Islanders, rushed to cash in on the slave trade.  (Eventually, Rhode Island became the first state t abolish slavery.)

Blacks accounted for half the population of Virginia by 1750.  In South Carolina, they outnumbered whites 2:1.

Most of the slaves came from the west coast of Africa, especially stretching from present-day Senegal to Angola.

Beginning in **Virginia** in **1662**, statues appeared that formally decreed the iron conditions of slavery for blacks.  These earliest "**slave codes**" made blacks and their children the property of the white masters for life.

**Africans in America**

By about 1720, the proportion of females in the Chesapeake area soon began to rise, making it possible for family life.

On the Sea Islands off South Carolina's coast, blacks evolved a language, ***Gullah***.  It blended English with several African languages, including Yoruba, Ibo, and Hausa.

In **New York City in 1712**, a **slave revolt**cost the lives of 12 whites and caused the execution of 21 blacks.

In **1739 in South Carolina**along the Stono River, a revolt exploded.  The rebels tried to march to Spanish Florida but were stopped by a local militia.

**Southern Society**

Just before the Revolutionary War, **70%**of the **leaders** of the **Virginia legislature**came from families established in Virginia before 1690.

**Social Scale**-

Great Planters-owned gangs of slaves and vast domains of land; ruled the region's economy and monopolized political power.

Small Farmers-largest social group; tilled their own modest plots and may have owned one or two slaves.

Landless Whites-many were former indentured servants.

Black Slaves

**The New England Family**

In contrast with the Chesapeake, the New Englanders tended to migrate in families as opposed to single individuals.

Family came first with New Englanders.

There were low premarital pregnancy rates, in contrast with the Chesapeake.

Because**southern men frequently died young, leaving widows with small children to support, the southern colonies generally allowed married women to retain separate title their property and gave widows the right to inherit their husband's estates**.  **But in New England, Puritan lawmakers worried that recognizing women's separate property rights would undercut the unity of married persons by acknowledging conflicting interests between husband and wife.  When a man died, the Church inherited the property, not the wife.**

New England women usually gave up their property rights when they married.  In contrast to old England, the laws of New England made secure provisions for the property of widows and even extended important protections to women with marriage.

Above all, the laws of Puritan New England sought to defend the integrity of marriages.

**Life in the New England Towns**

Massachusetts was at the front of the colonies attempting to abolish black slavery.

New towns were legally chartered by the colonial authorities, and the distribution of land was entrusted to proprietors.  Every family received several parcels of land.

Towns of more than 50 families had to have an elementary school.

Just 8 years after**Massachusetts**was formed, the colony established **Harvard College, in 1636.** Virginia established its first college, **William and Mary, in 1693.**

Puritans ran their own churches, and democracy in Congregational Church government led logically to democracy in political government.

**The Half-Way Covenant and the Salem Witch Trials**

About the middle of the 17th century, a new form of sermon began to be heard from Puritan pulpits - the "**jeremiad**."

Troubled ministers in **1662**announced a new formula for church membership, the **Half-Way Covenant**.  This new arrangement modified the covenant, or the agreement between the church and its adherents, to admit to baptism-but not "full communion"-the unconverted children of existing members.  This move upped the churches' memberships.  This boost in membership was just what the money-stricken church needed.

A group of adolescent girls in **Salem, Massachusetts**, claimed to have been bewitched by certain older women.  A witch hunt ensued, leading to the legal lynching of **20 women**in**1692.**

In **1693,** the witchcraft hysteria ended when the governor of Massachusetts prohibited any further trials and pardoned those already convicted.  **In 1713, the Massachusetts legislature annulled the "conviction**" of the "witches" and made reparation to their heirs.

**The New England Way of Life**

The **soil of New England was stony**and hard to plant with.

There was **less diversity in New England than in the South**because European immigrants did not want to come to a place where there was bad soil.  The summers in New England were very hot and the winters very cold.

The Native Americans recognized their right to USE the land, but the concept of OWNING was unknown.

The people of New England became experts at shipbuilding and commerce due to the timber found in the dense forests.  They also fished for **cod** off the coasts.

The combination of Calvinism, soil, and climate in New England made for energy, purposefulness, sternness, stubbornness, self-reliance, and resourcefulness.

**The Early Settlers' Days and Ways**

Women, slave or free, on southern plantations or northern farms, wove, cooked, cleaned, and care for children.  Men cleared land; fenced, planted, and cropped the land; cut firewood; and butchered livestock as needed.

Resentment against upper-class pretensions helped to spark outbursts like **Bacon's Rebellion of 1676 in Virginia**and the **uprising of Maryland's Protestants toward the end of the 17th century.**  In New York, animosity between lordly landholders and aspiring merchants fueled **Leisler's Rebellion**, an ill-starred and bloody insurgence that rocked **New York City from 1689-1691.**

In **1651, Massachusetts prohibited poorer folk from "wearing gold or silver lace,"** and in 18th century Virginia, a tailor was fined and jailed for arranging to race his horse-"a sport only for gentlemen."

**Estimated Slave Imports to the New World, 1601-1810**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Region** | **17th Century** | **18th Century** | **Total** | **Percent** |
| Spanish American | 292,500 | 598,600 | 871,000 | 11.7 |
| Brazil | 560,000 | 1,891,400 | 2,451,400  | 33 |
| British Caribbean | 263,700 | 1,401,000 | 1,664,700 | 22.5 |
| Dutch Caribbean | 40,000 | 460,000 | 500,000   | 6.7 |
| French Caribbean | 155,800 | 1,348,400 | 1,504,200  | 20.3 |
| Danish Caribbean | 4,000 | 24,000  | 28,000 | 0.4 |
| British North America and future United States | 10,000  | 390,000 | 400,000   | 5.4 |
| TOTAL | X | X | **7,419,300** | **100** |

**Chronology**

1619                        - First Africans arrive in Virginia

1636                        - Harvard College founded

1662                        - Half-Way Covenant for Congregational Church membership established

1670                        - Virginia assembly disfranchises landless freeman

1676                        - Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia

1680s                      - Mass expansion of slavery in colonies

1689-1691               - Leisler's Rebellion in New York

1692                        - Salem witch trials in Massachusetts

1693                        - College of William and Mary founded

1698                        - Royal African Company slave trade monopoly ended

1712                        - New York City slave revolt

1739                        - South Carolina slave revolt

Chapter 5

Colonial Society on the Eve of Revolution

1700-1775

**Conquest by the Cradle**

In 1775, the most populous colonies were Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Maryland.

About 90% of people lived in rural areas.

**A Mingling of the Races**

Colonial America was a melting pot.

**Germans were 6%**of the total population in 1775.  Many Germans settled in Pennsylvania, fleeing religious persecution, economic oppression, and the ravages of war.

**Scots-Irish were 7%**of the population in 1775.  They were lawless individuals.

By the mid 18th century, a chain of Scots-Irish settlements lay scattered along the **"great wagon road"** which hugged the eastern Appalachian foothills from Pennsylvania to Georgia.

The Scots-Irish led the armed **march of the Paxton Boys in Philadelphia in 1764**, protesting the Quaker oligarchy's lenient policy toward the Indians, and a few years later, spearheaded the**Regulator movement**in North Carolina, a small but nasty insurrection against eastern domination of the colony's affairs.

About 5% of the multicolored colonial population consisted of other European groups- French Huguenots, Welsh, Dutch, Swedes, Jews, Irish, Swiss, and Scots Highlanders.

**The Structure of Colonial Society**

**By the mid 1700s, the richest 10% of Bostonians and Philadelphians owned 2/3** of the taxable wealth in their cities.

By 1750, Boston contained a large number of homeless poor, who were compelled to wear a large red "P" on their clothing.

In all the colonies the ranks of the lower classes were further swelled by the continuing stream of indentured servants.

The black slaves were the lowest in society.

**Clerics, Physicians, and Jurists**

Most honored of the professions was the Christian ministry.

Most physicians were poorly trained and not highly esteemed.  The first medical school came in 1765.

Epidemics were a constant nightmare.  A crude form of inoculation was introduced in 1721.  Powdered dried toad was a favorite prescription for smallpox.  Diphtheria was also a killer, especially of young people.

**Workday America**

**Agriculture was the leading industry**, involving about 90% of the people.  The staple crop in Maryland and Virginia was tobacco.  The fertile middle (bread) colonies produced large quantities of grain.

Fishing was not nearly as prevalent as agriculture, but it was rewarding.

Trade was popular in the New England group- New York and Pennsylvania.

Manufacturing in the colonies was of only secondary importance.

Lumbering was perhaps the most important manufacturing activity.  By 1770, about 400 vessels were splashing down the ways each year, and about 1/3 of the British merchant marine was American built.

As early as the 1730s, fast-breeding Americans demanded more and more British products-yet the slow growing British population early reached the saturation point for absorbing imports from America.  This trade imbalance prompted the Americans to look for foreign markets to get money to pay for British products.

There was much trade with the West Indies.

In 1773, bowing to pressure from British West Indian planters, Parliament passed the **Molasses Act**, aimed at crushing North American trade with the French West Indies.  The colonists got around this by smuggling.

**Horsepower and Sailpower**

The roadways in the colonies were in terrible condition.

An intercolonial postal system was established by the mid-1700s.

**Dominant Denominations**

Two established, or tax-supported, churches were conspicuous in 1775: the **Anglican and the Congregational**.

The Church of England, Anglicans, became the official faith in Georgia, North and South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and a part of New York.  The College of William and Mary was founded in 1693 to train a better class of clerics for the Anglican Church.

The Congregational Church had grown out of the Puritan Church, and was formally established in all the New England colonies except independent minded Rhode Island.  Presbyterianism was never made official in any of the colonies.

**Religious toleration** had made tremendous strides in America.  There were fewer Catholics in America; hence anti-Catholic laws were less severe and less strictly enforced.  In general, people could worship or not worship as they pleased.

**The Great Awakening**

A few churches grudgingly said that spiritual conversion was not necessary for church membership.

Jacobus Arminius was a Dutch theologian who preached that individual free will, not divine decree, determined a person's eternal fate.

The **Great Awakening** exploded in the 1730s and 1740s.  The Awakening was started in Northampton, Massachusetts, by Jonathan Edwards.  He said that through faith in God, **not** through doing good works, could one attain eternal salvation.  He had an alive-style of preaching.

George Whitefield gave America a different kind of enthusiastic type of preaching.  The **old lights**, orthodox clergymen, were skeptical of the new ways of preaching.  **New lights**, on the other hand, defended the Awakening for its role in revitalizing American religion.

The Awakening had an emphasis on direct, emotive spirituality and seriously undermined the older clergy.  It started many new denominations and greatly increased the numbers and the competitiveness of American churches.

**Schools and Colleges**

Puritan New England was more interested in education than any other section.  Dominated by the Congregational Church, it stressed the need for Bible reading by the individual worshiper.

College education was regarded very highly in New England.

9 local colleges were established during the colonial era.

**A Provincial Culture**

The red-bricked Georgian style was introduced in 1720.

Art, architecture were popular in the colonies.

Science was behind the old world.  Ben Franklin was considered the only first-rank scientist in the New World.

**Pioneer Presses**

A celebrated legal case in 1734-1735 involved John Peter Zenger, a newspaper printer.  He was charged with printing things that assailed the corrupt royal governor of New York.  The jury voted him not guilty to the surprise of the judge and many people.  This paved the way for freedom of the press.

**The Great Game of Politics**

By 1775, 8 of the colonies had royal governors, who were appointed by the king.  3-Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware- were under proprietors who themselves chose the governors.  2-Connecticut and Rhode Island- elected their own governors under self-governing characters.

Nearly every colony used a two house legislative body.  The upper house, or council, was appointed by the crown in the royal colonies and the proprietor in the proprietary colonies.  The lower house, as the popular branch, was elected by the people.

Lord Cornbury: made governor of New York and New Jersey in 1702.  He was a drunkard, a spendthrift, and a bad person.

Chapter 6

The Duel for North America

1608-1763

**France Finds a Foothold in Canada**

In **1598**, the **Edict of Nantes** was issued by the crown of France.  It granted limited religious freedom to French Protestants, and stopped religious wars between the Protestants and Catholics.

In **1608**, France established **Quebec**.  (Catholic)  The leading figure was Samuel de Champlain, an intrepid soldier and explorer whose energy and leadership earned him the title "Father of New France".

The government of New France (Canada) was under direct control of the king.  The people did not elect any representative assemblies.

**New France Sets Out**

New France contained one valuable resource - **beaver**.

French Catholic missionaries, notably the **Jesuits**, labored with much enthusiasm to convert the Indians to Christianity and to save them from the fur trappers.

Antoine Cadillac- founded Detroit in **1701** to thwart English settlers pushing into the Ohio Valley.

Robert de La Salle- explored the Mississippi and Gulf basin, naming it Louisiana.

In order to block the Spanish on the Gulf of Mexico, the French planted several fortified posts in Mississippi and Louisiana.  The French founded **New Orleans** in **1718**.

Illinois became France's garden empire of North America because much grain was produced there.

**The Clash of Empires**

The earliest battles among European power for control of North America, known to British colonists as **King William's War (1689-1697)**and **Queen Anne's War (1702-1713)**.  Most of the battles were between the British colonists, the French, and the French ally Spain.

The wars ended in **1713** with peace terms signed at **Utrecht**.  France and Spain were terribly beaten and Britain received French-populated Acadia and Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay.  The British also won limited trading rights in Spanish America.

The War of Jenkins's Ear started in **1739** between the British and Spaniards.  This small battle became a war and became known as **King Georges's War in America.**  It ended in **1748** with a treaty that handed Louisbourg back to France, enraging the victorious New Englanders.

**George Washington Inaugurates War with France**

In **1754**, George Washington was sent to Ohio Country to secure the land of the Virginians who had secured legal rights to 500,000 acres.  His 150 Virginia militia killed the French leader, causing French reinforcements to come.  The Virginians were forced to surrender on **July 4, 1754.**

In **1755**, the British uprooted the French Acadians fearing a stab in the back, and scattered them as far as Louisiana.

**Global War and Colonial Disunity**

The **French and Indian War (Seven Years' War)**started in**1754.** It was fought in America, Europe, the West Indies, the Philippines, Africa, and on the ocean.

In Europe, the principal adversaries were Britain and Prussia on one side and France, Spain, Austria, and Russia on the other.  The French wasted so many troops in Europe that they were unable to put enough forces into America.

The **Albany Congress**met in**1754.** Only 7 of 13 colony delegates showed up.  It attempted to unite all of the colonies but the plan was hated by individual colonists and the London regime.

**Braddock's Blundering and Its Aftermath**

General Braddock set out in **1755** with 2,000 men to capture **Fort Duquesne**.  His force was slaughtered by the much smaller French and Indian army.  (**Braddock's Blunder**)  Due to this loss of troops, the whole frontier from Pennsylvania to North Carolina was left open to attack.  George Washington, with only 300 men, tried to defend the area.

In **1756**, the British launched a **full-scale invasion of Canada**.

**Pitt's Palms of Victory**

In **1757**, William Pitt became the foremost leader in the London government.  He was known as the "Great Commoner."  He attacked and captured**Louisbourg**in **1758**.

To lead the attack in the **Battle of Quebec**in **1759**, Pitt chose James Wolfe.  The two opposing armies faced each other on the **Plains of Abraham**, the British under Wolfe and the French under Marquis de Montcalm.

Montreal fell in **1760**.  The **Treaty of Paris (1763)** ended the battle and threw the French power off the continent of North America.

**Restless Colonists**

**Intercolonial disunity** had been caused by enormous distances; geographical barriers; conflicting religions, from Catholics to Quakers; varied nationalities, from German to Irish; differing types of colonial governments; many boundary disputes; and the resentment of the crude back-country settlers against the aristocrats.

**Americans: A People of Destiny**

In **1763**, **Ottawa chief**,Pontiac,led several tribes, aided by a handful of French traders who remained in the region, in a violent campaign to drive the British out of the Ohio country.  His warriors captured Detroit in the spring of that year and overran all but 3 British outposts west of the Appalachians.

The British countered these attacks and eventually defeated the Indians.

London government issued the **Proclamation of 1763.** It prohibited settlement in the area beyond the Appalachians.  (The Appalachian land was acquired after the British beat the Indians).  It was made to prevent another bloody eruption between the settlers and Indians.  Many colonists disregarded it.

Chapter 7

The Road to Revolution

1763-1775

**The Deep Roots of Revolution**

Two ideas in particular had taken root in the minds of the American colonists by the mid 18th century:

1.  **Republicanism**- a just society in which all citizens willingly subordinated their private, selfish interests to the common good.  Both the stability of society and the authority of government thus depended on the virtue of the citizenry-its capacity for selflessness, self-sufficiency, and courage.

2.  "**Radical Whigs**", a group of British political commentators, made attacks on the use of patronage and bribes by the king's ministers.  They warned citizens to be on guard for possible corruption.

**Mercantilism and Colonial Grievances**

Georgia was the only colony to be formed by Britain.

The **Navigation Law of 1650** stated that all goods flowing to and from the colonies could only be transported in British vessels.  It was aimed to hurt rival Dutch shippers.

**The Stamp Tax Uproar**

Due to the French and Indian War, Britain had a very large debt.

In **1763**, Prime Minister George Grenville ordered the British navy to begin strictly enforcing the**Navigation Laws**.  He also secured from Parliament the**Sugar Act of 1764**, the first law ever passed by Parliament to raise tax revenue in the colonies for England.  The Sugar Act increased the duty on foreign sugar imported from the West Indies.

The **Quartering Act of 1765**required certain colonies to provide food and quarters for British troops.

In **1765**, George Grenville imposed a stamp tax on the colonies to raise revenues to support the new military force.  This stamp tax, known as the **Stamp Act**, mandated the use of stamped paper or the affixing of stamps, certifying payment of tax.

**Parliament Forced to Repeal the Stamp Act**

The **Stamp Act Congress of 1765** brought together in New York City 27 distinguished delegates from 9 colonies.  The members drew up a statement of their rights and grievances and requested the king and Parliament to repeal the hated legislation.  The meeting's ripples began to erode sectional suspicions (suspicions between the colonies), for it had brought together around the same table leaders from the different and rival colonies.  It was one step towards **intercolonial unity**.

**Nonimportation agreements** (agreements made to not import British goods)were a stride toward unionism.

The **Sons of Liberty**and**Daughters of Liberty**took the law into their own hands by enforcing the nonimportation agreements.

The Stamp Act was repealed by Parliament in **1766**.

Parliament passed the **Declaratory Act**, reaffirming its right to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

**The Townshend Tea Tax and the Boston Massacre**

In **1767**, Parliament passed the **Townshend Acts.**  They put a light import tax on glass, white lead, paper, paint, and tea.

British officials, faced with a breakdown of law and order, landed 2 regiments of troops in the colonies in **1768**.

On **March 5, 1770**, a crowd of 60 townspeople attacked 10 redcoats and the redcoats opened fired on the civilians, killing/wounding 11 of them.  The massacre was known as the **Boston Massacre**.

**The Seditious Committees of Correspondence**

Lord North was forced to persuade Parliament to repeal the Townshend revenue duties.

Samuel Adams- master propagandist and engineer of rebellion; formed the first local committee of correspondence in Massachusetts in **1772**(Sons of Liberty).

Committees of Correspondance were created by the American colonies in order to maintain communication with one another. They were organized in the decade before the Revolution when communication between the colonies became essential.
In March of **1773**, the Virginia **House of Burgesses**, the lower house of the Colony of Virginia, proposed that each colonial legislature appoint a standing committee for intercolonial correspondance. Within just a year, nearly all of the colonies had joined.

**Tea Parties at Boston and Elsewhere**

In **1773,**the**British East India Company** was overstocked with 17 million pounds of unsold tea.  If the company collapsed, the London government would lose much money.  Therefore, the London government gave the company a full monopoly of the tea sell in America.

Fearing that it was trick to pay more taxes on tea, the Americans rejected the tea.  When the ships arrived in the Boston harbor, the governor of Massachusetts, Thomas Hutchinson, forced the citizens to allow the ships to unload their tea.

On **December 16, 1773**, a band of Bostonians, disguised as Indians, boarded the ships and dumped the tea into the sea.  (**Boston Tea Party**)

**Parliament Passes the "Intolerable Acts"**

In **1774**, Parliament punished the people of Massachusetts for their actions in the Boston Tea Party.  Parliament passed laws, known as the **Intolerable Acts**, which restricted colonists' rights.  The laws made restrictions on town meetings, and stated that enforcing officials who killed colonists in the line of duty would be sent to Britain for trial (where it was assumed they would be acquitted of their charges).  One such law was the **Boston Port Act**.  It closed the Boston harbor until damages were paid and order could be ensured.

The **Quebec Act** was also passed in **1774**, but was not apart of the Intolerable Acts.  It gave Catholic French Canadians religious freedom and restored the French form of civil law; this law nullified many of the Western claims of the coast colonies by extending the boundaries of the province of Quebec to the Ohio River on the south and to the Mississippi River on the west.

**The Continental Congress and Bloodshed**

In **1774**, the **1st Continental Congress**met in Philadelphia in order to redress colonial grievances over the Intolerable Acts.  The 13 colonies, excluding Georgia, sent 55 men to the convention.  (The 1st Continental Congress was not a legislative body, rather a consultative body, and convention rather than a congress.)

After 7 weeks of deliberation, the **1st Continental Congress**drew up several papers.  The papers included a **Declaration of Rights** and solemn appeals to other British-American colonies, to the king, and to the British people.

The creation of **The Association** was the most important outcome of the Congress.  It called for a complete **boycott** of British goods; nonimportation, nonexportation, and nonconsumption.

In **April 1775**, the British commander in Boston sent a detachment of troops to **Lexington.**  They were to seize provisions of colonial gunpowder and to capture the "**rebel" ringleaders**, Samuel AdamsandJohn Hancock.  At Lexington, 8 Americans were shot and killed.  This incident was labeled as the "**Lexington Massacre**."  When the British went on to Concord, they were met with American resistance and there were over 300 casualties and 70 deaths.  Because of this, the British had a **war**, rather than a rebellion on their hands.

**Imperial Strength and Weaknesses**

The population of Britain was over 3 times as large as the population of America.  Britain also had a much greater economic wealth and naval power.

Unfortunately for the British, though, there was rebellion brewing in Ireland, and France, bitter from its recent defeat, was waiting for an opportunity to attack Britain.  Britain was therefore forced to divert much of its military power and concentration away from the Americas.

Britain's army in America had to operate under numerous difficulties; provisions were short and soldiers were treated brutally.

**American Pluses and Minuses**

Marquis de Lafayette- French who was made a major general in the colonial army at the age of 19; the "French Gamecock"; his services were invaluable in securing further aid from France.

The **Articles of Confederation** was adopted in **1781**.  It was the first written constitution adopted by colonists.

Due to the lack of metallic money in America, Continental Congress was forced to print "**Continental**" paper money.  Within a short time, this money depreciated significantly and individual states were forced to print their own paper money.

**A Thin Line of Heroes**

At **Valley Forge**, Pennsylvania, American men went without food for 3 days in the **winter** of **1777-1778**.

Baron von Steuben- German who helped to whip the America fighters into shape for fighting the British.

Lord Dunmore- royal (British) governor of Virginia.  In **1775**, he issued a proclamation **promising freedom** for any enslaved black in Virginia who joined the British army. "**Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment**"

Chapter 8

America Secedes from the Empire

1775-1783

**Congress Drafts George Washington**

The Second Continental Congress selected George Washington to head the army besieging Boston.

**Bunker Hill and Hessian Hirelings**

From April 1775 to July 1776, the colonists were both affirming their loyalty to the king by sincerely voicing their desire to patch up difficulties while at the same time raising armies and killing redcoats.

In May 1775, a tiny American force under Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold captured the British garrisons at **Ticonderoga and Crown Point**.  There, a store of gunpowder and artillery was secured.

In June 1775, the colonists captured **Bunker Hill**.  The British took it back with a large number of soldiers.

In **July 1775**, the Second Continental Congress adopted the "**Olive Branch Petition**", which professed American loyalty to the king and begged to the king to stop further hostilities.  The petition was rejected by the king.  With the rejection, the Americans were forced to choose to fight to become independent or to submit to British rule and power.

In August 1775, King George III proclaimed that the colonies were in rebellion.  He then hired German **Hessians** to bring order to the colonies.

**The Abortive Conquest of Canada**

In October 1775, the **British burned Falmouth**(Portland), Maine.  In the same month, colonists made an attack on Canada in hopes that it would close it off as a possible source for a British striking point.  The attack failed when General Richard Montgomery was killed.

In January 1776, the **British set fire to Norfolk**.

**Thomas Paine Preaches Common Sense**

The Americans continued to **deny any intention of independence**because loyalty to the empire was deeply ingrained; many Americans continued to consider themselves apart of a transatlantic community in which the mother country of Britain played a leading role; colonial unity was poor; and open rebellion was dangerous.

Thomas Paine released a pamphlet called ***Common Sense*** in **1776**.  It argued that the colonies had outgrown any need for English domination and that they should be given independence.

**Paine and the Idea of "Republicanism"**

Thomas Paine called for the creation of a new kind of political society, specifically a **republic**, where power flowed from the people themselves.

**Jefferson's Explanation of Independence**

On July 2, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia'sresolution of declaring independence was passed.  It was the formal declaration of independence by the American colonies.

Thomas Jefferson was appointed to draft up the **Declaration of Independence**.  The Declaration of Independencewas formally **approved** by Congress on **July 4, 1776**.  It was an explanation of everything the king had done to the Americans.

**Patriots and Loyalists**

During the War of Independence, the Loyalists were called "**Tories**" and the Patriots were called "**Whigs**."

**Tory**: "a thing whose head is in England, and its body in America, and its neck ought to be stretched."

The Loyalists made up 16% of the American population.  Many people of education and wealth remained loyal to England.  Loyalists were most numerous where the **Anglican church**was strongest.  The **Loyalists** were well entrenched in **New York City, Charleston, Quaker Pennsylvania,**and**New Jersey**.  They were least numerous in New England.

The **Patriots**were numerous where **Presbyterianism and Congregationalism**flourished-mostly in New England.

**The Loyalist Exodus**

Before the Declaration of Independence, the Loyalists were treated relatively mild.  After, though, they were hanged, imprisoned, and roughly handled.

They Loyalists were forced to leave because the Patriots had to eliminate their weaknesses.

**General Washington at Bay**

The**British** concentrated **New York City** as a base of operation due to the fact that Boston was evacuated in March 1776.

In **1776**, General Washington and his men were overpowered by the British at the **Battle of Long Island**.  Washington and his men escaped to Manhattan Island.

General William Howe was General Washington's adversary.

On **December 26, 1776**, Washington surprised and captured **1,000 Hessians**who were sleeping.

**Burgoyne's Blundering Invasion**

London officials had an intricate scheme for capturing the vital **Hudson River valley in 1777**.  It would sever New England from the rest of the states and paralyze the American cause.  The main invading force, lead by General Burgoyne, would push down the Lake Champlain route from Canada.  General Howe's troops in New York, if needed, could advance up the Hudson River to meet Burgoyne near Albany.  The 3rd force was commanded by colonelBarry St. Leger, who would come in from the west by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk Valley.

General Burgoyne was forced to surrender his entire command at **Saratoga**on**October 17, 1777**to American general Horatio Gates (**Burgoyne's Blunder**).  This win made it possible for the urgently needed **foreign aid from France**. (Turning point in war.)

**Strange French Bedfellows**

After the shooting at **Lexington** in April 1775, French secretly provided arms to the Americans.

The British offered the Americans **home rule**after the Battle of Saratoga.  The French didn't want Britain to regain its colonies for fear that Britain would seize the **sugar rich French West Indies**.  In order to stop this, the **French made an open alliance**with the Americans in **1778**, offering all the British did with the exception of independence.

**The Colonial War Becomes a World War**

Spain and Holland became allies against Britain in **1779**.

The British decided to evacuate Philadelphia and concentrate their strength in New York City.

**Blow and Counterblow**

General Benedict Arnold turned traitor against the Americans in 1780.

General Nathaniel Greene succeeded in clearing most British troops out of Georgia and South Carolina.

**The Land Frontier and the Sea Frontier**

The**Treaty of Fort Stanwix**- (**1784**) the first treaty between the United States and an Indian nation; signed with the Iroquois.

George Rogers Clark- conceived the idea of capturing the British of the wild Illinois country in 1778-1779.

John Paul Jones is known as the father of the navy.  He employed the tactic of privateering.

**Privateering**- when privately owned and crewed vessels were authorized by a government during a wartime to attack and capture enemy vessels, men, cargo, etc; it diverted manpower from the main war effort; it brought in needed gold, harassed the enemy, and raised American morale by providing victories in a time when victories were few.

**Yorktown and the Final Curtain**

From 1780-1781, the U.S. government fell nearly bankrupt.

British General Cornwallis fell back to Chesapeake Bay at **Yorktown** to await seaborne supplies and reinforcements.  This time in war was one of the few times when British naval superiority had been lacking.  Admiral de Grasse offered to join the Americans in an assault of Cornwallis via the sea.  George Washington, along with Rochambeau's army, and Admiral de Grasse cornered Cornwallis.  He was forced to **surrender on October 19, 1781**.

**Peace at Paris**

In 1782, a Whig ministry replaced the Tory regime of Lord North.

**Conditions of the Treaty of Paris of 1783:**

                British formally recognized the independence of the United States.

                Florida is given to Spain.

Britain granted generous boundaries, stretching to the Mississippi on the west, to the Great Lakes on the north, and to Spanish Florida on the south.

                Yankees were to retain a share in the priceless fisheries of Newfoundland.

                The Loyalists were to no longer be prosecuted.

Congress was to recommend to the state legislatures that confiscated Loyalist property be restored.   The states vowed to put no lawful obstacles in the way of Loyalist property collection.

Ben Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay negotiated the peace terms with Britain.

Chapter 8

America Secedes from the Empire

1775-1783

**Congress Drafts George Washington**

The Second Continental Congress selected George Washington to head the army besieging Boston.

**Bunker Hill and Hessian Hirelings**

From April 1775 to July 1776, the colonists were both affirming their loyalty to the king by sincerely voicing their desire to patch up difficulties while at the same time raising armies and killing redcoats.

In May 1775, a tiny American force under Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold captured the British garrisons at **Ticonderoga and Crown Point**.  There, a store of gunpowder and artillery was secured.

In June 1775, the colonists captured **Bunker Hill**.  The British took it back with a large number of soldiers.

In **July 1775**, the Second Continental Congress adopted the "**Olive Branch Petition**", which professed American loyalty to the king and begged to the king to stop further hostilities.  The petition was rejected by the king.  With the rejection, the Americans were forced to choose to fight to become independent or to submit to British rule and power.

In August 1775, King George III proclaimed that the colonies were in rebellion.  He then hired German **Hessians** to bring order to the colonies.

**The Abortive Conquest of Canada**

In October 1775, the **British burned Falmouth**(Portland), Maine.  In the same month, colonists made an attack on Canada in hopes that it would close it off as a possible source for a British striking point.  The attack failed when General Richard Montgomery was killed.

In January 1776, the **British set fire to Norfolk**.

**Thomas Paine Preaches Common Sense**

The Americans continued to **deny any intention of independence**because loyalty to the empire was deeply ingrained; many Americans continued to consider themselves apart of a transatlantic community in which the mother country of Britain played a leading role; colonial unity was poor; and open rebellion was dangerous.

Thomas Paine released a pamphlet called ***Common Sense*** in **1776**.  It argued that the colonies had outgrown any need for English domination and that they should be given independence.

**Paine and the Idea of "Republicanism"**

Thomas Paine called for the creation of a new kind of political society, specifically a **republic**, where power flowed from the people themselves.

**Jefferson's Explanation of Independence**

On July 2, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia'sresolution of declaring independence was passed.  It was the formal declaration of independence by the American colonies.

Thomas Jefferson was appointed to draft up the **Declaration of Independence**.  The Declaration of Independencewas formally **approved** by Congress on **July 4, 1776**.  It was an explanation of everything the king had done to the Americans.

**Patriots and Loyalists**

During the War of Independence, the Loyalists were called "**Tories**" and the Patriots were called "**Whigs**."

**Tory**: "a thing whose head is in England, and its body in America, and its neck ought to be stretched."

The Loyalists made up 16% of the American population.  Many people of education and wealth remained loyal to England.  Loyalists were most numerous where the **Anglican church**was strongest.  The **Loyalists** were well entrenched in **New York City, Charleston, Quaker Pennsylvania,**and**New Jersey**.  They were least numerous in New England.

The **Patriots**were numerous where **Presbyterianism and Congregationalism**flourished-mostly in New England.

**The Loyalist Exodus**

Before the Declaration of Independence, the Loyalists were treated relatively mild.  After, though, they were hanged, imprisoned, and roughly handled.

They Loyalists were forced to leave because the Patriots had to eliminate their weaknesses.

**General Washington at Bay**

The**British** concentrated **New York City** as a base of operation due to the fact that Boston was evacuated in March 1776.

In **1776**, General Washington and his men were overpowered by the British at the **Battle of Long Island**.  Washington and his men escaped to Manhattan Island.

General William Howe was General Washington's adversary.

On **December 26, 1776**, Washington surprised and captured **1,000 Hessians**who were sleeping.

**Burgoyne's Blundering Invasion**

London officials had an intricate scheme for capturing the vital **Hudson River valley in 1777**.  It would sever New England from the rest of the states and paralyze the American cause.  The main invading force, lead by General Burgoyne, would push down the Lake Champlain route from Canada.  General Howe's troops in New York, if needed, could advance up the Hudson River to meet Burgoyne near Albany.  The 3rd force was commanded by colonelBarry St. Leger, who would come in from the west by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk Valley.

General Burgoyne was forced to surrender his entire command at **Saratoga**on**October 17, 1777**to American general Horatio Gates (**Burgoyne's Blunder**).  This win made it possible for the urgently needed **foreign aid from France**. (Turning point in war.)

**Strange French Bedfellows**

After the shooting at **Lexington** in April 1775, French secretly provided arms to the Americans.

The British offered the Americans **home rule**after the Battle of Saratoga.  The French didn't want Britain to regain its colonies for fear that Britain would seize the **sugar rich French West Indies**.  In order to stop this, the **French made an open alliance**with the Americans in **1778**, offering all the British did with the exception of independence.

**The Colonial War Becomes a World War**

Spain and Holland became allies against Britain in **1779**.

The British decided to evacuate Philadelphia and concentrate their strength in New York City.

**Blow and Counterblow**

General Benedict Arnold turned traitor against the Americans in 1780.

General Nathaniel Greene succeeded in clearing most British troops out of Georgia and South Carolina.

**The Land Frontier and the Sea Frontier**

The**Treaty of Fort Stanwix**- (**1784**) the first treaty between the United States and an Indian nation; signed with the Iroquois.

George Rogers Clark- conceived the idea of capturing the British of the wild Illinois country in 1778-1779.

John Paul Jones is known as the father of the navy.  He employed the tactic of privateering.

**Privateering**- when privately owned and crewed vessels were authorized by a government during a wartime to attack and capture enemy vessels, men, cargo, etc; it diverted manpower from the main war effort; it brought in needed gold, harassed the enemy, and raised American morale by providing victories in a time when victories were few.

**Yorktown and the Final Curtain**

From 1780-1781, the U.S. government fell nearly bankrupt.

British General Cornwallis fell back to Chesapeake Bay at **Yorktown** to await seaborne supplies and reinforcements.  This time in war was one of the few times when British naval superiority had been lacking.  Admiral de Grasse offered to join the Americans in an assault of Cornwallis via the sea.  George Washington, along with Rochambeau's army, and Admiral de Grasse cornered Cornwallis.  He was forced to **surrender on October 19, 1781**.

**Peace at Paris**

In 1782, a Whig ministry replaced the Tory regime of Lord North.

**Conditions of the Treaty of Paris of 1783:**

                British formally recognized the independence of the United States.

                Florida is given to Spain.

Britain granted generous boundaries, stretching to the Mississippi on the west, to the Great Lakes on the north, and to Spanish Florida on the south.

                Yankees were to retain a share in the priceless fisheries of Newfoundland.

                The Loyalists were to no longer be prosecuted.

Congress was to recommend to the state legislatures that confiscated Loyalist property be restored.   The states vowed to put no lawful obstacles in the way of Loyalist property collection.

Ben Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay negotiated the peace terms with Britain.

Chapter 9

The Confederation and the Constitution

1776-1790

**The Pursuit of Equality**

The Continental Army officers formed an exclusive hereditary order called the **Society of the Cincinnati**.

**Virginia Statue for Religious Freedom-** created in **1786** by Thomas Jefferson and his co-reformers; stated that religion should not be imposed on anybody and that each person decided his/her own faith.

The Philadelphia **Quakers** in **1775** founded the first **anti-slavery society**.

The 1st Continental Congress called for the complete **abolition of the slave trade** in **1774**.  Several northern states went further and either abolished slavery altogether or provided the gradual emancipation of slaves.  No states south of Pennsylvania abolished slavery.

**Constitution Making in the States**

The 2nd Continental Congress called upon the colonies in **1776** to draft **new constitutions**.  Massachusetts called a special convention to draft its constitution and then submitted the final draft to the people.

As**written**documents, the state constitutions were intended to represent a **fundamental law**, superior to the short-lived impulses of ordinary legislation.

In the Revolutionary era, the capitals of New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia were all moved westward.

**Economic Crosscurrents**

Economic democracy preceded political democracy.

Due to the independence from Britain, the United States had to make everything on its own which it no longer imported from Britain.

Many Americans were poor because the economy was so bad.

**Creating a Confederation**

Shortly before declaring independence in 1776, the 2nd Continental Congress appointed a committee to draft a written constitution for the new nation.  The finished product was the **Articles of Confederation**.  It was **adopted** by Congress in **1777** and it convinced France that America had a genuine government in the making.  The Articles of Confederation wasn't **ratified by all 13 colonies until 1781.**

**The Articles of Confederation: America's First Constitution**

The 13 colonies were joined together for joint action in dealing with common problems such as foreign affairs.

**Congress had 2 major handicaps**: It had no power to regulate commerce, and this loophole left the states free to establish conflictingly laws regarding tariffs and navigation.  Congress couldn't enforce its tax collection program.  The states were NOT required to pay the government taxes, they were merely asked.

**Landmarks in Land Laws**

**Land Ordinance of 1785**- stated that the acreage of the Old Northwest should be sold and the proceeds should be used to help pay off the national debt.

**Northwest Ordinance of 1787**- a uniform national land policy; created the Northwest Territories and gave the land to the government, the land could then be purchased by individuals; when a territory had 60,000 people, it might be admitted by Congress as a state, with all the privileges of the 13 other states.

**The World's Ugly Duckling**

Britain declined to make any commercial treaty with the colonies or to repeal its Navigation Laws.  Lord Sheffield argued in his pamphlet that Britain could win back America's trade.

The **British remained in the Americas**where they maintained their fur trade with the Indians.  The American states did not honor the treaty of peace in regard to debts and Loyalists.  The British stayed primarily to keep the Indians on the side of the British so to defend against future attacks on Canada by the Americans.

Spain was openly unfriendly to the Americans.  It closed off the Mississippi river to commerce in **1784**.

**The Horrid Specter of Anarchy**

**Shay's Rebellion**- in western Massachusetts in **1786**; when impoverished back-country farmers, who were losing their farms through mortgage foreclosures and tax delinquencies, attempted to enforce their demands of cheap paper money, lighter taxes, and a suspension of property takeovers; led by Captain Daniel Shays.  The uprising was crushed but it left fear in the propertied class of mobs.

**A Convention of "Demigods"**

In **1786**, Virginia called for a **convention at Annapolis, Maryland**.  There, Alexander Hamilton saved the convention from collapsing - delegates from only 5 states showed up.  He called upon Congress to summon a convention to meet in Philadelphia the next year, not to deal with just commerce, but to **fix then entire fabric of the Articles of Confederation**.
Alexander Hamilton was an advocate of a super-powerful central government.

On **May 25, 1787**, 55 representatives from all of the states except for Rhode Island were sent to Philadelphia to talk of the government in the future of the country.  (**Constitutional Convention**)  George Washington was elected as the leader.

**Patriots in Philadelphia**

The delegates hoped to save the revolutionary idealism and make it into a strong political structure.

**Hammering Out a Bundle of Compromises**

Some of the delegates decided they would**scrap** the old Articles of Confederation, contradicting instructions from Congress to revise it.

The "**large-state plan**" was proposed by Virginia and was first pushed forward as the framework of the Constitution.  It said that the arrangement in Congress should be based upon a state's population.

New Jersey presented the "**small-state plan**."  It centered on equal representation in Congress without regards to a state's size or population.

The "**Great Compromise**" of the convention was hammered out and finally agreed upon.  It called for representation by population in the **House of Representatives**, and equal representation in the **Senate**.  Each state would have 2 senators.  The new **Constitution**also called for a President.  Because of arguments over if the slaves would count towards the general population of the state, the "**three-fifths compromise**" was created.  The new Constitution also called for the **end of the slave trade by the end of 1807.** All new state constitutions except Georgia's forbade overseas slave trade.

Rhode Island was not present at the Constitutional Convention.

**Safeguards for Conservatism**

The members of the Constitutional Convention agreed economically-demanded sound money and the protection of private property; and politically-favored a stronger government with 3 branches and with checks and balances among them.

**The Clash of Federalists and Anti-federalists**

The Anti-federalists were led by Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee.  The followers consisted of states' rights devotees, back country dwellers, and one-horse farmers - in general, the poorest class.

Federalists were led by George Washington and Benjamin Franklin.  Most of the Federalists lived in the settled areas along the seaboard.  Overall, they were wealthier than the Anti-federalists, more educated, and better organized.  They also controlled the press.

**The Great Debate in the States**

Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, and New Hampshire were the first 9 states to sign the Constitution.  Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island were the only states to not sign it.  (**4 Laggard States**)

**The Four Laggard States**

Virginia, New York, and North Carolina all ratified the Constitution before it was put into effect.  Rhode Island was the last state to ratify it and it did so only after the new government had been in operation for a few months.

These 4 states did not ratify the Constitution because they wanted to but because they had to.  They could not safely exist outside the fold.

**A Conservative Triumph**

The architects of the Constitution contented that every branch-executive, judiciary, and legislative-effectively represented the people.

By imbedding the principle of self-rule in a self-limiting system of checks and balances among these 3 branches, the Constitution settled the conflicting doctrines of liberty and order.

Chapter 10

Launching the New Ship of State

1789-1800

**Washington for President**

George Washington was unanimously elected as President by the Electoral College in **1789**.  He took the oath of office on April 30, 1789.  He established the cabinet.

At first, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, and Secretary of War Henry Knox served under Washington.

**Bill of Rights**

James Madison wrote the **Bill of Rights**and got them passed by Congress in **1791.**

The **Judiciary Act of 1789** created the Supreme Court, with a chief justice and five associates, as well as federal district and circuit courts, and established the office of attorney general.

John Jay became the first Chief Justice.

**Hamilton Revives the Corpse of Public Credit**

In order to create a thriving federal government, Alexander Hamilton set out to create a plan to shape the policies of the administration in such a way as to favor the wealthier groups.  These wealthier groups would then gratefully lend their money and political support to the government.  The wealth in the government would then trickle down through society.

In this plan, Hamilton persuaded Congress to fund the entire national debt at par, meaning that the federal government would pay off its debts at face value plus accumulated interest.  This would strengthen the national credit by creating public confidence in the small Treasury department.

He then convinced Congress to take on the states' debts, which would create confidence in the government by the states.  States with large debts, like Massachusetts, were delighted with Hamilton's proposal, but states with small debts, like Virginia, did not want the government to assume state debts.  Virginia did, however, want the forthcoming federal district, the District of Columbia, which would bring commerce and prestige.  So Virginia made a deal with the government:  the government would assume state debts if the District of Columbia was placed on the Potomac River.  The deal was passed by Congress in **1790**.

**Customs, Duties, and Excise Taxes**

One of Hamilton's objectives was to keep a **national debt**, believing that the more creditors to whom the government owed money, the more people there would be with a personal stake in the success of the government.

In this objective, he expected **tariff revenues**to pay interest on the huge debt and run the government.

The first tariff law, which imposed a low tax of 8% on the value of imports, was passed by Congress in **1789**.  Its purpose was to create revenue and to create a small protective wall around small industries.

He passed additional internal revenue and, in **1791**, convinced Congress to pass an **excise tax** on a few domestic items, notably whiskey.

**Hamilton Battles Jefferson for a Bank**

Alexander Hamilton proposed a **Bank of the United States** that could print paper money and thus provide a stable national currency.  The national bank would also be place where the Treasury could deposit monies.

Thomas Jefferson strongly opposed the Bank stating it was unconstitutional.  He felt that the states had the right to manage their own money.  Most of the opposition came from the south and most of the support came from the north.

Hamilton prevailed and the 1st Bank of the United States was created in **1791**.  Its charter lasted for 20 years and was located in Philadelphia.

**Mutinous Moonshiners in Pennsylvania**

The **Whiskey Rebellion**in Pennsylvania in **1794** was lead by distillers who strongly opposed the 1791 excise tax on whiskey.  The rebellion was ended when President Washington sent in federal troops.  Although the troops faced no opposition, a strong message was sent by the government stating that it would enforce the law.

**The Emergence of Political Parties**

Political parties had not existed in America when George Washington took office.

What was once a personal feud between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton had developed into a full-blown and bitter political rivalry.

In the 1790s, Jefferson and Madison organized their opposition to the Hamiltonian program but confined it to Congress.  In due time, this organized opposition grew and the **two-party system** emerged.

**The Impact of the French Rebellion**

When Washington's first administration had ended in 1793, a formation of two political groups had ensued:  **Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans**and**Hamilton Federalists.**

The **French Revolution** started in **1789**.  It began peacefully but entered a violent phase when France declared war on Austria in 1792.  Things started to get worse when King Louis XVI was beheaded in 1793, the church was attacked, and the head-rolling Reign of Terror was begun.

**At first**, the Federalists supported the revolutionbut that view suddenly changed when the attitude of the revolution changed.

**Washington's Neutrality Proclamation**

Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans wanted to get into the **French and British War** to fight **for** France.  The Federalists were **opposed**.

Washington issued the **Neutrality Proclamation of 1793**stating the country's neutrality from the Britain-France war.  He was backed by Hamilton.

**Embroilments with Britain**

For years, the British had retained the frontier posts on U.S. soil, all in defiance of the peace treaty of 1783.  The London government did not want to abandon the valuable fur trade in the Great Lakes region, and British agents openly sold firearms to the **Miami Confederacy**, an alliance of 8 Indian nations who terrorized Americans.

The Jeffersonians felt that American should again fight Britain in defense of America's liberties.  The Federalists opposed this action because Hamilton's hopes for economic development depended on trade with Britain.

**Jay's Treaty and Washington's Farewell**

In a last attempt to avoid war, President Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay to London in **1794** to negotiate.  Opposed by Democratic-Republicans, Jay hammered out a treaty, **Jay's Treaty**, in which the British promised to evacuate the chain of posts on U.S. soil and pay for damages for the seizures of American ships.  Britain stopped short of pledging anything about future maritime seizures or about supplying arms to Indians.  The treaty also called for the U.S. to continue to pay the debts owed to British merchants on pre-Revolutionary War accounts.

Jay's Treaty caused Spain, which feared an Anglo-American alliance, to strike a deal with the U.S.  In **Pinckney's Treaty of 1795** with Spain, Spain granted the Americans free navigation of the Mississippi River and the large disputed territory north of Florida.

In his Farewell Address to the nation, Washington urged against permanent alliances.  He left office in **1797**.

**John Adams Becomes President**

John Adams beat Thomas Jefferson to become to the **2nd President in 1797**.

Hamilton became the leader of the **Federalist Party**, known as the "High Federalists."

**Unofficial Fighting with France**

France was upset with Jay's Treaty and it started capturing American merchant ships.  President John Adams sent John Marshall to France to negotiate in **1797**.  Hoping the meet **Talleyrand**, the French foreign minister, Adams's envoy was secretly approached by 3 go-betweens, later referred to as X, Y, and Z (Mme de Villette, Jean Conrad Hottinguer, and Lucien Hauteral).  The French spokesmen demanded a bribe of $250,000 just to talk to Talleyrand.  Angered by the intolerable terms, Marshall and the envoy returned to the U.S.

Infuriated with the **XYZ Affair**, America began preparations for war:  the Navy Department was created; the three-ship navy was expanded; the United States Marine Corps was reestablished.

**Adams Puts Patriotism Above Party**

Because France did not want another enemy, it said that if the Americans sent another negotiator minister, then he would be received with proper respect.

Napoleon Bonaparte was the dictator of France.

Eager to free his hands of a potential enemy, the dictator of France, Napoleon Bonaparte, signed the **Convention of 1800** with American representativeJohn Jay.  It annulled the alliance between France and America that had existed since the Revolutionary War. The convention also called for France to return captured American ships and for the U.S. to pay the damage claims of American shippers (damages were caused by France).

**The Federalist Witch Hunt**

In order to decrease the number of pro-Jeffersonians, the Federalist Congress passed a series of oppressive laws aimed at "aliens", or foreigners who came to America and supported Jefferson.

These **Alien** **Laws** raised the residence requirements for aliens who desired to become citizens from 5 years to 14 years.  They also stated that the President could deport or jail foreigners in times of peace or hostilities.

The **Sedition Act** stated that anyone who impeded the policies of the government or falsely defamed its officials would be liable to a heavy fine and imprisonment.

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

Jefferson's Kentucky resolution and Madison's Virginia resolution concluded that the states had the right to refuse laws created by the government.  Virtually no other state followed the two states' resolutions.

**Federalists versus Democratic-Republicans**

Hamilton Federalists supported a strong central government; they believed that the government should support private enterprise, not interfere with it; and they supported the British.

Jeffersonian anti-Federalists demanded a weak central government and supported states' rights.

Chapter 11

The Triumphs and Travails of the Jeffersonian Republic

1800-1812

**Federalist and Republican Mudslingers**

Thomas Jefferson became the victim of one of America's first "**whispering campaigns**."  The Federalists accused him of having an affair with one of his slaves.

**The Jeffersonian "Revolution of 1800"**

Thomas Jefferson beat John Adams to win the **election of 1800** by a majority of 73 to 65 electoral votes.

**Jeffersonian Restraint**

Jefferson quickly pardoned the prisoners of the Sedition Acts.  The **Naturalization Law of 1802**reduced the requirement of 14 years of residence to the previous 5 years.

Jefferson also did away with the excise tax.

Albert Gallatin- Secretary of Treasury to Jefferson; believed that a national debt wasn't a blessing; he reduced the national debt with a strict economy.

**The "Dead Clutch" of the Judiciary**

**Judiciary Act of 1801**- passed by the expiring Federalist Congress; created 16 new federal judgeships and other judicial offices.  The new **Republican-Democratic Congress**quickly **repealed** the act and kicked out the 16 newly seated judges.  One **Federalist judge**, Chief Justice John Marshall, was not removed.  He served under presidents including Jefferson and others for 34 years.  He shaped the American legal tradition more than any other person.

James Madison was the new **Secretary of State**.

***Marbury vs. Madison (1803)*** - James Madison, the new secretary of state, had cut judge Marbury's salary; Marbury sued James Madison for his pay. The court ruled that Marbury had the right to his pay but, the court did not have the authority to force Madison to give Marbury his pay. Most importantly, this decision showed that the Supreme Court had the final authority in determining the meaning of the Constitution.

Samuel Chase**-** supreme court justice of whom the Democratic-Republican Congress tried to remove in retaliation of the John Marshall's decision regarding Marbury; was not removed due to a lack of votes in the Senate.

**Jefferson, a Reluctant Warrior**

Jefferson preferred to make the military smaller.

Jefferson was forced to bend his thoughts of not using military force when the leader of **Tripoli**informally declared war on the United States.  Jefferson sent the new navy to Tripoli and after 4 years of fighting**,** a deal was reached.  The U.S. paid Tripoli $60,000 for the release of captured Americans.

**The Louisiana Godsend**

Napoleon Bonaparte convinced the king of Spain to **give Louisiana land area to France in 1800.**

Not wanting to fight Napoleon and France in western America, Jefferson sent James Monroe to join Robert Livingston in Paris in **1803** to buy as much land as he could for $10 million.

Napoleon decided to sell all of Louisiana and **abandon his dream of a New World Empire**for 2 reasons:

He failed in his efforts to re-conquer the island of Santo Domingo, for which Louisiana was to serve as a source of foodstuffs.

Because Britain controlled the seas, Napoleon didn't want Britain to take over Louisiana.  So he wanted the money from the Americans.  He also hoped the new land for America would help to thwart the ambitions of the British king in the New World.

Robert Livingston- along with James Monroe, negotiated in Paris for the Louisiana land area; signed a treaty on**April 30, 1803**ceding **Louisiana** to the United States for **$15 million**.  The Americans had signed 3 treaties and gotten much land to the west of the Mississippi.  **820,000 square miles** at 3 cents/acre.

Jefferson sent his personal secretary, Meriwether Lewis, and William Clark to explore the northern part of the **Louisiana Purchase**.

**The Aaron Burr Conspiracies**

Aaron Burr- Jefferson's first-term vice president; after being dropped from Jefferson's cabinet, he joined a group of extremist Federalists who **plotted the secession of New England and New York**; Alexander Hamilton uncovered the plot.  Burr challenged Hamilton to a dueland Hamilton accepted. **Hamilton refused to shoot and he was shot and killed**by Burr.

General James Wilkinson- the corrupt military governor of Louisiana Territory; made an allegiance with**Burr** to separate the western part of the United States from the East and expand their **new confederacy with invasions of Spanish-controlled Mexico and Florida;** betrayed Burr when he learned that Jefferson knew of the plot; Burr was acquitted of the charges of treason by Chief Justice John Marshall and he fled to Europe.

**America: A Nutcrackered Neutral**

Jefferson was **reelected in 1804**, capturing 162 electoral votes, while his Federalist opponent (Charles Pinckney) only received 14 votes.

England was the power of the seas, and France had the power of land.

**England** issued a series of **Orders in Council** in **1806**.  They closed the European ports under French control to foreign shipping.  The **French**ordered the **seizure of all merchant ships** that entered British ports.

**The Hated Embargo**

In **1807**, Jefferson passed the **Embargo Act**.  It banned the exportation of any goods to any countries.  With the act, Jefferson planned to force France and England, who both depended on American trade, to respect America and its citizens, who had been killed and captured by both countries.  The embargo significantly hurt the profits of U.S. merchants and was consequently hated by Americans.

The act was repealed in **1809** and a substitute act was enacted: The **Non-Intercourse Act**.  It opened up trade to every country except France and Britain.

The**embargo failed because** Jefferson overestimated the dependence of the 2 countries on America's trade.  Britain and France were not as reliant on America as Jefferson had hoped.  Britain was able to trade with the Latin American republics and France had enough land in Europe to support itself.

**Madison's Gamble**

James Madison became president on **March 4, 1809**.

Congress issued **Macon's Bill No. 2.** It reopened American trade with the entire world.  Napoleon convinced James Madison to give Britain 3 months to lift its Orders in Council.  Madison did, but Britain chose not to lift its Orders in Council, and Madison had to reenact the United States's trade embargo, but this time just against Britain.

Macon's Bill No. 2 led to the **War of 1812**.

**Tecumseh and the Prophet**

**Twelfth Congress**- met in 1811; the "war hawks" wanted to go to war with the British and wanted to eliminate the Indian threats to pioneers.

Tecumseh- Shawnee, along with his brother, unified many Indian tribes in a last ditch battle with the settlers; allied with the British.

Tenskwatawa- "the Prophet"; Shawnee, along with his brother, unified many Indian tribes in a last ditch battle with the settlers; allied with the British.

William Henry Harrison- governor of the Indiana territory; defeated the Shawnee at the Battle of Tippecanoe.

**Mr. Madison's War**

On **June 1, 1812**, Madison asked Congress to declare war on the British and it agreed.

The **Democratic-Republicans** who supported the war ("**war hawks**") felt that the country had to assert American rights to the world.  They wanted to invade Canada, the Indians' stronghold, because the Indians were being armed by the British to attack the settlers.

The **Federalists were opposed**because they supported Britain.

Chapter 12

The Second War for Independence and the Upsurge of Nationalism

1812-1824

**On to Canada over Land and Lakes**

The Americans tried to invade Canada from Detroit, Niagara, and Lake Champlain.  All were beaten back by the Canadians.

The Americans then attacked by sea and were more successful.

Oliver Hazard Perry- captured a British fleet in Lake Erie.

General Harrison's army overtook the British at Detroit and Fort Malden in the Battle of the **Thames in October 1813**.

Thomas Macdonough- naval officer who forced the invading British army near **Plattsburgh** to retreat on **September 11, 1814**; he saved the upper New York from conquest.

**Washington Burned and New Orleans Defended**

Andrew Jackson defended New Orleans.

Francis Scott Key- American prisoner aboard a British ship who watched the British fleet bombard Fort McHenry; wrote the "**Star Spangled** **Banner**."

Washington burned in **1814**.

**The Treaty of Ghent**

Tsar Alexander I of Russia called the Americans and British to come to peace because he didn't want his British ally to lose strength in the Americas and let Napoleon take over Europe.  The**Treaty of Ghent**, signed on **December 24, 1814**in Ghent, Belgium, was an armistice.  John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay went to Ghent for the signing.  Both sides stopped fighting and conquered territory was restored.

**Federalist Grievances and the Hartford Convention**

**Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island**met in **1814** in Hartford, Connecticut for a secret meeting to discuss their disgust of the war and to redress their grievances.  The **Hartford Convention's** final report demanded:

Financial assistance from Washington to compensate for lost trade from embargos.

Constitutional amendments requiring a 2/3 vote in Congress before an embargo could be imposed, new states admitted, or war declared.

The abolition of slavery.

That a President could only serve 1 term.

The abolition of the 3/5 clause.

The prohibition of the election of 2 successive Presidents from the same state.

The Hartford resolutions marked the **death of the Federalist party**.  The party nominated their last presidential candidate in 1816.

**The Second War for American Independence**

The **War of 1812** showed other nations around the world that America would defend its beliefs.  The most impressive by-product of the War of 1812 was heightened **nationalism.**

The army and navy were expanded and the Bank of the United States was revived by Congress in 1816.

**"The American System"**

Congress instituted the **1st protective tariff**, the **Tariff of 1816**,primarily for **protection**.  British companieswere trying to make American factories die off by selling their British goods for much less than the American factories.  The tariff placed a **20-25% tax** on the value of dutiable imports.  Over time, the tax price continued to rise, creating problems of no competition between companies.

Due to nationalism, Henry Clay developed a plan for a profitable home market.  It was called the **American System**.  It had**3 main parts**:

A **strong banking system**, to provide easy and abundant credit.

A**protective tariff**, behind which eastern manufacturing would flourish.

A **network of roads and canals**.

President Madisonvetoed the bill to give **states aid for infrastructure,** deeming it unconstitutional.  The Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans were strongly opposed to building federally-funded roadsbecause they felt that such outlets would further drain away population and create competing states beyond the mountains.

**The So-Called Era of Good Feelings**

The Federalists ran a candidate for the presidential for the last time in **1816**.  James Monroe won the election.

The time during the administrations of President Monroe was known as the "**Era of Good Feelings**" because the 2 political parties were getting along.

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

The **Panic of 1819** was the first financial panic since President Washington took office.  The main cause was the **over-speculation**in frontier lands.

The Bank of the United States became a financial devil to western farmers because it foreclosed many farms.

**Growing Pains of the West**

Between **1791 and 1819**, **9** states from the West had joined the United States.  People moved out west because of cheap land.

The **Land Act of 1820** authorized a buyer to purchase 80 virgin acres at a minimum of $1.25 an acre.  The West also demanded cheap transportation and cheap money.

**Slavery and the Sectional Balance**

The House of Representatives slowed the plans of the Missourians of becoming a state by passing the**Tallmadge Amendment**.  It called for no more slaves to be brought into Missouri and called for the gradual emancipation of children born to slave parents already there.  The amendment was later defeated by the slave states in Congress.

**The Uneasy Missouri Compromise**

**Henry Clay**introduced the compromise that decided whether or not Missouri would be admitted as a slave state.  Congress decided to admit **Missouri**as a**slave state**in **1820.** But, **Maine**, which was apart of Massachusetts, was to be admitted as a separate, **free state**.  Therefore, there were 12 slave states and 12 free states.

The **Missouri Compromise** by Congress forbade slavery in the remaining territories in the Louisiana Territory north of the line of 36° 30', except for Missouri.

James Monroe was elected again as Presidentin **1820**.

**John Marshall and Judicial Nationalism**

***McCulloch*vs.*Maryland*(1819)**involved an attempt by the state of Maryland to destroy a branch of the Bank of the United States by imposing a tax on the Bank's notes.  John Marshall declared the U.S. Bank constitutional by invoking the Hamiltonian doctrine of implied powers.  He strengthened federal authority and slapped at state infringements when he **denied the right of Maryland to tax the Bank**.

***Cohens*vs. *Virginia*(1821)**involved the Cohens appealing to the Supreme Court for being found guilty of illegally selling lottery tickets by the state of Virginia.  **Virginia won** and the conviction was withheld.

***Gibbons*vs. *Ogden*(1824)**grew out of an attempt by the state of New York to grant to a private concern a monopoly of waterborne commerce between New York and New Jersey.  (Meaning that no other company could use the waterway.)  **New York lost.**

**Judicial Dikes Against Democratic Excesses**

***Fletcher*vs. *Peck*(1810)** Georgia legislature granted 35 million acres to private speculators; the next legislature cancelled the bribery-induced transaction.  John Marshall let the state give the acres to the private speculators calling it a contract and constitutional. The decision protected property rights against popular pressures.

***Dartmouth College*vs. *Woodward*(1819)** Dartmouth College was given a charter by King George III but New Hampshire wanted to take it away.  John Marshall ruled in favor of the college.

Daniel Webster- "Expounding Father"; served in both the House and Senate.

**Sharing Oregon and Acquiring Florida**

John Quincy Adams- Secretary of State to James Monroe.

The **Treaty of 1818** permitted the Americans to share the Newfoundland fisheries with the Canadians and provided for a 10-year joint occupation of the Oregon Country without a surrender of the rights or claims of either America or Britain.

With the many revolutions taking place in South America, Spain was forced to take many of its troops out of **Florida**.  General Andrew Jackson went into Florida saying he would **punish the Indians and recapture the runaways who were hiding away in Spanish Florida**.  He did this, but captured **St. Marks and Pensacola**, the 2 most important Spanish posts in the area.

The **Florida Purchase Treaty of 1819**, Spain ceded Florida, as well as Spanish claims to Oregon in exchange for America's abandonment of claims to Texas.

**The Menace of Monarchy in America**

After Napoleon's fall from power in 1815, the Europeans wanted to completely **eliminate democracy**.

George Canning- British foreign secretary; asked the American minister in London if the United States would band together with the British in a **joint declaration**renouncing any interest in acquiring Latin American territory, and specifically warning the European dictators to keep their harsh hands off the Latin American republics.

**Monroe and His Doctrine**

Secretary Adams thought the British feared that the Americans would one day seize Spanish territory in the Americas; jeopardizing Britain's possessions in the Caribbean.

**Monroe Doctrine (1823)** - President Monroe, in his annual address to Congress, stated a stern warning to the European powers.  Its two basic features were **non-colonization**and**nonintervention**.

                Monroe stated that the era of colonization in the Americas was over.

Monroe also warned against foreign intervention.  He warned Britain to stay out of the Western Hemisphere, and stated that the United States would not intervene in foreign wars.

**Monroe's Doctrine Appraised**

The **Europeans powers were offended**by the Monroe Doctrine; in a big part because of America's soft military strength.

President Monroe was more concerned with the **security of America**when he issued the Monroe Doctrine.  He had basically warned the Old World power to stay away.  The**Doctrine thrived off nationalism**.

Chapter 13

The Rise of a Mass Democracy

1824-1840

**The "Corrupt Bargain" of 1824**

There were 4 main "Republican" candidates in the **election of 1824**:  Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William Crawford, and Henry Clay.

**No candidate won the majority of the electoral votes**, so, according to the Constitution, the House of Representatives had to choose the winner. Henry Clay,**the Speaker of the House**, was thus eliminated although he did have much say in who became president.  Clay convinced the House to elect John Quincy Adams as president.  Adams agreed to make Clay the **Secretary of State** for getting him into office.  Much of the public felt that a "**corrupt bargain**" had taken place because Andrew Jackson had received the popular vote.

**A Yankee Misfit in the White House**

John Quincy Adams was a **strong nationalist**and he supported the building of national roads and canals.  He also supported education.

**Going "Whole Hog" for Jackson in 1828**

Before the election of 1824, two parties had formed: **National Republicans**and **Democratic-Republicans**.  **Adams and Clay**were the figures of the**National Republicans**and **Jackson**was with the **Democratic-Republicans**.

Andrew Jackson beat Adams to win the **election of 1828.** The majority of his support came from the South, while Adams's support came from the North.

**"Old Hickory" as President**

Jackson was the first president from the West and 2nd without a college education.

**The Spoils System**

When the Democrats rose to power in the White House, they **replaced most of the people in offices**with their own people (the common man).  These people were illiterate and incompetent.  This system of rewarding political supporters with jobs in the government was known as the "**spoils system**."

**The Tricky "Tariff of Abominations"**

In 1824, Congress increased the general tariff significantly.

**The** **Tariff of 1828**- called the "Black Tariff" or the "Tariff of Abominations"; also called the "**Yankee Tariff**".  It was hated by Southerners because it was an extremely high tariff and they felt it discriminated against them.  The South was having economic struggles and the tariff was a scapegoat.

In **1822**, Denmark Vesey led a **slave rebellion** in Charleston, South Carolina.

The ***South Carolina Exposition***, made by John C. Calhoun, was published in **1828**.  It was a pamphlet that denounced the Tariff of 1828 as unjust and unconstitutional.

"**Nullies" in the South**

In an attempt to meet the South's demands, Congress passed the **Tariff of 1832**, a slightly lower tariff compared to the Tariff of 1828.  It fell short of the South's demands.

The state legislature of South Carolina called for the **Columbia** **Convention**.  The delegates of the convention called for the **tariff to be void within South Carolina**.  The convention threatened to take South Carolina out of the Union if the government attempted to collect the customs duties by force.

Henry Clay introduced the **Tariff of 1833.** It called for the **gradual reduction**of the Tariff of 1832 by about **10% over 8 years**.  By 1842, the rates would be back at the level of 1816.

The **compromise Tariff of 1833** ended the dispute over the Tariff of 1832 between the South and the White House.  The compromise was supported by South Carolina but not much by the other states of the South.

**The Trail of Tears**

Jackson's Democrats were committed to western expansion, but such expansion meant confrontation with the Indians who inhabited the land east of the Mississippi.

The **Society for Propagating the Gospel Among Indians**was founded in **1787**in order to Christianize Indians.

The **five civilized tribes**were the**Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws,**and **Seminoles**.  President Jackson wanted to move the Indians so the white men could expand.

In **1830**, Congress passed the **Indian Removal Act**.  It moved more than 100,000 Indians living east of the Mississippi to reservations west of the Mississippi.  The five "civilized" tribes were hardest hit.

Black Hawk, who led Sauk and Fox braves from Illinois and Wisconsin, resisted the eviction.

The **Seminoles in Florida**retreated to the Everglades, fighting for several years until they retreated deeper into the Everglades.

**The Bank War**

President Andrew Jackson despised the Bank of the United States because he felt it was very **monopolistic**.

The Bank of the United States was a private institution, accountable not to the people, but to its elite circle of investors.  The bank **minted gold and silver coins**.  Nicholas Biddle, the president of the Bank of the United States, held an immense and possibly unconstitutional amount of power over the nation's financial affairs.

The **Bank War**erupted in **1832** when Daniel Webster and Henry Clay presented Congress with a bill to renew the Bank's charter.  Clay pushed to renew the charter in 1832 to make itan issue for the electionof that year.  He felt that if Jackson signed offon it, then Jackson would **alienate the people of the West** who hated the Bank.  If Jacksonvetoed it, then he would **alienate the wealthy class of the East**who supported the Bank.  Clay did not account for the fact that the wealthy class was now a minority.  Jackson vetoed the bill calling the Bank unconstitutional.

The veto showed that Jackson felt that the Executive Branch had more power than the Judicial Branchin determining the Constitutionality of the Bank of the United States.

**"Old Hickory" Wallops Clay in 1833**

A third party entered the election in the election of 1832: **The Anti-Masonic party**.  The party opposed the Masonic Order, which was perceived by some as people of privilege and monopoly.  Although Jackson was against monopolies, he was a Mason himself; therefore the Anti-Masons were an **anti-Jackson party**.  It gained support from evangelical Protestant groups.

The Jacksonians were opposed to allgovernment meddling in social and economic life.

Andrew Jackson was reelected in the **election of 1832**.

**Burying Biddle's Bank**

The Bank of the United States's charter expired in **1836**.  Jackson wanted to make sure that the Bank would be exterminated.

In **1833**, 3 years before the Bank's charter ran out, Jackson decided to remove federal deposits from its vaults.  Jackson proposed depositing no more funds in the bankand he gradually shrunk existing depositsby using the funds to pay for day-to-day expenditures of the government.

The death of the Bank of the United States left a financial vacuum in the American economy.  Surplus federal funds were placed in several dozen state banks that were political supportive of Jackson.

Smaller, wildcat banks in the west had begun to issue their own currency.  But this "**wildcat**" currency was extremely unreliable because its value was based upon the value of the bank it was issued from.  In **1836**, "wildcat"currencyhad become so**unreliable** that Jackson told the **Treasury to issue a Specie Circular**- a decree that required all public lands to be purchased with metallic money.  This drastic step contributed greatly to the **financial panic of 1837**.

**The Birth of the Whigs**

The Whigs were conservatives who supported government programs, reforms, and public schools.  They called for**internal improvements**like canals, railroads, and telegraph lines.

The Whigs claimed to be defenders of the common man and declared the Democrats the party of corruption.

**The Election of 1836**

Martin Van Buren was Andrew Jackson's choice as his successor in the election of 1836.  General William Henry Harrison was one of the Whig's many presidential nominees.  The Whigs did not win because they did not unite behind just one candidate.

**Depression Doldrums and the Independent Treasury**

The **basic cause**of the **panic of 1837**was the rampant speculation prompted by a get-rich scheme.  Gamblers in western lands were doing a "land-office business" on borrowed capital.  The speculative craze spread to canals, roads, railroads, and slaves.Jacksonian finance also helped to cause the panic.  In **1836**, the failure of two British banks caused the British investors to call in foreign loans.  These loans were the beginnings of the panic.

The panic of 1837 caused many banks to collapse, commodity prices to drop, sales of public to fall, and the loss of jobs.

Van Buren proposed the **Divorce**Bill.  Not passed by Congress, it called for the dividing of the government and banking altogether.

The **Independent Treasury Bill**was passed in **1840**.  An independent treasury would be established and government funds would be locked in vaults.

**Gone to Texas**

**Mexico**won its independencefrom Spain in **1823**.  Mexico gave a huge chunk of land to Stephen Austin who would bring families into Texas.

The Texans had many differences with the Mexicans.  Mexicans were against slavery, while the Texans supported it.

Santa Anna- president of Mexico who, in 1835, wiped out all local rights and started to raise army to suppress the upstart Texans.

**The Lone Star Rebellion**

Texas declared its independence in **1836**.  Sam Houston- commander in chief for Texas.

General Houston forced Santa Anna to sign a **treaty in 1836** after Houston had captured Santa Anna in the **Battle of San Jacinto**.

The Texans wanted to become a state in the United States but the northerners did not want them to because of the issue of slavery.  Admitting Texas would mean one more slave state.

**Log Cabins and Hard Cider of 1840**

William Henry Harrison defeated Van Buren to win the **election of 1840** for the Whigs.  The Whig's campaign included pictures of log cabins and cider.

**Politics for the People**

There were **2 major changes in politics** after the Era of Good Feelings:

1.        Politicians who were too clean, too well dressed, too grammatical, and too intellectual were not liked. Aristocracy was not liked by the American people.  The **common man**was moving to the center of the national political stage.

**The Two-Party System**

2.        There was a formation of a **two-party system**.  The two parties consisted of the **Democrats and**the**Whigs** (the National Republican Party had died out).  Jacksonian **Democrats** glorified the liberty of the individual.  They supported states' rights and federal restraint in social and economic affairs.  The **Whigs**supported the natural harmony of society and the value of community.  They favored a renewed national bank, protective tariffs, internal improvements, public schools, and moral reforms, such as the prohibition of liquor and the abolition of slavery.

Chapter 14

Forging the National Economy

1790-1860

**The Westward Movement**

The life as a **pioneer** was very grim.  Pioneers were stricken with disease and loneliness.

**Shaping the Western Landscape**

**Fur trapping** was a large industry in the Rocky Mountain area.  Each summer, fur trappers would trade **beaver pelts**for **manufactured goods**from the East.

George Caitlin - painter and student of Native American life who was among the first Americans to advocate the preservation of nature; proposed the idea of a**national park**.

**The March of Millions**

By the **mid-1800s**, the population was **doubling every 25 years**.  By **1860**, there were **33** states and the U.S. was the 4th most populous country in the western world.

The new population and larger cities brought about disease and decreased living standards.

In the 1840s and 1850s, more European immigrants came to the Americas because Europe seemed to be **running out of room.**

**The Emerald Isle Moves West**

In the **1840s**, the "**Black Forties**," many **Irish** came to America because of the massive rot that came upon the**potato**crops, inducing a famine.  Most of the Irish were Roman-Catholic.  They were politically powerful because they bonded together as one large voting body.  The Irish did not possess many goods.  They came to America and were hated by native workers of factories.  The Irish hated the blacks with whom they rioted.  They also hated the British.

**The German Forty-Eighters**

Between **1830 and 1860**, many **Germans**came to America because of crop failures and other hardships.

Unlike the Irish, the Germans possessed a modest amount of material goods.

The Germans were more educated than the Americans and were opposed to slavery.

**Flare-ups of Antiforeignism**

The massive immigration of the Europeans to America inflamed the **prejudices**of American **nativists**.  The**Roman Catholics**created an entirely separate Catholic educational system to avoid the **American Protestant**educational system.

Many people died in riots and attacks between the two religions.

**The March of Mechanization**

In **1750**, steam was used as a major way to take the place of human labor.  With it came the **Industrial Revolution**in **England**.

It took **a while for America to embrace the machine** because virgin soil in America was cheap and peasants preferred to grow crops as opposed to working in factories.  Because of this, labor was scarce and hard to find until the immigrants came to America in the 1840s.  There was also not a lot of money for investment in America and consumers were scarce.  The large British factories also had a monopoly on the textile industry.

**Whitney Ends the Fiber Famine**

Samuel Slater- "Father of the Factory System" in America; escaped Britain with the memorized plans for the textile machinery; put into operation the first spinning cotton thread in 1791.

Eli Whitney- built the first **cotton gin** in **1793**.

The **cotton gin** was much more effective at separating the cotton seed from the cotton fiber than using slaves.  It affected not only America, but the rest of the world.  Because of the cotton gin, the South's production of cotton greatly increased and the demand for cotton revived the demand for slavery.

**New England** was favored as the **industrial center**because it had poor soil for farming; it had a dense population for labor; shipping brought in capital; and seaports made the import of raw materials and the export of the finished products easy.

**Marvels in Manufacturing**

The **War of 1812** prompted a**boom of American factories**and the use of American products as opposed to British imports.

The surplus in **American manufacturing dropped**following the **Treaty of Ghent in 1815**.  The British manufacturers sold their products to Americans at very low prices.  Congress passed the **Tariff of 1816**in order to protect the American manufacturers.

In 1798, Eli Whitney came up with the idea of machines making each part of the musket so that every part of the musket would be the same.  The principle of **interchangeable parts**caught on by **1850**and it became the basis for **mass-production**.

Elias Howe**-**invented the **sewing machine**in **1846**.

The **sewing machine**gave a boost to northern industrialization.  It became the foundation of the ready-made clothing industry.

**Laws of "free incorporation"**- first passed in New York in **1848**; meant that businessmen could create corporations without applying for individual charters from the legislature.

Samuel F. B. Morse- invented the **telegraph**.

**Workers and "Wage Slaves"**

Impersonal relationships replaced the personal relationships that were once held between workers.

Factory workers were**forbidden by law to form labor unions to raise wages**.  In the **1820s**, many **children**were used as **laborers**in factories.  With Jacksonian democracy came the rights of the laboring man to vote.

President Van Buren established the **ten-hour work day**in **1840**.

***Commonwealth vs. Hunt***- Supreme Court ruling said that labor unions were not illegal conspiracies, provided that their methods were honorable and peaceful.

**Women and the Economy**

Farm **women and girls**had an important place in the pre-industrial economy, spinning yarn, weaving cloth, and making candles, soap, butter, and cheese.

**Women were forbidden to form unions** and they had few opportunities to share dissatisfactions over their harsh working conditions.

Catharine Beecher- urged women to enter the teaching profession.

The vast majority of working women were single.

During the **Industrial Revolution**, **families** were small, affectionate, and child-centered, which provided a special place for women.

**Western Farmers Reap a Revolution in the Fields**

The trans-Allegheny region became the nation's **breadbasket**.

**Liquor**and **hogs**became the early western farmer's **staple market items**.

John Deere- produced a **steel plow** in **1837** which broke through the thick soil of the West.

**Highways and Steamboats**

**Lancaster Turnpike**- hard-surfaced highway that ran from Philadelphia to Lancaster; drivers had to pay a toll to use it.

In **1811**, the federal government began to construct the **National Road**, or **Cumberland Road**.  It went from Cumberland, in western Maryland, to Illinois.  Its construction was halted during the War of 1812, but the road was completed in **1852**.

Robert Fulton- installed a steam engine and created the first **steamboat**.

The steamboat played a vital role in the opening of the West and South.  It played a vital role in binding the West and South.

**"Clinton's Big Ditch" in New York**

Governor DeWitt Clinton- governor of New York who lead the building of the **Erie Canal**that connected the Great Lakes with the Hudson River in **1825**; the canal lowered shipping prices and decreased passenger transit time.

**The Iron Horse**

The most significant contribution to the development of such an economy was the **railroad**.  The first one appeared in 1828.

Railroads were at first opposed because of safety flaws and they took away money from the Erie Canal investors.

**Cables**(Telegraphs)**, Clippers, and Pony Riders**

In the 1840s and 1850s, Yankee navel yards began to produce new crafts called **clipper ships**.  These ships sacrificed cargo room for speed and were able to transport small amounts of goods in short amounts of time.  These ships faded away after steam boats were made better and able to carry more goods and, hence, become more profitable.

The **Pony Express** was established in **1860**to carry mail from St. Joseph, Missouri to Sacramento, California.  The mail service collapsed after 18 months due to lack of profit.

**The Transport Web Binds the Union**

The desire of the East to move west stimulated the "**transportation revolution**."

The South raised cotton for export to New England and Britain.  The West grew grain and livestock to feed factory workers in the East and in Europe.  The East made machines and textiles for the South and the West.  All of these products were transported using the railroad; the railroad **linked**America.

Chapter 15

The Ferment of Reform and Culture

1790-1860

**Reviving Religion**

Thomas Paine promoted the doctrines of **Deism**.  Deists relied on science rather than the Bible and they denied the divinity of Christ.  They did believe in a Supreme Being who had created a universe and endowed human beings with a capacity for moral behavior.

**Unitarianism**spun off of Deism.  Unitarians believed that God existed in only one person.  It appealed to mostly intellectuals.

The **Second Great Awakening**came in **1800**.  Women were a large part of it.

Peter Cartwright- a revivalist, traveling preacher who converted thousands to Christianity.

Charles Grandison Finney- one of the greatest revivalist preachers.

**Denominational Diversity**

Many preachers preached in Western New York where the Puritans settled.

The Second Great Awakening widened the lines between the classes and regions.  The more prosperous and conservative denominations in the East were little touched by revivalism, and Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Unitarians continued to rise mostly from the wealthier, better-educated levels of society.

The issue of slavery split the churches apart.

**A Desert Zion in Utah**

Joseph Smith- formed the **Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons)** in **1830**when he deciphered the Book of Mormon from some golden plates given to him by an angel; led the Mormons to Illinois.

After Joseph Smith was killed **1844**, Brigham Young led the Mormons to Utah to avoid persecution.

**Free Schools for a Free People**

Tax-supported **public education**came about between **1825**-**1850**. Americans eventually saw they had to educate their children because the children were the future.  The teachers of the schools were mostly men and did not know how to teach.  There were not very many schools in the U.S. because of their high costs to communities.

Horace Mann- campaigned effectively for a better schooling system.

**Higher Goals for Higher Learning**

The first state-supported **universities**showed up in the South in **1795**.

The University of Virginia was founded by Thomas Jefferson.

Women's schools at the secondary level came in the 1820s because of Emma Willard.

**An Age of Reform**

States gradually abolished debtors' prisons due to public demand.  Criminal codes in the states were being softened.  The number of capital offenses was being reduced.  The idea that prisons should reform as well as punish arose.

Dorothy Dix- traveled the country, visiting different asylums; released a report on insanity and asylums; her protests resulted in improved conditions for the mentally ill.

In **1828**, the **American Peace Society**was formed.  It was led by William Ladd.

**Demon Rum - The "Old Deluder"**

The problem of **drinking**was found in women, clergymen, and members of Congress.  The **American Temperance Society** was formed in **1826**.  Its crusaders persuaded drinkers to stop drinking.

The problem of drinking tore down the family structure.

Neal S. Dow- thought that alcohol should be removed by legislation; "Father of Prohibition"; supported the **Maine Law of 1851** which banned the manufacture and sale of liquor in Maine.  (The country banned the sale of alcohol with the 18th amendment in 1918.)

**Women in Revolt**

In the early 19th century, the **role of women**was to stay at home and be subordinate to her husband.  Women could not vote and when married, she could not retain her property.  Women actually started to avoid marriage.

Gender differences were emphasized in the 19th century because the market economy was separating women and men into distinct economic roles.

Feminists met at **Seneca Falls**, New York in a Woman's Rights Convention in **1848**to rewrite the Declaration of Independence to include women.

**Wilderness Utopians**

Robert Owen- founded in **1825**a communal society in order to seek human betterment.

All utopias failed.

**The Dawn of Scientific Achievement**

Americans were more interested in **practical gadgets**than in **pure science**.  Americans invented practical gadgets, but as far as basic science was concerned, Americans borrowed and adapted the findings of Europeans.

**Medicine**in America was still primitive by modern standards.  In the early 1840s, several American doctors and dentists successfully used **laughing gas** and ether as **anesthetics**.

**Artistic Achievements**

Between 1820 and 1850, a Greek revival in architecture came to America.  Most of the ideas of art and painting were taken from Europe.

"**Dixie**" was the battle hymn of the Confederates and was written in **1859**.

**The Blossoming of a National Literature**

Most of the reading material in America was imported or taken from British sources.

Following the War of Independence and the War of 1812, American literature received a boost from the wave of nationalism.

Washington Irving- the first American to win international recognition as a literary figure.

James Fenimore Cooper- the first American novelist to gain world fame.

**Trumpeters of Transcendentalism**

The **transcendentalist movement** of the 1830s resulted from a liberalizing of the Puritan theology.  It also owed to foreign influences.  The transcendentalists rejected the theory that all knowledge comes to the mind through the senses.  Truth, rather, transcends the senses and can't be found just by observation.  Associated traits included self-reliance, self-culture, and self-discipline.

Ralph Waldo Emerson- transcendentalist poet and philosopher; urged American writers to forget European traditions and write about American interests.

Henry David Thoreau- transcendentalist who believed that one should reduce his bodily wants so as to gain time for a pursuit of truth through study and meditation.

**Glowing Literary Lights**

Not all poets and writers of the time were transcendentalists.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow- one of the most famous poets to come from America wrote for the refined class; was adopted by the less-cultured class.

**Literary Individuals and Dissenters**

Edgar Allan Poe- wrote with a pessimistic tone, not like the literature at the time.

Herman Melville- writer of the novel ***Moby Dick***.

**Portrayers of the Past**

A distinguished group of **American historians**was emerging at the same time that other international writers were coming about.

Chapter 16

The South and the Slavery Controversy

1793-1860

Slavery was dying out, but the invention of the cotton gin prompted the plantation owners to keep their slaves as they now produced a high profit harvesting cotton.

**"Cotton is King!"**

The South controlled Britain because 75% of Britain's cotton came from the South.

**The Planter "Aristocracy"**

The antebellum South was more of an **oligarchy**-a government ran by a few.  The government was heavily affected by the planter aristocracy.  The dominance of aristocracy in the South widened the gap between the rich and poor because the aristocrats made all the decisions in their favor in government.

The Southern plantation wife commanded the female slaves.

**Slaves of the Slave System**

The economic structure in the South became increasingly **monopolistic**.  The plantation system was very financially unstable.  The temptation to **over-speculate**(no profit w/material held) in land and slaves caused many planters to plunge into debt.

**The White Majority**

The less wealthy slave owners were below the wealthy slaves owners.  The smaller slave owners didn't own a majority of the slaves, but they made up a majority of the masters.  Next came the large number of whites (3/4 of South white population) who didn't own slaves.  These whites were a support of slavery because they wanted to eventually own a slave or two and achieve the "**American dream**" of moving up socially in society.  The less prosperous nonslave-holding whites were known as "poor white trash" and "hillbillies."  Next came the mountain whites who lived in the valley of the Appalachian range.  Civilization hadn't reached them yet, and they supported Abraham Lincoln's Union party.

**Free Blacks:  Slaves Without Masters**

Many free blacks settled in **New Orleans**.

In the **South**, the free blacks were prohibited from having certain jobs and forbidden from testifying against whites in court.  They were known as the "**3rdRace**."

In the **North**, the free blacks as individuals were hated more than in the South.

White southerners liked the black as an individual, but hated the race.  The white northerner professed to like the race, but disliked the individual.

**Plantation Slavery**

Because the price of "**black ivory**" (slaves) was so high, slaves were smuggled into the South despite the importation of African slaves into American ended in **1808**.  Most slaves were the offspring of slaves already in America.

Planters regarded slaves as major **investments**.

**Life Under the Lash**

"**Black Belt**"- region where most slaves were concentrated; stretched from South Carolina and Georgia into Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Blacks managed to sustain family life in slavery.

Blacks molded their own distinctive religious forms from a mixture of Christian and African elements.

**The Burdens of Bondage**

Slaves were not permitted to **read**because reading brought ideas and ideas brought discontent.

Slavery in the South was known as the "**peculiar institution**."

**Early Abolitionism**

**American Colonization Society**- founded in 1817; focused on transporting the blacks back to Africa.

**Republic of Liberia**- founded in 1822 as a place for former slaves.

The Second Great Awakening inflamed the hearts of many abolitionists against the sin of slavery.

Theodore Dwight Weld- abolitionist who spoke against slavery; wrote the pamphlet *American Slavery As It Is* (1839) which made arguments against slavery; went to Lane Theological Seminary.

**Radical Abolitionism**

William Lloyd Garrison- wrote a militantly anti-slavery newspaper *The Liberator*; publicly burned a copy of the Constitution.

Sojourner Truth- freed black woman who fought for black emancipation and women's rights.

Frederick Douglass- lectured widely for abolitionism; looked to politics to end slavery.

**The South Lashes Back**

In **1832**, states were moving to make the emancipation of any kind illegal.  This **nullification crisis of 1832**caused the voice of white southern abolitionism to be silenced.

The Southerners argued that slavery was supported by the Bible.

The **Gag Resolution** required all anti-slavery appeals to be tabled without debate in the House of Representatives.

In **1835**, the government ordered the southern postmasters to destroy abolitionist material due to anti-abolitionist mobbing and rioting at a postal office in Charleston, South Carolina.

**The Abolitionist Impact in the North**

Abolitionists were, for a long time, unpopular in many parts of the North.  The southern planters owed much money to the northern bankers-should the Union dissolve, the debts would be lost.  New England textile mills were fed with cotton raised by the slaves-if slavery was abolished, then the vital supply would be cut off and there would be unemployment.

"**Free soilers**" opposed extending slavery to the western territories.

Chapter 17

Manifest Destiny and Its Legacy

1841-1848

**The Accession of "Tyler Too"**

Both Whigs, Daniel Webster, as secretary of state, and Henry Clay, the king of the Whigs and their ablest spokesman in the Senate, were set to control the Presidency.  Before Henry Harrison's first term, he contracted pneumonia.  Only 4 weeks into the term, he died.  This hampered Webster and Clay plan.

John Tyler- Vice President to Henry Harrison; successor as President following Harrison's death; "Tyler too"; a Democrat at heart and contradicted many of the Whig Party ideas; vetoes Banks of United States; lowered tariff.

**John Tyler:  A President without a Party**

When the Whig Party came to power in the presidency, many changes came about.  The first one was **financial reform**.  The independent treasury system was ended.  A bill for a "**Fiscal Bank**," which would establish a new Bank of the United States went through Congress, but President Tyler vetoed it.  The Whigs presented a "**Fiscal Corporation**" but the president again vetoed it.

President Tyler was rejected by his former Whig Party.

Tyler signed the **Tariff of 1842** which was a protective Whig tariff.

**A War of Words with Britain**

During the 19th Century, there was much hatred of Britain.  This sparked the "**Third War with England**."  This war was only fought with paper broadsides.

In **1837**, there was a small rebellion in Canada.  It failed because it was supported by few Canadians and it could not enforce unpopular laws in the face of popular opposition.

In **1837**, the American ship, the ***Caroline***, was sunk by a British force.  Washington officials made ineffective protests against the attack.  In **1841**, British officials in the Bahamas offered asylum to 130 Virginia slaves who had rebelled and captured the American ship ***Creole***.

**Manipulating the Maine Maps**

In **1842**, the British wanted to build a road westward from the seaport of Halifax to Quebec, running through disputed territory.  The London Foreign Office sent Lord Ashburton to Washington to settle the dispute.  He and Daniel Webster negotiated and gave the Americans 7,000mi2 of the 12,000mi2 of land in dispute.

**The Lone Star of Texas Shines Alone**

In the 8 years since 1836, Mexico considered Texas as a province in revolt and refused to recognize Texas's independence. Mexico threatened war if the America protected Texas.

Texas made treaties with France, Holland, and Belgium.  Britain wanted to have relations with Texas because Britain could try to make Texas tear America apart.  Britain wanted Texas as an independent ally.

**The Belated Texas Nuptials**

Texas became a leading issue in the presidential campaign of **1844**.  The Democrats were pro-expansion and were for annexing Texas.

President Tyler signed a resolution in **1845** that invited Texas to become the **28th** state in America.

**Oregon Fever Populates Oregon**

Four nations claimed **Oregon Country** at one time: **Spain, Russia, Britain,**and the**United States**.  Spain dropped out of America with the Florida Treaty of 1819 and Russia dropped out with the treaties of 1824 and 1825.

Britain controlled the portion north of the Columbia River.  By **1846**, about 5,000 Americans settled south of the Columbia River.  The British had a lesser population but it did not want to give up its claims to the Columbia River.  The disputed territory in Oregon Country became an issue in the election of**1844**.

**A Mandate for Manifest Destiny**

In the election of 1844, the Whig party chose Henry Clay, and the Democrats chose James K. Polk. James K. Polk was the Speaker of the House of Representatives for four years and governor of Tennessee for two terms. He beat Henry Clay to win the **election of 1844**; "Young Hickory"; said he would protect Texas; he avoided the issue of slavery.

In the 1840s and 1850s, many Americans felt that God had "**manifestly**" destined the American people to spread their democratic institutions over the entire continent and over South America as well.

Democrats strongly supported the idea of Manifest Destiny.

Henry Clay straddled the issue whether or not to annex Texas.

**Polk the Purposeful**

Polk had four main goals for his presidency -

1.  A lower tariff.

Robert J. Walker- Secretary of Treasury to James Polk; devised the **Walker Tariff of 1846**, a tariff-for-revenue bill that reduced the rates of the Tariff of 1842 from 32% to 25%.

2.  The second goal of Polk was to restore the independent treasury, which the Whigs dropped in 1841 because the Whigs won the presidency.

3./4.  The third and fourth goals of Polk were the acquisition of California and the settlement of the Oregon dispute without violence.  Britain presented Polk with the Oregon Country up to **490**.  The offer was approved and a reasonable compromise was reached without a shot fired.

**Misunderstandings with Mexico**

The population of California in **1845**consisted of Spanish-Mexicans and Indians.

Polk wanted to buy California (**The Bear Flag Republic**) from Mexico but relations with Mexico were poor due to the annexation of Texas.

John Slidell- due to rumors of Britain preparing to buy California, was sent to Mexico City in 1845 by Polk to buy California for $25 million-the offer was rejected.

**American Blood on American Soil**

On **January 13, 1846**, Polk ordered 4,000 men under General Zachary Taylor to the Rio Grande.  On **May 9, 1846**, Polk asked Congress to **declare war on Mexico** of the basis of **unpaid claims** and**Slidell's rejection** of the purchasing of California.  Rather, Mexican troops attacked American troops that night and war was declared.

**The Mastering of Mexico**

Polk wanted California, not war.  But when the war came, he hoped that America could pull out with California.

Generals in Mexican-American War:

               General Stephen W. Kearny- led 1,700 troops to Santa Fe.

               General Zachary Taylor- won many victories including a great victory over a large Mexican force at Buena Vista ; future President

               General Winfield Scott- succeeded in battling his way up to Mexico City by September 1847; 1st choice of President Abraham Lincoln to lead the Union army in the Civil War.

**Fighting Mexico for Peace**

Nicholas P. Trist- chief clerk of the State Department; signed the **Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo** on **February 2, 1848**.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo gave Texas to America and yielded the area stretching westward to Oregon and the ocean, including California, for a cost of $15 million.  Southerners realized that the South would do well not to want all of Mexico because Mexico was anti-slavery.  The treaty was opposed by those who wanted all of Mexico and those who wanted none of it.

**Profit and Loss in Mexico**

The Mexican War provided field experience for the officers destined to become generals in the Civil War, including Captain Robert E. Lee and Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant.

The Mexican War brought about the conflict of slavery between the states.

David Wilmot- proposed the amendment that stated that the territory from Mexico should remain slave-free.  This **Wilmot Amendment** never passed the Senate because the Southern members did not want to be robbed of possible slave states to arise in the future from the land gain in the Treaty of Guadalupe.

Chapter 18

Renewing the Sectional Struggle

1848-1854

**The Popular Sovereignty Panacea**

**Popular sovereignty** meant that the sovereign people of a territory should determine the statues of slavery.   It was popular with politicians because it was a comfortable compromise between the abolitionists and the slaver-holders.

At the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore, the **Democrats** chose General Lewis Cass, a veteran of the war of 1812, as their candidate for presidency.  Cass supported slavery.

**Political Triumphs for General Taylor**

The **Whigs**, who met in Philadelphia, chose Zachary Taylor as their candidate for presidency.  Taylor did not have an official stance on slavery, but he did own many slaves.  Henry Clay had not been chosen because he had too many enemies.

The **Free Soil**Party emerged.  It was formed by antislavery men of the North, who didn't trust Cass or Taylor.  They supported federal aid for internal improvements.  They argued that with slavery, wage labor would wither away and with it, the chance for the American worker to own property.

Zachary Taylor won the **election of 1848** (sworn into office in 1849).

**"Californy Gold"**

In **1848**, gold was discovered in **California**.  The rush of people in search of gold in California brought much violence and disease that the small government in California couldn't handle.  Needing protection, the Californians bypassed the territorial stage of a state, drafted their own **Constitution**(**excluding slavery**) in **1849**, and applied to Congress for admission into the Union.

The southerners objected to California's admission as a free state because it would be upset the balance of free and slave states in the Senate.

**Sectional Balance and the Underground Railroad**

Harriet Tubman- conductor of the Underground Railroad who rescued hundreds of slaves.

In **1850**, southerners were demanding a new and strict **fugitive-slave law**.  (The old fugitive-slave law passed by Congress in 1793 was very weak.)  The slave owners rested their argument on the Constitution, which protected slavery.

**Twilight of the Senatorial Giants**

The **congressional debate of** **1850**was called to address the possible admission of California to the Union and threats of secession by southerners.  Known as the "**immortal trio**," Henry Clay, John Calhoun, and Daniel Webster spoke at the forum.

Henry Clay, the "**Great Pacificator**," proposed a series of compromises.  He suggested that the North enact a stricter fugitive-slave law.

John Calhoun, the "**Great Nullifier**," proposed to leave slavery alone, return runaway slaves, give the South its rights as a minority, and restore the political balance.  His view was that two presidents would be elected, one from the South and one from the North, each yielding one veto.

Daniel Webster proposed that all reasonable compromises should be made with the South and that a new fugitive-slave law be formed.  Although, he was against slavery and he supported **Wilmot Proviso,** because he felt that cotton could not grow in the territories gained from the Mexican-American War.

**Deadlock and Danger on Capital Hill**

William H. Seward- senator of New York; antislavery and argued that God's moral law was higher than the Constitution.

President Zachary Taylor seemed bent on vetoing any compromise between the North and South that went through Congress.

**Breaking the Congressional Logjam**

In **1850**, President Taylor died suddenly and Vice President Millard Fillmore took the presidency.  President Fillmore signed a series of compromises.

During this time period, a second **Era of Good Feelings** came about.  Talk of succession subsided and the Northerners and Southerners were determined that the compromises would end the issue of slavery.

**Balancing the Compromise Scales**

Within the **Compromise of 1850**, California was admitted as a free state and the territories of New Mexico and Utah were open to slavery on the basis of popular sovereignty.  Thus, the Senate was unbalanced in favor of the North.

The **Fugitive-Slave Law of 1850**, the Bloodhound Bill, said that fleeing slaves could not testify on their own behalf and they were denied a jury trial.  Northerners who aided slaves trying to escape were subject to fines and jail time.  This was the one Southern gain from the Compromise of 1850.

The events in the 1850s caused the Northerners to resist succession.

**Defeat and Doom for the Whigs**

In the Democratic Convention of 1852 in Baltimore, the **Democrats** chose Franklin Pierce as their candidate for presidency.  He supported the finality of everything, including the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Law.

Meeting in Baltimore, the **Whigs** chose Winfield Scott as their candidate for presidency.  He also praised the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Law.

The votes for the Whig party were split between **Northern Whigs**, who hated the party's platform but accepted the candidate, and **Southern Whigs**, who supported the platform but not the candidate.

Franklin Pierce won the **election of 1852**.  The election of 1852 marked the end of the Whig party.  It died on the issue of the Fugitive-Slave Law.  The Whig party had upheld the ideal of the Union through their electoral strength in the South.

**President Pierce the Expansionist**

The victory of the Mexican War stimulated the spirit of Manifest Destiny.  Americans were looking ahead to possible canal routes and to the islands near them, notably Spain's **Cuba**.

Americans lusted for territory after the Compromise of 1850.

William Walker installed himself as the President of **Nicaragua** in July **1856**.  He legalized slavery, but was overthrown by surrounding Central American countries and killed in **1860**.

**Nicaragua** was the world's leading marine and commercial power.  The **British**, fearing the Americans would monopolize the trade arteries there, secured a foothold in Greytown.

The **Clayton-Bulwer Treaty** said that neither America nor Britain would fortify or secure exclusive control over any isthmian waterway (waterway between two bodies of land).

In **1854**, Japan was persuaded to sign a treaty that started the trade of America with Japan.

**Coveted Cuba:  Pearl of the Antilles**

**Cuba** was prized by Southerners who saw it as the most desirable slave territory available.  They felt future states arising from it would eventually restore the balance in the Senate.

President Polk had offered $100 million to buy from **Spain**, but Spain refused.  In **1850-1851**, two expeditions full of Southern men descended upon Cuba, with the hopes of taking it over.

Spanish officials in Cuba seized an American ship, the ***Black Warrior***, in **1854**.  It was now time for President Pierce to provoke a war with Spain and take Cuba.

The secretary of state instructed the American ministers in Spain, England, and France to prepare confidential recommendations for the acquisition of Cuba.  This document was known as the **Ostend Manifesto**.  It stated that if Spain didn't allow America to buy Cuba for $120 million, then America would attack Cuba on grounds that Spain's continued ownership of Cuba endangered American interests.  The document eventually leaked out and the Northerners foiled the President's slave-driven plan.

**Pacific Railroad Promoters and the Gadsden Purchase**

With the acquisition of California and Oregon, the **transcontinental railroad** was proposed.  The question was where to have the railroad begin-the North or the South.

Secretary of War Jefferson Davis had James Gadsden buy an area of Mexico from Santa Anna for which the railroad would pass.  Gadsden negotiated a treaty in 1853 and the **Gadsden Purchase area** was ceded to the United States for $10 million.

The railroad ran from California to Houston, Texas.

**Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Scheme**

Stephen A. Douglas- longed to break the North-South deadlock over westward expansion; proposed the **Territory of Nebraska** be sliced into two territories,**Kansas** and **Nebraska**.  Their status on slavery would be decided by popular sovereignty.  Kansas would be presumed to be a slave state, while Nebraska would be a free state.

This **Kansas-Nebraska Act** ran into the problem of the **Missouri Compromise of 1820** which forbade slavery in the proposed Nebraska Territory.  Douglas was forced to propose the repealing of the Missouri Compromise.  President Pierce fully supported the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

**Congress Legislates a Civil War**

The Kansas-Nebraska act **wrecked two compromises**: the Compromise of 1820 which the act repealed; and the Compromise of 1850, which northern opinion repealed indirectly.

The **Democratic** **Party** was **shattered** by the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

The **Republican Party** was formed in the Mid-West and it had moral protests against the gains of slavery.  It included Whigs, Democrats, Free-Soilers, Know-Nothings, and other foes of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.  The Southerners hated the Republican Party.

Chapter 19

Drifting Toward Disunion

1854-1861

The Kansas Territory erupted in violence in 1855 between proslavery and antislavery arguments.  In 1857, the Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision invalidated the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

**Stowe and Helper:  Literary Incendiaries**

Harriet Beecher Stowe, who was white, published **Uncle Tom's Cabin** in **1852** as an attempt to show the North the horrors of slavery.  The novel was published abroad, including France and Britain.  It helped to start the Civil War and to end it.

Hinton R. Helper, a non-aristocrat from North Carolina, wrote **The Impending Crisis of the South** in **1857**.  Hated by both slavery and blacks, it attempted to use statistics to prove indirectly that the non-slaveholding whites were the ones who suffered the most from slavery.

**The North-South Contest for Kansas**

Most of the people who came into Kansas were just westward-moving pioneers.  A minority of the people moving to Kansas was financed by groups of northern abolitionists who wanted to see Kansas a free state.  The **New England Emigrant Aid Company** was one of these groups.

In **1855**, the day that the first territorial legislatures were to be elected, many pro-slavery people came in from slave- state Missouri to vote, enacting pro-slavery officials.  The slavery supporters set up their own government at Shawnee Mission.  The free-soilers then set up their own government in Topeka, giving the Kansas territory two governments.  (Kansas and Nebraska territories were to have popular sovereignty in choosing slavery according to the Kansas-Nebraska Act.  Nebraska was so far north that its future as a free state was never in question.)

In **1856**, the Civil War in Kansas started when a group of pro-slavery riders burned down a part of the free-soil town of Lawrence.

**Kansas in Convulsion**

John Brown- fanatical abolitionist who, **in May of 1856**in response to the pro-slavery events in Lawrence, hacked to death 5 presumed pro-slavery men at **Pottawatomie Creek**.

Civil War flared up in Kansas in **1856**, and continued until in merged with the nation's Civil War of 1861-1865.

In **1857**, Kansas had enough people to apply for statehood.  Its citizens were going to vote again on whether or not to have slavery in the **state** of Kansas.  In order to keep the free-soilers from creating a free state, the pro-slavery politicians created the **Lecompton Constitution**.  The document stated that the people were not allowed to vote for or against the constitution as a whole, rather, they could vote on whether the constitution would be "**with slavery**" or "**without slavery**."  If slavery was voted against, then one of the provisions in the constitution would protect those who already owned slaves in Kansas.  Many free-soilers boycotted voting, so the pro-slaveryites voted, approving the constitution to include slavery.

James Buchanan, a democrat, succeeded Pierce as the President of the United States.  He had a strong southern influence and approved of the Lecompton Constitution.  Senator Stephen Douglas was strongly opposed to the document and he campaigned against it.  Eventually, a **compromise**was reached that enabled the people of Kansas to vote on the Lecompton Constitution, itself.  It was revoked by the free-soil voters, but Kansas remained a territory until **1861**, when the southern states seceded from the Union.

President Buchanan **divided** the powerful **Democratic** **Party** by enraging the Douglas Democrats of the North.  He divided the only remaining **national**party and with it, the Union.

**"Bully" Brooks and His Bludgeon**

In **1856**, abolitionist Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts gave a provoking speech condemning pro-slavery men. During this speech, Sumner also personally insulted Senator Andrew Butler of South Carolina. Two days later on **May 22, 1856**, Butler's nephew, Preston Brooks, **beat** Sumner with a cane to unconsciousness.

The speech made by Sumner was applauded in the North, angering the South.

The clash between Sumner and Butler showed how violent and impassioned the Northerners and Southerners were for their cause.

**"Old Buck" Versus "The Pathfinder"**

Meeting in Cincinnati, the **Democrats** chose James Buchanan as their presidential candidate to run in the **election of 1856** because he wasn't influenced by the Kansas-Nebraska Act as Pierce and Douglas had been.  The Democratic platform campaigned for popular sovereignty.

Meeting in Philadelphia, the **Republicans** chose Captain John C. Fremont because he was also not influenced by the Kansas-Nebraska Act.  The Republican platform campaigned against the extension of slavery.

The **American Party**, also called the **Know-Nothing Party**, was formed by Protestants who were alarmed by the increase of immigrants from Ireland and Germany.  They chose former president Millard Fillmore as their candidate for the **election of 1856**.

**The Electoral Fruits of 1856**

James Buchanan won the **election of 1856**.

It was quite possibly a good thing that the Republican Party did not win the election, because some southerners said the election of a Republican president would mean war, forcing them to secede.

This election was a small victory for the Republican Party because the party was just 2 years old, yet putting up a fight for the Democrats.

**The Dred Scott Bombshell**

Dread Scott, a slave who had lived with his master (residence in Missouri) for 5 years in Illinois and Wisconsin Territory, sued for his freedom on the basis of his long residence on free soil.  The Supreme Court ruled that because a slave was private property, he could be taken into any territory and legally held there in slavery.  The **Fifth Amendment** forbade Congress from depriving people of their property without the due process of law.  The Court went further and stated that the **Missouri Compromise was** **unconstitutional** and that Congress had no power to ban slavery from the territories, no matter what the territorial legislatures themselves wanted.

This victory delighted Southerners, while it infuriated Northerners and supporters of popular sovereignty.

**The Financial Crash of 1857**

The **panic of 1857** broke out due to California gold inflating the currency and over-speculation in land and railroads.  The North was the hardest hit, while the South, with its cotton, continued to flourish.

Northerners came up with the idea of the government giving **160-acre plots of farming** **land** to pioneers for **free**.  Two groups opposed the idea:  Eastern industrialists feared that the free land would drain its supply of workers and the South feared that the West would fill up with free-soilers who would form anti-slavery states, unbalancing the Senate even more.  Congress passed a **homestead act** in **1860**, making public lands available at $0.25/acre, but it was vetoed by President Buchanan.

The **Tariff of 1857** lowered duties to about 20%.  The North blamed it for causing the panic, because they felt they needed higher duties for more protection.  This gave the Republicans two economic issues for the election of 1860:  protection for the unprotected and farms for the farmless.

**An Illinois Rail-Splitter Emerges**

In Illinois's senatorial election of 1858, the Republicans chose Abraham Lincoln to run against Democrat Stephen Douglas.  Lincoln served in the Illinois legislature as a Whig politician and he served one term in Congress.

**The Great Debate:  Lincoln versus Douglas**

Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of seven **debates** that were arranged from August to October **1858**.

The most famous debate came at Freeport, Illinois.  Lincoln asked Douglas, "What if the people of a territory should vote down slavery?"  The Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision had decreed that the people could not.  Douglas's reply to him became known as the "**Freeport** **Doctrine**."  Douglas argued that no matter how the Supreme Court ruled, slavery would stay down if the people voted it down.  Laws to protect slavery would have to be voted on by the territorial legislatures.

**Douglas won** the senatorial election, but Lincoln won the popular vote.

**John Brown:  Murderer or Martyr?**

Abolitionist John Brown's scheme was to invade the South secretly with a handful of followers, call upon the slaves to rise, give the slaves weapons, and establish a black free state as a sanctuary.

In **October 1859**, he seized the**federal arsenal** at Harpers Ferry.  Because many of his supporters failed to show up, he was caught and sent to death by hanging.  When Brown died, he lived on as a martyr to the abolitionist cause.

**The Disruption of the Democrats**

For the **election of 1860**, the **Democrats** met in **Charleston**, South Carolina to choose their candidate.  The northern wing of the party wanted to nominate Stephen Douglas, but the southern "**fire-eaters**" saw him as a traitor for his unpopular opposition to the **Lecompton Constitution** and unpopular **Freeport Doctrine** reply.  After the delegates from most of the cotton states walked out, the Democrats met again in **Baltimore** to elect a candidate.  This time, Douglas was elected, despite the fact that the southerners again walked out.

The **southern** Democrats met in **Baltimore** to choose their own Democratic presidential candidate.  They chose vice-president John C. Breckenridge.  The platform favored the extension of slavery into the territories and the annexation of slave-populated Cuba.

The **Constitutional Union Party** was formed by former Whigs and Know-Nothings.  They nominated John Bell as their presidential candidate.

**A Rail-Splitter Splits the Union**

The Republican Party met in Chicago and nominated Abraham Lincoln as their presidential candidate.

The Republican platform had an **appeal to nearly every part of the nation**.  For the free-soilers, non-extension of slavery; for the northern manufacturers, a protective tariff; for the immigrants, no abridgment of rights; for the Northwest, a Pacific railroad; for the West, internal improvements at federal expense; and for the farmers, free homesteads (plots of land) from the public domain.

The Southerners said that if Abraham Lincoln was elected as President, the Union would split.

**The Electoral Upheaval of 1860**

Abraham Lincoln won the **election of 1860**, but he did not win with the **popular vote**.  60% of the nation voted for another candidate.  10 southern states didn't even allow Lincoln to appear on the ballot.

South Carolina was happy at the outcome of the election because it now had a reason to secede.

Even though the Republicans won the presidential election, they did **not** **control** the House of Representatives, the Senate, or the Supreme Court.

**The Secessionist Exodus**

In **December 1860**, South Carolina's legislature met in Charleston and voted unanimously to **secede**.  6 other states joined South Carolina:  **Alabama**,**Mississippi**, **Florida**, **Georgia**, **Louisiana**, and**Texas**.

The 7 seceders met at Montgomery, Alabama in **February** **1861** and created a government known as the **Confederate States of America**.  The states chose Jefferson Davis, a recent member of the U.S. Senate from Mississippi, as President.

During this time of secession, Buchanan was still President for Lincoln was not sworn in until 1861.  President Buchanan did not hold the seceders in the Union by **force** because he was surrounded by southern advisors and he could find no authority in the Constitution to stop them with force.  One important reason was that the tiny army of 15,000 men of the Union was needed to control the Indians of the West.

**The Collapse of Compromise**

The **Crittenden amendments** to the Constitution were designed to appease the South.  They said that slavery in the territories was to be prohibited north of 360 30', but south of that line was to be given federal protection in all territories existing or herby acquired.  Basically, states north of the line could come into the Union with or without slavery, depending on what they chose, but below that line, there would always be slavery.  President Lincoln rejected the amendments.

**Farewell to the Union**

The southern states seceded fearing that the Republican Party would threaten their rights to own slaves.

Many southerners felt that their secession would be unopposed by the North.  They assumed that the northern manufacturers and bankers, dependent upon southern cotton and markets, wouldn't dare cut off the South.

Chapter 20

Girding for War:  The North and the South

1861-1865

**The Menace of Secession**

President Abraham Lincoln declared that secession was impractical because the North and South were not geographically divided.  He also stated that with secession, new controversies would arise, including the national debt, federal territories, and the fugitive-slave issue.

**South Carolina Assails Fort Sumter**

When President Lincoln was elected, there were only two significant forts in the South that flew the Union's flag.  **Fort Sumter**, in the Charleston harbor, needed supplies in order to support its men.  Therefore, Lincoln adopted a **middle-of-the-road solution**.  He told the South that the North was sending provisions to the fort, not supplies for reinforcement.  Taking the move by Lincoln as an act of aggression, the South Carolinians fired upon Fort Sumter on **April 12, 1861**.

Virginia, Arkansas, and Tennessee all seceded after the attack on Fort Sumter.  The 11 seceded states were known as the "**submissionists**."

Lincoln now had a reason for an armed response, and he called upon the Union states to supply militiamen.

**Brothers' Blood and Border Blood**

Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, and West Virginia were the **Border States**.  They were the only slave states that hadn't seceded from the Union.  The Border States contained the Ohio River, a vital necessity for both the North and the South.

The official statement that Lincoln made for war was to fight to preserve the Union, not to end slavery.

The **Five Civilized Tribes**(Native American) (Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles) sided with the Confederacy.  These tribes were allowed to send delegates to the Confederacy congress.  Most of the Plains Indians sided with the Union.

**The Balance of Forces**

The **South** had the advantage of fighting defensively on its own land and it did not have to win in order to preserve the Confederacy-it just had to fight to a draw.

Abraham Lincoln offered Robert E. Lee command of the Northern army, but Lee turned the job down deciding to fight for his home state of Virginia. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson was Lee's chief lieutenant.

There were not a lot of factories in the South, but the South was able to seize federal weapons from the Union.

The **North** held ¾ of the nation's wealth, and ¾ of the nation's railroad system.  It also had nearly twice as large of a population of the South as more and more immigrants arrived in the North from Europe.

**Dethroning King Cotton**

The South counted on foreign intervention to win the war.

The common people of Britain supported the North, hoping to extinguish slavery.  Britain restrained its own and French ironclads from breaking the Union blockade.

The British manufacturers depended upon cotton from the South, but before the war from **1857 to 1860**, a surplus of cotton had developed in Britain, allowing it to function without purchasing cotton from the South.  In **1861**, the cotton supply ran out and many British factory workers were laid off.  As Union armies penetrated the South, they sent cotton to Britain.  **King Wheat** and **King Corn**, which were produced great quantities in the North, proved to be more powerful than **King Cotton**.  Therefore, Britain wasn't able to break the blockade to gain cotton, because if it had, it would have lost the granary from the North.

**The Decisiveness of Diplomacy**

The ***Trent* affair** occurred in late **1861**.  A Union warship stopped a British mail steamer, the ***Trent***, and removed 2 Confederate diplomats who were heading to Europe.  Britain started to send troops to Canada in retaliation, but the situation was ended when President Lincoln freed the Confederate prisoners.

Britain shipyards were unknowingly producing Confederate commerce-raiders.  The British ships left their ports unarmed, picked up arms elsewhere, and captured Union ships.  One notable ship was the ***Alabama***.

**Foreign Flare-Ups**

In **1863**, two Confederate warships were being constructed in the British shipyard of **John Laid and Sons**.  Their large iron rams would have destroyed the Union blockade.  To avoid infuriating the North, the London government bought the ships for the Royal Navy.

The British established the **Dominion of Canada** in **1867**.  It was partly designed to strengthen the Canadians against the possible vengeance of the United States.

Emperor Napoleon III of France dispatched a French army to occupy **Mexico City** in **1863**.  He installed Maximilian as emperor of Mexico City.  The actions of Napoleon were in direct violation of the Monroe Doctrine.  Napoleon was counting on the Union not retaliating due to its weakness.  When the Civil War ended in 1865, Napoleon was forced to abandon Maximilian and Mexico City.

**President Davis versus President Lincoln**

The one **defect** **of the South** was that its own states could secede.  Some state troops refused to serve outside their borders.

President Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy often had disputes with his own congress.  Davis's task as President proved to be beyond his powers.  Lincoln and the North enjoyed a long-established government that was financially stable and fully recognized at home and abroad.

**Limitations on Wartime Liberties**

Due to the fact that **Congress was not in session** when the war broke out, President Lincoln proclaimed a blockade, increased the size of the Federal army, directed the secretary of the Treasury to advance $2 million without appropriation or security to 3 private citizens for military purposes, and suspended the **habeas corpus** (stated that a citizen could not be held without the due process of a trial) - all of which were required to be approved by Congress.

**Volunteers and Draftees:  North and South**

Due to lack of volunteers, Congress passed in **1863** a federal **draft law**.  Men who were called in the draft could pay $300 in order to buy a replacement. The Confederacy also passed a draft law.

**The Economic Stresses of War**

The North increased tariffs and excise taxes to financially support the war.  It also created the first income tax.

In early **1861**, after enough anti-protection Southern members had seceded, Congress passed the **Morrill Tariff Act**.  It was a high protective tariff that increased duties 5%-10%.  The increases were designed to raise additional revenue and provide more protection for the prosperous manufacturers.  A**protective tariff** became identified with the **Republican Party**.

The Washington Treasury issued green-backed paper money.  The **greenbacks** were backed by the nation's fluctuating gold supply.  Hence, the value of the greenback was constantly changing.

In **1863**, Congress authorized the **National Banking System**.  It was designed to stimulate the sale of government bonds and to establish a standard bank-note currency.  Banks who joined the National Banking System could buy government bonds and issue sound paper money backed by the bonds.

The Confederate government was forced to print **blue-backed** paper money that was subject to "runaway inflation."

**The North's Economic Boom**

Newly invented laborsaving machinery enabled the North to expand economically.  **Mechanical reapers** (farm machines used to harvest grain) allowed for men to leave the farms for the war and provided grain that contributed to Northern profits.

The discovery of **petroleum** in Pennsylvania in **1859** led to a rush of people known as the "**Fifty-Niners**."

The Civil War opened up many jobs for women that were originally occupied by men.

**A Crashed Cotton Kingdom**

The North's blockade severely hampered the South's economy.  Transportation in the South collapsed during the Civil War.  **Cotton capitalism** had lost out to **industrial capitalism**.

Chapter 21

The Furnace of Civil War

1861-1865

**Bull Run Ends the "Ninety-Day War"**

President Abraham Lincoln concluded that an attack on a smaller Confederate force at **Bull Run** would be worth trying.  If successful, the victory would show the superiority of Union arms and might eventually lead to the capture of **Richmond**.

On **July 21, 1861**, the Union and Confederate forces met.  A Union victory was thought to be for sure, as evident when spectators showed up.  The Confederates won as "Stonewall" Jackson held his line of Confederate soldiers until reinforcements arrived.

**"Tardy George" McClellan and the Peninsular Campaign**

In **1861**, General George B. McClellan was given command of the Army of the Potomac.

Starting the **Peninsula Campaign**, McClellan's army launched a waterborne attack in the spring of **1862** and captured Yorktown.  He came within sight of **Richmond** and attacked "Stonewall" Jackson.  General Robert E. Lee launched a counterattack against the Union forces-the **Seven Days' Battles**-from June 26 to July 2, 1862 and drove McClellan's forces back to the sea.

The Northern military plan had **6 components**:    1. Slowly suffocate the South by blockading its coasts.

 2. Liberate the slaves and undermine the very economic foundation of the South.

 3. Cut the Confederacy in half by seizing control of the Mississippi River.

 4. Dismember the Confederacy by sending troops through Georgia and the Carolinas.

 5. Capture its capital at Richmond.

 6. Try everywhere to engage the enemy's main strength and grind it into submission.

**The War at Sea**

The Northern sea **blockades** were concentrated at the principle ports.

Blockade was the chief offensive weapon of Britain.  Britain did not want to tie its hands in a future war with the U.S. by insisting that Lincoln maintain impossibly high blockading standards.

In order to combat the strong blockades, ships were developed to run through them.  Some fast ships had the capability of running through blockades in order to make profits **transporting cotton**.  These ships were able to break the blockades up until the latter part of the war when blockades were strengthened.

In **1862**, the Confederates created the ***Merrimack***, renamed the ***Virginia***.  It was an old U.S. wooden ship that was plated with metal armor.  It was a great threat to the Northern blockades because it had the ability to crush through the wooden ships.

On **March 9, 1862**, the Union ironclad, the ***Monitor***, and the Confederate ***Merrimack***met and fought to a standstill.

**The Pivotal Point:  Antietam**

After General Lee crushed McClellan's forces in Richmond, Lee moved northward.  In the **Second Battle of Bull Run** (August 29-30, 1862), General Lee defeated General Pope's Union forces.

As Lee moved into Maryland, he met McClellan's forces again at the **Battle of Antietam** on September 17, 1862.  McClellan managed to halt Lee's forces after his forces discovered Lee's battle plans.  Although not a victory, the Union stopped the Confederate march northward.

Antietam provided Lincoln with the military backing to issue the preliminary **Emancipation Proclamation**on September 23, 1862.  On January 1, 1863, Lincoln issued a final proclamation.  Lincoln now made the Civil War a war to end slavery because he declared that "the rebels could not experiment for 10 years trying to destroy the government and if they fail still come back into the Union unhurt."

The **Confiscation Act of 1862** punished "traitors" by declaring their slaves property of war who shall be free.

**A Proclamation without Emancipation**

The Emancipation Proclamation called for the freeing of all slaves in Confederate territory, except in locations where the Union had mostly regained control. Lincoln did not include the freeing of slaves in the Border States for fear that they, too, would secede.  The proclamation fundamentally changed the nature of the war because it effectively removed any chance of a negotiated settlement between the North and the South.

Editor's Note: Wikipedia has a great map that shows the [regions covered by the Proclamation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emancipation_Proclamation#Implementation) (right side of page).

The Emancipation Proclamation caused an outcry to rise from the South who said that Lincoln was trying to stir up slave rebellion.

The North now had a much **stronger moral cause**.  It had to preserve the Union and free the slaves.

**Blacks Battle Bondage**

After the Emancipation Proclamation and as manpower ran low, blacks were allowed to enlist in the Union army.  Towards the end of the war, the Confederacy allowed blacks to enlist, but by then it was too late.

**Lee's Last Lunge at Gettysburg**

After Antietam, Lincoln replaced McClellan as commander of the Army of the Potomac with General A. E. Burnside.  But due to Burnside's massive defeat **at Fredericksburg, Virginia** on December 13, 1862, he was replaced by Hooker.  During the battle at **Chancellorsville, Virginia** on May 2-4, 1863, Hooker was badly beaten, but not before Jackson was mortally wounded.  Hooker was replaced by General George G. Meade.

As Lee moved his Confederate force to the north again (this time to Pennsylvania), he was met by Meade's force at **Gettysburg** on July 1-3, 1863.  The failure of General George **Pickett's charge**enabled the Union to win the battle.  President Jefferson Davis was planning to deliver **negotiators** to the Washington D.C. with the Confederate victory at Gettysburg.  Since the Union won the battle instead, Lincoln did not allow the negotiators to come.

**The War in the West**

Ulysses S. Grant became a colonel in the **Union** **volunteer** **army**.  His first victory was when he captured Fort Henry and Fort Donelson in February 1862.  He then moved to capture the junction of the main Confederate north-south and east-west railroads in the Mississippi Valley at Corinth.  His plan was foiled when he was defeated by a Confederate force at the**Battle of Shiloh** on April 6-7, 1862.

General Grant was given command of the Union forces attacking **Vicksburg.**The city fell and surrendered on July 4, 1863.

Due to **back-to-back** Union military **victories** at the Battle of Gettysburg and the Battle of Vicksburg, all Confederate hopes for foreign help were lost.

**Sherman Scorches Georgia**

General Grant won the battle at **Chattanooga**, and the state of **Tennessee** was cleared of Confederates.  Grant was made general in chief due to this win.

The invasion of **Georgia** was left up to General William Tecumseh Sherman.  He captured **Atlanta** in September of 1864 and burned it in November.  He destroyed rail lines and burned buildings.  He continued on through Georgia, with the main purposes of destroying supplies destined for the Confederate army and to weaken the morale of the men at the front by waging war on their homes.  Sherman captured **Savannah** on December 22, 1864.  He moved up through **South Carolina**, capturing and burning **Columbia** on February 17, 1865.

**The Politics of War**

Critics in President Lincoln's own party were led by secretary of the Treasury, Salmon Chase.

The **Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War**, formed in late **1861**, was dominated by radical Republicans who resented the expansion of presidential power in wartime and who pressed Lincoln on emancipation.

After Stephen A. Douglas, the leader of the Democratic Party in the North, died, the party split between those who supported Lincoln (**War Democrats**) and those who didn't (**Peace Democrats**).

Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham was a prominent member in a group called the **Copperheads**, which were radical Peace Democrats.  Vallandigham was banished from the North to the South by Lincoln but he later returned after the war had ended.

**The Election of 1864**

Fearing defeat, the Republicans joined with the War Democrats to form the **Union Party** in the **election of 1864**.  Lincoln's running-mate was Andrew Johnson, a local War Democrat.

The Democrats, including the Copperheads, nominated General McClellan was their presidential candidate.

The Northern Democrats lost the election of 1864.  This was one of the most crushing losses suffered by the South.  The removal of Lincoln was the last hope for a Confederate victory.

**Grant Outlasts Lee**

President Lincoln chose General Grant to lead the assault on the Confederate capital of **Richmond**.  Grant had 100,000 men and engaged Lee in a series of battles in the Wilderness of Virginia (**Wilderness Campaign**).

On June 3, 1864, Grant ordered the frontal assault on **Cold Harbor**.  Thousands of Union soldiers were killed within a matter of minutes, but Grant's strategy of losing two men and killing one Confederate worked.  He captured Richmond and cornered Lee.  On **April 9, 1865**, Lee was forced to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia (a significant portion of the Confederate army) at **Appomattox Courthouse** in Virginia, effectively ending the Civil War.

**The Martyrdom of Lincoln**

On **April 14, 1865**, President Lincoln was shot and killed at **Ford's Theater** by John Wilkes Booth.  Andrew Johnson took over as President.

**The Aftermath of the Nightmare**

The Civil War claimed over 600,000 lives and cost over $15 billion (year 2001 dollars).

Chapter 22

The Ordeal of Reconstruction

1865-1877

**The Problems of Peace**

All rebel (Confederate) leaders were pardoned by President Johnson in 1868.

**Freedmen Define Freedom**

Emancipation took effect unevenly in different parts of the conquered Confederacy.  Some slaves resisted the liberating Union armies due to their loyalty to their masters.

The church became the focus of black community life in the years following emancipation.  Blacks formed their own churches pastured by their own ministers.  Education also arose for the blacks due to the emancipation proclamation.  Blacks now had the opportunity to learn to read and write.

**The Freedmen's Bureau**

Because many freedmen (those who were freed from slavery) were unskilled, unlettered, without property or money, and with little knowledge of how to survive as free people, Congress created the **Freedmen's Bureau**on March 3,**1865**.  It was intended to provide clothing, medical care, food, and education to both freedmen and white refugees.  Union general Oliver O. Howard led the bureau.  The bureau's greatest success was teaching blacks to read.  Because it was despised by the President and by Southerners, theFreedmen's Bureau expired in **1872**.

**Johnson:  The Tailor President**

Andrew Johnson was elected to Congress and refused to secede with his own state of Tennessee.

Johnson was made Vice Democrat to Lincoln's Union Party in **1864** in order to gain support from the War Democrats and other pro-Southern elements.  Johnson was a strong supporter of state's rights and of the Constitution.  He was a Southerner who did not understand the North and a Democrat who had not been accepted by the Republicans.

**Presidential Reconstruction**

In **1863**, Lincoln stated his "**10 percent**" **Reconstruction** **plan** which stated that a state could be reintegrated into the Union when 10% of its voters in the presidential election of 1860 had taken an oath of allegiance to the United States and pledged to abide by emancipation.  Then a formal state government would be constructed within the state, and the state would be re-admitted into the Union.

Due to Republican fears over the restoration of planter aristocracy and the possible re-enslavement of blacks, Congress passed the **Wade-Davis Bill**in**1864**.  It required that 50% of a state's voters take the oath of allegiance and it demanded stronger safeguards for emancipation.  President Lincoln refused to sign the bill.

The disagreement between the President and Congress revealed differences in Republicans and **two factions** arose:  a **majority** that agreed with Lincoln and believed that the seceded states should be restored to the Union as quickly as possible, and a radical **minority** that felt the South should suffer greatly before its re-admittance - this minority wanted the South's social structure to be uprooted, the planters to be punished, and the newly-emancipated blacks protected by federal power.

President Johnson issued his own **Reconstruction plan** on May 29, **1865**.  It called for special state conventions which were required to:  repeal the decrees of secession, repudiate all Confederate debts, and ratify the slave-freeing **13th Amendment**.

**The Baleful Black Codes**

The **Black Codes** was a series of laws designed to regulate the affairs of the emancipated slaves.  **Mississippi** passed the first such law in November**1865**.

The Black Codes aimed to ensure a stable and subservient labor force.

Blacks were forced to continue to work the plantations after their emancipation due to the system of "**sharecropping**."  Plantation owners would rent out pieces of their land to blacks and make the cost of rent higher than the return the land produced.  The renters of the land were bound by contract to continue to work the land until debts were repaid to the plantation owner.  Unable to repay the debts, blacks began to "jump" their contracts.

The codes imposed harsh penalties on blacks who "jumped" their labor contracts, some of which usually forced the blacks to work for the same employer for one year.  The codes also sought to restore the pre-emancipation system of race relations.  The codes forbade a black to serve on a jury or to vote.  The Black Codes mocked the idea of freedom and imposed terrible hardships on the blacks who were struggling against mistreatment and poverty to make their way as free people.

The Republicans were strongly opposed to the Black Codes.

**Congressional Reconstruction**

In December **1865**, Southern states represented themselves in Congress with former Confederate generals and colonels.  This infuriated the Republicans who were apprehensive about embracing their Confederate enemies in Congress.

The Republicans had enjoyed their supreme rule in Congress during the time of the Civil War, but now there would be an opposing party.  This time, the South would have much more control in Congress due to the fact that slaves were now counted as a whole person, not just 3/5; giving the South a larger population.  Republicans feared that the South would take control of Congress.

On December 4, 1865, Republicans shut the door in the face of the newly-elected Southern delegates.

President Johnson announced on **December 6, 1865** that the Southern states had met his conditions and that the Union was now restored - this statement angered the Republicans.

**Johnson Clashes with Congress**

The clash between President Johnson and Congress **erupted** in **February 1866** when the president vetoed a bill extending the life of the controversial Freedmen's Bureau (later re-passed).  Congress (controlled by the Republicans) passed the **Civil Rights Bill** in March**1866**, which gave blacks the privilege of American citizenship and struck at the Black Codes.

Fearing that the Southerners might someday repeal the hated Civil Rights Law, Congress passed the **14th** **Amendment** in **1866**.  The amendment:  1- gave civil rights, including citizenship, to the freedmen; 2- reduced proportionately the representation of a state in Congress and in the Electoral College if it denied blacks on the ballot; 3- disqualified from federal and state offices former Confederates who, as federal officeholders, had once sworn to support the Constitution of the United States; and 4- guaranteed the federal debt, while the Union assumed all Confederate debts.

Congress began to develop into the dominant role in controlling the government.

All Republicans agreed that no state should be welcomed back into the Union without ratifying the 14th Amendment.

**Swinging 'Round the Circle with Johnson**

As President Johnson went on a tour of giving speeches denouncing the radical Republicans in Congress, his reputation dropped.

Over 2/3 of the ballots cast in the **congressional elections of 1866** had gone to the Republicans.

**Republicans Principles and Programs**

Charles Sumner led the Republican radicals in the Senate for black freedom and racial equality.  Thaddeus Stevens led the radicals in the House of Representatives.

The moderate Republicans, the majority in Congress, preferred policies that restrained the states from cutting citizens' rights, rather than policies that directly involved the federal government in individual lives.

**Reconstruction by the Sword**

On **March 2, 1867**, Congress passed the **Reconstruction Act**.  It divided the South into **5 military districts**, each commanded by a union general and policed by Union soldiers.  It also required that states wishing to be re-admitted into the Union had to ratify the 14th Amendment, and that states' constitutions had to allow former adult male slaves to vote.  The moderate Republican goal was to create voters in Southern states that would vote those states back into the Union and thus free the federal government from direct responsibility for the protection of black rights.

The **15th** **Amendment** was passed by Congress in **1869**.  It granted black men the right to vote.

**Military Reconstruction** of the South took control of certain functions of the president, who was commander in chief, and set up a martial regime.

In **1877**, the last federal arms were removed from Southern politics and the Democratic South was made.

**No Women Voters**

Feminists were angered that the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments gave rights to black males, but not to women.

**The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in the South**

After gaining the right to vote from the 15th Amendment, blacks began to organize politically.  They were strong participators in the **Union League**, originally a pro-Union organization.  Freedmen turned the Union League into a network of political clubs that educated members and campaigned for Republican candidates.  The League also took up building black churches and schools, representing black grievances before local employers and government, and recruiting militias to protect black communities from white retaliation.

From 1868-1876, blacks began to hold major offices in government (senator, congressmen).

"**Scalawags**" were Southerners who were accused of plundering the treasuries of the Southern states through their political influence in the radical governments.

"**Carpetbaggers**" were sleazy Northerners who had come to the South to seek power and profit.

**The Ku Klux Klan**

The "**Invisible Empire of the South**", otherwise known as the **Ku Klux Klan**, was founded in Tennessee in **1866**.  It was formed by disgruntled white Southerners who were angered by the success of black legislators.  The group worked through intimidation.

Congress passed the **Force Acts of 1870 and 1871** in response to the murders the Klan had committed.  They enabled Federal troops to stop the atrocities of the Ku Klux Klan.  The Acts came too late, though, after the intimidation of the Klan had already been accomplished.

**Johnson Walk the Impeachment Plank**

Congress passed the **Tenure of Office Act** in **1867**.  It required the president to secure the consent of the Senate before he could remove his cabinet members once they had been approved by the Senate.  Its purpose was to keep the secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton, in the president's cabinet.  When Johnson dismissed Stanton in **1868**, the House of Representatives voted to **impeach** Johnson for "high crimes and misdemeanors."

**A Not-Guilty Verdict for Johnson**

The House of Representatives prosecuted the president, while the Senate served as the court to try Johnson on the impeachment charges.

President Johnson argued that the Tenure of Office Act was unconstitutional and that he had fired Stanton in order to bring a case before the Supreme Court so the Court could rule on the Act's constitutionality.

On **May 16, 1868**, the Senate voted the president "not guilty" by a margin of one vote.  The radical Republicans failed to gain the necessary 2/3 majority vote in the Senate to remove the president.

Fears of creating a poor precedent and opposition to abusing the checks and balances system caused Senators to vote "not guilty."  These Senators also considered his presidential replacement, Ben Wade.  Wade was disliked by many for his economic policies.

**The Purchase of Alaska**

In **1867**, Secretary of State William Seward signed a treaty with Russia that gave **Alaska** to the United States for $7.2 million.

Russia sold Alaska to the U.S. because it felt that it was over-expanded in North America.  Russia also wanted to strengthen the United States as a barrier against its enemy, Britain.

Although the American people were concentrated on Reconstruction and anti-expansion, they supported the purchase of Alaska because they did not want to offend the Russians, who had helped them during the Civil War.

**The Heritage of Reconstruction**

Many white Southerners felt that Reconstruction was more of a painful process that the war itself.

The Republican Party wanted to protect the freed slaves and to promote the fortunes of the Republican Party.  In doing this, though, it extinguished itself in the South for nearly 100 years.

Despite good intentions by the Republicans, the Old South was in many ways more resurrected than reconstructed.

Thaddeus Stevens had a radical program of drastic economic reforms and heftier protection of political rights.  This program was never enacted.

Chapter 23

Political Paralysis in the Gilded Age

1869-1896

**The "Bloody Shirt" Elects Grant**

The Republicans nominated General Grant for the presidency in **1868**.  The Republican Party supported the continuation of the Reconstruction of the South, while Grant stood on the platform of "just having peace."

The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour.

Grant won the election of 1868.

**The Era of Good Stealings**

Jim Fisk and Jay Gould devised a plot to drastically raise the price of the gold market in **1869**.  On "**Black Friday**," September 24, 1869, the two bought a large amount of gold, planning to sell it for a profit.  In order to lower the high price of gold, the Treasury was forced to sell gold from its reserves.

 "Boss" Tweed employed bribery, graft, and fraudulent elections to milk New York of as much as $200 million.  (**Tweed Ring**)  Tweed was eventually put into prison.

**A Carnival of Corruption**

In addition to members of the general public being corrupt, members of the federal government also participated in unethical actions.

The **Credit Mobilier** scandal erupted in **1872** when Union Pacific Railroad insiders formed the Credit Mobilier construction company and then hired themselves at inflated prices to build the railroad line, earning high dividends.  When it was found out that government officials were paid to stay quiet about the illicit business, some officials were censured.

**The Liberal Republican Revolt of 1872**

In response to disgust of the political corruption in Washington and of military Reconstruction, the **Liberal Republican Party** was formed in 1872.

The Liberal Republican Party met in Cincinnati and chose Horace Greeley as their presidential candidate for the election of 1872.  The Democratic Party also chose Greeley as their candidate.  The Republican Party continued to put its support behind President Grant.  Grant won the **election of 1872**.

The Liberal Republicans caused the Republican Congress to pass a general **amnesty act** in **1872**; removing political disabilities from most of the former Confederate leaders.  Congress also reduced high Civil War tariffs and gave mild civil-service reform to the Grant administration.

**Depression, Deflation, and Inflation**

Over-speculating was the primary cause to the **panic of 1873**; too much expansion had taken place.  Too many people had taken out loans of which they were unable to pay back due to lack of profit from where they had invested their money.

Due to popular mistrust of illegitimate dealings in the government, inflation soon depreciated the value of the **greenback**. Supported by advocates of hard money (coin money), the **Resumption Act of 1875** required the government to continue to withdraw greenbacks from circulation and to redeem all paper currency in gold at face value beginning in **1879**.

The coinage of silver dollars was stopped by Congress in **1873** when silver miners began to stop selling their silver to the federal mints - miners could receive more money for the silver elsewhere.

The Treasury began to accumulate gold stocks against the appointed day for the continuation of metallic money payments.  This policy, along with the reduction of greenbacks, was known as "**contraction**."

When the **Redemption Day** came in **1879** for holders of greenbacks to redeem the greenbacks for gold, few did; the greenback's value had actually increased due to its reduction in circulation.

The Republican hard-money policy had a political backlash and helped to elect a Democratic House of Representatives in 1874.

**Pallid Politics in the Gilded Age**

Throughout most of the **Gilded Age** (a name given to the 30 years after the Civil War era by Mark Twain) the political parties in government had balanced out.

Few significant economic issues separated the Democrats and the Republicans.

**Republican** voters tended to stress strict codes of personal morality and believed that the government should play a role in regulating the economic and the moral affairs of society.  They were found in the Midwest and Northeast.  Many Republican votes came from the **Grand Army of the Republic**,a politically active fraternal organization of many Union veterans of the Civil War.

**Democrats** were immigrant Lutherans and Roman Catholics who believed in toleration of differences in an imperfect world.  They also opposed the government imposing a single moral standard on the entire society.  Democrats were found in the South and in the northern industrial cities.

A "**Stalwart**" faction led by Roscoe Conkling supported the system of swapping civil-servant jobs for votes.  (Giving someone a job if they vote for a specific party/cause.  "Spoils system")  Opposed to the Stalwarts were the Half-Breeds, led by James G. Blaine.  The main disagreement between the two groups was over who would give the jobs to the people who voted in their favor.

**The Hayes-Tilden Standoff, 1876**

Congress passed a resolution that reminded the country, and Grant, of the two-term tradition for presidency after Grant was speculating about running for a 3rd term.

The Republicans chose Rutherford B. Hayes as their presidential candidate for the **election of 1876**.  The Democrats chose Samuel J. Tilden.

In the election, Tilden won the popular vote, but was 1 vote shy from winning in the Electoral College.  The determining electoral votes would come from three states, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida who had each sent two sets of ballots to Congress, one with the Democrats victorious and the other with the Republicans victorious; there was no winner in these states.

It was necessary to find the true political party winner of the states, although it was unknown who would judge the winner of the states because the president of the Senate was a Republican and the Speaker of the House was a Democrat.

**The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction**

The **Electoral Count Act**(**Compromise of 1877**), passed by Congress in **1877**, set up an electoral commission consisting of 15 men selected from the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the Supreme Court.  It was made to determine which party would win the election.  The committee finally determined, without opening the ballots from the 3 disputed states, that the Republicans had been victorious in the disputed ballots from the three states, giving the Republicans the presidency.

The Democrats were outraged at the outcome, but agreed that Republican Hayes could take office if he withdrew the federal troops from Louisiana and South Carolina.

With the Hayes-Tilden deal, the Republican Party abandoned its commitment to racial equality.

The **Civil Rights Act of 1875** supposedly guaranteed equal accommodations in public places and prohibited racial discrimination in jury selection.  The Supreme Court ended up ruling most of the Act unconstitutional, declaring that the 14th Amendment only prohibited *government* violations of civil rights, not the denial of civil rights by individuals.

**The Birth of Jim Crow in the Post-Reconstruction South**

As Reconstruction had ended in the South, white Democrats resumed their political power in the South and began to exercise their discrimination upon blacks.

Blacks were forced into sharecropping and tenant farming.  Through the "**crop-lien**" system, small farmers who rented out land from the plantation owners were kept in perpetual debt and forced to continue to work for the owners.

Eventually, state-level legal codes of segregation known as **Jim Crow laws** were enacted.  The Southern states also enacted literacy requirements, voter-registration laws, and poll taxes to ensure the denial of voting for the South's black population.

The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the South's segregation in the case of ***Plessy*vs. *Ferguson***(1896), declaring that separate but equal facilities for blacks were legal under the 14th Amendment.

**Class Conflicts and Ethnic Clashes**

Following the panic of 1873 and the resulting depression, railroad workers went on strike after their wages were cut by President Hayes.  The strike failed, exposing the weakness of the labor movement.

Masses of immigrants came to United States in hopes of finding riches, but many were dismayed when they found none.  They either returned home or remained in America and faced extraordinary hardships.

People of the West Coast attributed declining wages and economic troubles to the hated Chinese workers.  To appease them, Congress passed the**Chinese Exclusion Act** in **1882**, halting Chinese immigration into America.

**Garfield and Arthur**

Because President Hayes was despised by his own Republican Party, James A. Garfield was chosen as the presidential candidate for the **election of 1880**.  His vice-president was Chester A. Arthur, a former Stalwart.  The Democrats chose Civil War hero, Winfield Scott.

Garfield won the election of 1880, but was assassinated by Charles J. Guiteau at a Washington railroad station.  Guiteau, claiming to be a Stalwart, shot the president claiming that the Conklingites would now get all the good jobs now that Chester Arthur was President.

The death of Garfield shocked politicians into **reforming** the spoils system.  The reform was supported by President Arthur, shocking his critics.  The**Pendleton Act of 1883** made campaign contributions from federal employees illegal, and it established the **Civil Service Commission** to make appointments to federal jobs on the basis of competitive examination.  It was basically made to stop political corruption.  The civil-service reform forced politicians to gain support and funds from big-business leaders.

**The Blaine-Cleveland Mudslingers of 1884**

The Republicans chose James G. Blaine as their presidential candidate for the **election of 1884**.  The Democrats chose Grover Cleveland.  Grover Cleveland was a very honest and admirable man.  Cleveland won the election of 1884.

**"Old Grover" Takes Over**

Questions were raised about whether Cleveland and the Democratic Party, "**the party of disunion**," could be trusted to govern the Union.

Cleveland replaced thousands of federal employees with Democrats.

Cleveland summed up his political philosophy when he vetoed a bill in **1887** to provide seeds for drought-ravaged Texas farmers, stating that the government should not support the people.

The Grand Army of the Republic lobbied hundreds of unreasonable military pension bills through Congress, but Cleveland vetoed many of the bills.

**Cleveland Battles for a Lower Tariff**

The growing surplus of money in the Treasury coming from the **high tariff**, which was made to raise revenues for the military during the Civil War, caused President Cleveland to propose lowering of the tariff in order to bring lower prices to consumers.  The lower tariff, introduced to Congress in **1887** and supported by Cleveland, tremendously hurt the nation's factories and the overall economy.  Cleveland lost support because of the tariff.

The Republicans chose Benjamin Harrison as their presidential candidate for the **1888 election**.  During the election, the first major issue between the two parties had arisen:  **tariffs**.  Cleveland won the popular vote, but Harrison still won the election.

**The Billion-Dollar Congress**

When the Democrats were prepared to stop all House business, the Speaker of the House, Thomas B. Reed, took control and intimidated the House to his imperious will.  The **Billion-Dollar Congress**, named for its lavish spendings, gave pensions to Civil War veterans, increased government purchases on silver, and passed the **McKinley Tariff Act of 1890**.

The McKinley Tariff Act raised tariffs yet again and brought more troubles to farmers.  Farmers were forced to buy expensive products from American manufacturers while selling their own products into the highly competitive world markets.

The Tariff Act caused the Republican Party to lose public support and become discredited.  In the congressional elections of 1890, the Republicans lost their majority in Congress.

**The Drumbeat of Discontent**

The **People's Party**, or "**Populists**," formed from frustrated farmers in the agricultural belts of the West and South.  The Populists demanded inflation through free and unlimited coinage of silver.  They also called for a graduated income tax; government ownership of the railroads, telegraph, and telephone; the direct election of U.S. senators; a one-term limit on the presidency; the adoption of the initiative and referendum to allow citizens to shape legislation more directly; a shorter workday; and immigration restriction.

The Populists nominated General James B. Weaver for the presidential **election of 1892**.

In **1892**, a series of violent worker strikes swept through the nation.

The Populist Party fell far short of winning the election.  One of the main reasons was that the party supported and reached out to the black community.  Its leaders, such as Thomas Edward Watson, felt that a black man had every right to vote.  The Populist Party counted on many blacks votes from the South.  Unfortunately, many Southern blacks were denied the right to vote due to literacy tests.  The Southern whites voted against the party due the party's equal rights views toward blacks.

**Cleveland and Depression**

Grover Cleveland again ran for the presidency in the **election of 1892** and won, beating out the divided Populist Party and the discredited Republican Party.

The **panic of 1893** was the worst economic downturn for the United States during the 19th Century.  It was caused by overbuilding and over-speculation, labor disorders, and the ongoing agricultural depression.

The Treasury was required to issue legal tender notes for the silver bullion that it had purchased.  Owners of the paper currency would then present it for gold, and by law the notes had to be reissued.  This process depleted the gold reserve in the Treasury to less than $100 million.

The **Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890** was created by the administration of Benjamin Harrison in order to increase the amount of silver in circulation.  The drastic rise in silver caused the American people to believe that the less expensive silver was going to replace gold as the main form of currency.  The American people therefore began to withdraw their assets in gold, depleting the Treasury's gold supply.  Cleveland was forced to repeal the Sherman Silver Act Purchase in 1893.

Cleveland turned to J.P. Morgan to lend $65 million in gold in order to increase the Treasury's reserve.

**Cleveland Breeds a Backlash**

The **Wilson-Gorman Tariff of** **1894** lowered tariffs and contained a 2% tax on incomes over $4,000.  The Supreme Court ruled income taxes unconstitutional in **1895**.

The Wilson-Gorman Tariff caused the Democrats to lose positions in Congress, giving the Republicans an advantage.

Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Harrison, and Cleveland were known as the "**forgettable presidents**."

Chapter 24

Industry Comes of Age

1865-1900

**The Iron Colt Becomes an Iron Horse**

Due to the expansion of the country, many new railroads were built.  Congress began to advance liberal money loans to 2 favored cross-continent companies in **1862** in response to the fact that transcontinental railroad construction was so costly and risky.

Growing railroads took up more land than they were allotted because their land grants were given over a broad path through the proposed route.  The railroad owners would then choose the route to build on.  President Grover Cleveland ended the land dispute in **1887** when he opened up all the unclaimed public portions of the grants to the public.

**Spanning the Continent with Rails**

The **Union Pacific Railroad** was commissioned by Congress in **1862** to build a **transcontinental railroad** starting in Omaha, Nebraska.

Many railroad workers, including Irish "Paddies", were forced to pick up their rifles and fight when Indians attempted to defend their lands.

Rail-lying at the California end of the railroad was taken up by the **Central Pacific Railroad**.  The 4 chief financial backers of the enterprise (the**Big Four**) included Leland Stanford and Collis P. Huntington.  They operated through 2 construction companies.

The Union Pacific Railroad and the Central Pacific Railroad companies both received monetary aid from the government.

The transcontinental railroad was completed in **1869**, increasing trade with Asia and opening up the West for expansion.

**Binding the Continent with Railroad Ties**

There was a total of 5 transcontinental railroads built:  The **Northern Pacific Railroad**, running from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, was completed in 1883; the **Atchison**, running from Topeka to California, was completed in 1884; the **Southern Pacific**, stretching from New Orleans to San Francisco, was also completed in 1884; and the**Great Northern**, running from Duluth to Seattle, was completed in **1893** by James J. Hill.

**Railroad Consolidation and Mechanization**

The **railroad** was Cornelius Vanderbilt's enterprise.

2 significant improvements benefited the railroads; the steel rail and a standard gauge of track width.  Steel rails were much stronger and safer than the traditional iron rails.

**Revolution by Railways**

The railroad stimulated the industrialization of the country in the post-Civil War years.  It created an enormous domestic market for American raw materials and manufactured goods.  Railroad companies also stimulated immigration.

At this time, every town in the United States had its own local time.  In order to keep schedules and avoid wrecks, the major rail lines stated, on**November 18, 1883**, that the continent would be divided into **4 times zones** - most towns accepted the new time method.

**Wrongdoing in Railroading**

With great wealth and prosperity came much corruption.

In order to increase the weight of cows, "**stock watering**" was employed.  It entailed forcing a cow to bloat itself with water before it was weighed for sale.  This technique enabled railroad stock promoters to inflate their claims about a given line's assets and profitability and sell stocks and bonds in excess of the railroad's actual value.

Railroaders, feeling they were above the law, abused the public by bribing judges and legislatures.

Railroad kings were manipulators of a huge natural monopoly and exercised too much direct control over the lives of people.

Many rail barons granted rebates or kickbacks (bribes) to powerful shippers in return for steady traffic.

Railroad companies combined with other companies in order to protect their profits.  "**Pools**", agreements to divide the business in a given area and share the profits, were the earliest form of combinations.

**Government Bridles the Iron Horse**

With the onset of the depression of the 1870s, came protests from farmers against railroaders who ran the farmers into bankruptcy.

Many Midwestern legislatures tried to regulate the railroad monopoly, but in **1886**, the Supreme Court ruled in the ***Wabash*** case that individual states had no power to regulate interstate commerce.

In **1887**, Congress passed the **Interstate Commerce Act**.  It prohibited rebates and pools, required the railroads to publish their rates openly, forbade unfair discrimination against shippers, and outlawed charging more for a short trip than for a long one over the same line.  It also created the **Interstate Commerce Commission** (ICC) to administer and enforce the new legislation.  The new laws provided an orderly forum where competing business interests could resolve their conflicts in peaceful ways.  The laws tended to stabilize the existing railroad business.

**Miracles of Mechanization**

The **telephone** was created in **1876** by Alexander Graham Bell.  This invention revolutionized the way Americans communicated.  Thomas Alva Edisoninvented numerous devices; the most well-known is his perfection of the **electric** **light** **bulb** in **1879**.

**The Trust Titan Emerges**

Tycoons like Andrew Carnegie, the steel king; John D. Rockefeller, the oil baron; and J. Pierpont Morgan, the bankers' banker, circumvented their competition.  Carnegie used the tactic of "**vertical integration**" to combine all phases of manufacturing into one organization.  He and his business controlled every aspect of production, from mining to marketing.  His goal was to improve efficiency.

"**Horizontal integration**" entailed allying with competitors to monopolize a given market.  This tactic of creating trusts was used by Rockefeller.

**The Supremacy of Steel**

**Steel** was "king" during the industrialization era.  Nearly every aspect of society used it.

The United States soon outdistanced all foreign competitors and was producing 1/3 of the world's steel supply.  The **Bessemer process** allowed for the price of steel to drop dramatically and for its production to be done with relative ease.  The process involved blowing cold air on red-hot iron in order to ignite the carbon and eliminate impurities.

**Carnegie and Other Sultans of Steel**

Andrew Carnegie was not a monopolist and actually disliked monopolistic trusts.  He entered the steel business in the Pittsburgh area and created an organization with about 40 "Pittsburg millionaires."  By 1900, he was producing ¼ of the nation's Bessemer steel.

J. P. Morgan's financed the reorganization of railroads, insurance companies, and banks.

In **1900**, Carnegie was eager to sell his holdings of his company.  At that time, Morgan was starting to manufacture steel pipe tubing.  Carnegie threatened to ruin his rival (Morgan) by invading the same business if Morgan did not buy him out.  Finally Morgan agreed to buy out Carnegie for **$400 million**.

Morgan expanded his industrial empire and created the **United States Steel Corporation** in **1901**.  It was America's first billion-dollar corporation.

Carnegie dedicated the rest of his life to donating the rest of his money to charities.

**Rockefeller Grows an American Beauty Rose**

**Kerosene** was the first major product of the oil industry.  But, the invention of the light bulb rendered kerosene obsolete.

By 1900, the gasoline-burning **internal** **combustion** **engine** had beaten out its rivals as the primary means of automobile propulsion.  The birth of the automobile gave a great lift to the oil industry.

John D. Rockefeller organized the **Standard Oil Company of Ohio**in **1870**, attempting to eliminate the middlemen and knock out his competitors.  By 1877, he controlled 95% of all the oil refineries in the nation.

Rockefeller grew to such a great power by eliminating his competitors.

Other trusts grew in addition to the oil American Beauty of oil.  These included the sugar trust, the tobacco trust, the leather trust, and the harvester trust.

**The Gospel of Wealth**

The wealthy proclaimed that they were justified by God to have so much wealth.  They claimed that God gave them their money or they were a product of natural selection.

**Plutocracy**, government controlled by the wealthy, took control of the Constitution.  The clause that gave Congress sole jurisdiction over the interstate commerce was a bonus for the monopolists; they used their lawyers to thwart controls by state legislatures.  Large trusts also sought safety behind the 14th Amendment, arguing that corporations were actually legal "people."

**Government Tackles the Evil Trust**

Hailing to public demand, Congress passed the **Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890**.  The Act forbade combinations in restraint of trade without any distinction between "good" trusts and "bad" trusts.  The law proved ineffective because it contained legal loopholes and it made all large trusts suffer, not just bad ones.

**The South in the Age of Industry**

Throughout the industrial strive in the North, the South produced a smaller percentage of the nation's manufactured goods.  Southern agriculture received a boost in the 1880s when machine-made cigarettes replaced earlier methods of producing cigarettes.  This caused tobacco consumption to shoot up.

 James Buchanan Duke took advantage of the growing tobacco business and formed the **American Tobacco** **Company** in **1890**.

Numerous obstacles lay in the path of southern industrialization.  Northern-dominated railroad companies charged lower rates on manufactured goods moving southward from the North, but higher rates when raw materials were shipped from the South to the North.

The "**Pittsburgh plus**" pricing system was economic discrimination against the South in the steel industry.  Rich deposits of coal and iron ore were discovered in Birmingham, Alabama.  The steel lords of Pittsburgh brought pressure to bear on the compliant railroads.  As a result, Birmingham steel was charged a fictional fee, no matter where it was shipped.

The South strived in manufacturing **cotton textiles**.  By 1880, northern capital had created cotton mills in the South.  Those who worked the cotton mills were in perpetual debt and were paid extremely low wages.

**The Impact of the New Industrial Revolution on America**

During the decades after the Civil War, economic miracles increased the standard of living in the United States.  The industry of agriculture declined to manufacturing.

**Women** were most affected by the new industrial age.  Women found jobs as inventions arose; the typewriter and the telephone switchboard gave women new economic and social opportunities.

The nation of farmers and independent producers was becoming a nation of wage earners.  By the beginning of the 1900s, the vast majority of the nation's population earned wages.

**In Unions There Is Strength**

Due to the rise in wage-earners in factories, the owners of the factories did not have any relationship with their employees.

New machines displaced employees but in the long run, more jobs were created than destroyed.

Factory workers eventually began to go on strike, complaining of their wages.  Corporations sometimes compelled their workers to sign "**ironclad oaths**" or "**yellow-dog** **contracts**" saying that the workers would not join a labor union.

Some corporations even owned the "company town," increasing the prices of basic living so that the company could gain wealth.

The middle-class public grew tired of constant strikes, knowing that American wages were of the highest in the world.

**Labor Limps Along**

The Civil War, which put a premium on human labor, gave a boost to labor unions.

The **National Labor Union**, organized in **1866**, lasted 6 years and attracted 600,000 members.  Black workers also formed their own **Colored** **NationalLabor** **Union**.  The Colored National Labor Union's support for the Republican Party and racism of white unionists prevented it and the National Labor Union from working together.

After the National Labor Union pretty much died out in 1877, the **Knights of Labor** took over.

Led by Terence V. Powderly, the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor was formed in **1869** as a secret society and remained secret until 1881.  It sought to include all workers in one big union and campaigned for economic and social reform, including and codes for safety and health.

**Unhorsing the Knights of Labor**

On **May 4, 1886** in **Haymarket Square**, Chicago police advanced on a meeting called to protest alleged brutalities by authorities.  A dynamite bomb was thrown and killed dozens of people.  8 anarchists were tried and convicted; 5 were sentenced to death while the other 3 were sent to jail.  In **1892**, the governor of Illinois, John P. Altgeld, pardoned the 3 who were in prison.

The Knights of Labor were blamed for incident at Haymarket Square and as a result, it lost public support.  Another downfall of the Knights of Labor was that it included both skilled and unskilled workers.  When unskilled workers went on strike, they were just replaced.

The **American Federation of Labor**'s inclusion of only skilled worked drained the Knights of Labor of its participants.

**The AF of L to the Fore**

The **American Federation of Labor** was founded in **1886** and was led by Samuel Gompers.  The federation consisted of an association of self-governing national unions, each of which kept its own independence.  It sought for better wages, hours, and working conditions.  The federation's main weapons were the walkout and the boycott.

The greatest weakness of organized labor was that it still embraced only a small minority of all working people.

**Labor Day**was created by Congress in **1894**.

Chapter 25

America Moves to the City

1865-1900

**The Urban Frontier**

By 1890, New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia all had a population greater than 1 million.

Louis Sullivan contributed to the development of the skyscraper.  City limits were extended outward by electric trolleys.  People were attracted to the cities by amenities such as electricity, indoor plumbing, and telephones.

Trash became a large problem in cities due to throwaway bottles, boxes, bags, and cans.

**The New Immigration**

The **New Immigrants** of the 1880s came from southern and eastern Europe.  They came from countries with little history of democratic government, where people had grown accustomed to harsh living conditions.

Some Americans feared that the New Immigrants would not **assimilate** to life in their new land.  They began asking if the nation had become a melting pot or a dumping ground.

**Southern Europe Uprooted**

Immigrants left their native countries because Europe had no room for them.  The population of Europe nearly doubled in the century after 1800 due to abundant supplies of fish and grain from America and the widespread cultivation of Europe.

"**America fever**" caught on in Europe as the United States was portrayed as a land of great opportunities.

Persecutions of minorities in Europe sent many fleeing immigrants to the United States.  Many immigrants never intended to stay in America forever; a large number returned home with money.  Those immigrants who stayed in the United States struggled to preserve their traditional culture.

**Reactions to the New Immigration**

The federal government did virtually nothing to ease the assimilation of immigrants into American society.

Trading jobs and services for votes, a powerful **boss** might claim the loyalty of thousands of followers.  In return for their support at the polls, the boss provided jobs on the city's payroll, found housing for new arrivals, and helped get schools, parks, and hospitals built in immigrant neighborhoods.

The nation's social conscience gradually awakened to the troubles of cities.  Walter Rauschenbusch and Washington Gladden were Protestant clergymen who sought to apply the lessons of Christianity to the slums and factories.

Jane Addams established **Hull House**, the most prominent American settlement house.  Addams condemned war as well as poverty.  Hull House offered instruction in English, counseling to help immigrants deal with American big-city life, childcare services for working mothers, and cultural activities for neighborhood residents.

Lillian Wald established **Henry Street Settlement** in New York in **1893**.

The **settlement houses** became centers of women's activism and of social reform.

Florence Kelley was a lifelong battler for the welfare of women, children, blacks, and consumers.

The pioneering work of Addams, Wald, and Kelley helped to create the trail that many women later followed into careers in the new profession of social work.

The urban frontier opened new possibilities for women.  The vast majority of working women were single due to the fact that society considered employment for wives and mothers taboo.

**Narrowing the Welcome Mat**

**Antiforeignism**, or **nativism**, arose in the 1880s with intensity.

Nativists worried that the original Anglo-Saxon population would soon be outnumbered and outvoted.  Nativists considered eastern and southern European immigrants inferior to themselves.  They blamed the immigrants for the dreadful conditions of urban government, and unionists attacked the immigrants for their willingness to work for small wages.

Among the antiforeigner organizations formed was the **American Protective Association**(APA).  Created in **1887**, it urged to vote against Roman Catholic candidates for office.

Organized labor was quick to show its negative attitude towards immigrants.  Immigrants were frequently used as strike-breakers.

In **1882**, Congress passed the first restrictive law against immigrants.  It forced paupers, criminals, and convicts back to their home countries.  In **1885**, Congress prohibited the importation of foreign workers under contract-usually for substandard wages.  Federal laws were later enacted that were made to keep the undesirables out of America.

In **1882**, Congress barred the Chinese completely from immigrating to the United States (**Chinese Exclusion Act**).

**Churches Confront the Urban Challenge**

**Protestant** churches suffered significantly from the population move to the cities, where many of their traditional doctrines and pastoral approaches seemed irrelevant.

A new generation of urban revivalists stepped into this spreading moral vacuum.  Dwight Lyman Moody, a Protestant evangelist, proclaimed a gospel of kindness and forgiveness.  He contributed to adapting the old-time religion to the facts of city life.  The **Moody Bible Institute** was founded in Chicago in**1889** to carry out his work.

**Roman Catholic** and **Jewish** faiths were gaining enormous strength from the New Immigration.

By **1890**, there were over 150 religious denominations in the United States.

The **Church of Christ, Scientist** was founded in **1879** by Mary Baker Eddy who preached that the true practice of Christianity heals sickness.

**Darwin Disrupts the Churches**

Published in **1859** by Charles Darwin, ***On the Origin of the Species*** stated that humans had slowly evolved from lower forms of life.

The theory of evolution cast serious doubt on the idea of religion.  **Conservatives** stood firmly in their beliefs of God and religion, while **Modernists** flatly refused to accept the Bible in its entirety.

**The Lust for Learning**

During this time period, public education and the idea of tax-supported elementary schools and high schools were gathering strength.

Teacher-training schools, called "**normal schools**", experienced great expansion after the Civil War.

The New Immigration in the 1880s and 1890s brought new strength to the private Catholic parochial schools, which were fast becoming a major part of the nation's educational structure.

Public schools excluded millions of adults.  Crowded cities generally provided better educational facilities than the old one-room rural schoolhouses.

**Booker T. Washington and Education for Black People**

The South lagged far behind other regions in public education, and African-Americans suffered the most.

The leading champion of black education was ex-slave Booker T. Washington.  He taught in **1881** at the black normal and industrial school at Tuskegee, Alabama.  His self-help approach to solving the nation's racial problems was labeled "**accommodationist**" because it stopped short of directly challenging white supremacy.  Washington avoided the issue of *social* equality.

George Washington Carver taught and researched at **Tuskegee** **Institute** in **1896**.  He became an internationally famous agricultural chemist.

Black leaders, including Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, attacked Booker T. Washington because Washington condemned the black race to manual labor and perpetual inferiority.  Du Bois helped to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (**NAACP**) in **1910**.

**The Hallowed Halls of Ivy**

Female and black colleges shot up after the Civil War.

The **Morrill** **Act** **of** **1862**, passed after the Southern states had seceded, provided a generous grant of the public lands to the states for support of education.

The **Hatch Act of** **1887** extended the Morrill Act and provided federal funds for the establishment of agricultural experiment stations in connection with the land-grant colleges.

Millionaires and tycoons donated generously to the educational system.

**Johns Hopkins University**, founded in **1876**, maintained the nation's first high-grade graduate school.

**The March of the Mind**

Due to new scientific gains, public health increased.

William James made a large impact in psychology through his numerous writings.

**The Appeal of the Press**

The **Library of Congress** was founded in **1897** from the donations of Andrew Carnegie.  The invention of the **Linotype** in **1885** increased the production of texts.

Joseph Pulitzer was a leader in the techniques of sensationalism in St. Louis.

William Randolph Hearst built up a chain of newspapers beginning with the *San Francisco Examiner* in 1887.

**The Associated Press**, founded in the 1840s, was gaining strength and wealth.

**Apostles of Reform**

Magazines partially satisfied the public appetite for good reading.

Possibly the most influential journal of all was the New York ***Nation***.  Started in **1865** by Edwin L. Godkin, it crusaded militantly for civil-service reform, honesty in government, and a moderate tariff.

Henry George, another journalistic author, wrote the book ***Progress and*Poverty** in **1879**, which attempted to solve the association of progress with poverty.  According to George, the pressure of growing population on a fixed supply of land unjustifiably pushed up property values, showering unearned profits on owners of land.  He supported a single tax.

Edward Bellamy wrote the socialistic novel, ***Looking Backward***, in which the year 2000 contained nationalized big business to serve the public interest.

**Postwar Writing**

As literacy increased, so did book reading.  "**Dime novels**" were short books that usually told of the wilds of the West.

General Lewis Wallace wrote the novel, ***Ben Hur: A Tale of the Christ***, to combat Darwinism.

Horatio Alger was a Puritan-driven New Englander who wrote more than 100 volumes of juvenile fiction involving New York newsboys in 1866.

**Literary Landmarks**

In novel writing, the romantic sentiment of a youthful era was giving way to the crude human comedy and drama of the world.

In **1899**, feminist Kate Chopin wrote about adultery, suicide, and women's ambitions in ***The Awakening***.

Mark Twain was a journalist, humorist, satirist, and opponent of social injustice.  He recaptured the limits of realism and humor in the authentic American dialect.

Bret Harte was also an author of the West, writing in California of gold-rush stories.

William Dean Howells became the editor in chief of the prestigious Boston-based ***Atlantic Monthly***.  He wrote about ordinary people and about contemporary, and sometimes controversial, social themes.

Stephen Crane wrote about the unpleasant underside of life in urban, industrial America.

Henry James wrote of the confrontation of innocent Americans with subtle Europeans.  His novels frequently included women as the central characters, exploring their inner reactions to complex situations with a skill that marked him as a master of **psychological realism**.

By 1900, portrayals of modern-day life and social problems were the literary order of the day.

Jack London was a famous nature writer who turned to depicting a possible fascistic revolution in ***The Iron Heel***.

Black writer Paul Laurence Dunbar embraced the use of black dialect and folklore to capture the richness of southern black culture.

Theodore Dreiser wrote with disregard for prevailing moral standards.

**The New Morality**

Victoria Woodhull wrote the periodical, ***Woodhull and Clafin's Weekly*** in 1872, which proclaimed her belief in free love.

Anthony Comstock made a life-long war on the immoral.  The **Comstock Law** censored "immoral" material from the public.

**Families and Women in the City**

Urban life launched the era of divorce.  People in the cities were having fewer children because more children would mean more mouths to feed.

Women were growing more independent in the urban environment.  Feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman called upon women to abandon their dependent status and contribute to the larger life of the community through productive involvement in the economy.

In **1890**, the **National American Woman Suffrage Association** was founded.

The re-born suffrage movement and other women's organization excluded black women.

Ida B. Wells helped to launch the black women's club movement, which led to the establishment of the **National Association of Colored Women** in**1896**.

**Prohibition of Alcohol and Social Progress**

Liquor consumption had increased in the days of the Civil War and had continued to flourish afterwards.

The **National Prohibition Party** was formed in **1869**.  The **Woman's Christian Temperance Union** was formed in **1874** by militant women.

The **Anti-Saloon League** was sweeping new states into prohibiting alcohol, and in **1919**, the national prohibition amendment (**18th**) was passed.

**Artistic Triumphs**

Music and portrait painting was gaining popularity.

The **phonograph**, invented by Thomas Edison, enabled the reproduction of music by mechanical means.

**The Business of Amusement**

The circus, arising to American demand for fun, emerged in the 1880s.  Baseball was also emerging as the national pastime, and in the 1870s a professional league was formed.

The move to spectator sports was exemplified by football.

Basketball was invented in **1891** by James Naismith.

Chapter 26

The Great West and the Agricultural Revolution

1865-1896

**The Clash of Cultures on the Plains**

In the West, white soldiers spread cholera, typhoid, and smallpox to the Indians.  The whites also put pressure on the shrinking bison population by hunting and grazing their own livestock on the prairie grasses.

The federal government tried to appease the Plains Indians by signing treaties with the "chiefs" of various "tribes" at **Fort Laramie** in **1851** and at **Fort Atkinson** in **1853**.  The treaties marked the beginning of the reservation system in the West.

"**Tribes**" and "**chiefs**" were often fictions of the white imagination, for Indians usually recognized no authority outside their own family.

In the 1860s, the federal government herded the Indians into smaller confines, mainly the "**Great Sioux reservation**" in Dakota Territory, and the **Indian Territory** in Oklahoma.

**Receding Native Population**

At **Sand Creek, Colorado** in **1864**, Colonel J. M. Chivington's militia massacred 400 Indians who apparently posed no threat.

In **1866**, a Sioux war party attempting to block construction of the Bozeman Trail to the Montana goldfields left no survivors when they ambushed Captain William J. Fetterman's command of 81 soldiers and civilians in Wyoming's Bighorn Mountains.

In **1874**, Colonel George Armstrong Custer's Seventh Cavalry set out to suppress the Indians after the Sioux attacked settlers who were searching for gold in the "Great Sioux reservation."  His cavalry was instead slaughtered.

The **Nez Percé Indians** were forced to surrender and were deceived into being sent to a dusty reservation in Kansas in **1877**.

The taming of Indians was accelerated by the railroad, white men's diseases, and white men's alcohol.

**Bellowing Herds of Bison**

After the Civil War, over 15 million **bison** grazed the western plains.  By 1885, fewer than 1000 were left after the bison had been slaughtered for their tongues, hides, or for amusement.

**The End of the Trail**

By the 1880s, the nation began to realize the horrors it had committed upon the Indians.  Helen Hunt Jackson published ***A Century of Dishonor*** in **1881**which told of the record of government ruthlessness in dealing with the Indians.  She also wrote ***Ramona*** in **1884** which told of injustice to the California Indians.

The **Dawes Severalty Act of 1887** dissolved many tribes as legal entities, wiped out tribal ownership of land, and set up individual Indian family heads with 160 free acres.  If the Indians behaved like "good white settlers" then they would get full title to their holdings as well as citizenship.  The Dawes Act attempted to assimilate the Indians with the white men.  The Dawes Act remained the basis of the government's official Indian policy until the **Indian Reorganization Act of 1934**.

In **1879**, the government funded the **Carlisle Indian School** in Pennsylvania.

**Mining:  From Dishpan to Ore Breaker**

In **1858**, minerals including **gold** and **silver** were discovered in the Rockies, prompting many "**fifty-niners**" or "**Pike's Peakers**" to rush to the mountains the following year in search of the precious metals.

"Fifty niners" also rushed to Nevada in **1859** after an abundant amount of gold and silver was discovered at Comstock Lode.

Women gained the right to vote in Wyoming (1869), Utah (1870), Colorado (1893), and Idaho (1896), long before the women of the East.

Frontier mining played a vital role in bringing population and wealth to the West.  The discovering of gold and silver also allowed the Treasury to resume specie payments in **1879**.

**Beef Bonanzas and the Long Drive**

The problem of bringing cattle meat to the East from Texas was solved with the introduction of the transcontinental railroad and the newly perfected refrigerator cars.

The "**Long Drive**" consisted of Texas cowboys driving herds of cattle over unfenced plains until they reached a railroad terminal to where they could be sold.  It became significantly less profitable when homesteaders and sheepherders began to put up barbed-fences by which the cattle could not cross.

Cattle-raisers organized the **Wyoming Stock-Growers' Association** in order to make the cattle-raising business profitable.

**The Farmer's Frontier**

The **Homestead Act of 1862** allowed a settler to acquire as much as 160 acres of land by living on it for 5 years, improving it, and paying a nominal fee of about $30.  Instead of public land being sold primarily for revenue, it was now being given away to encourage a rapid filling of empty spaces and to provide a stimulus to the family farm.

The Homestead Act turned out to be a cruel hoax because the land given to the settlers usually had terrible soil and the weather included no precipitation.  Many homesteaders were forced to give their homesteads back to the government.

After the devastating 6-year drought in the West in the 1880s had destroyed farmers' crops, "**dry farming**" took root on the plains.  Its methods of frequent shallow cultivation were adapted to the dry western environment, but over time it depleted and dried the soil.

Once wheat was introduced to the West, it flourished.  Eventually federally-financed irrigation projects caused the Great American Desert to bloom.

**The Far West Comes of Age**

The Great West experienced tremendous population growth from the 1870s to the 1890s.  Colorado was admitted as a state in 1876 after the Pike's Peak gold rush.

In 1889-1890, the Republican Congress, seeking more Republican electoral and congressional votes, admitted six new states:  ND, SD, MT, WA, ID, and WY.  Utah was admitted in 1896, after the Mormon Church formally banned polygamy in 1890.

Many "**sooners**" illegally entered the District of Oklahoma.  On April 22, 1889, the district was opened to the public and thousands came.  In 1907, Oklahoma was admitted as the "**Sooner State**."

**The Fading Frontier**

In **1890**, the superintendent of the census announced that for the first time, a **frontier line** was no longer evident; all the unsettled areas were now broken up by isolated bodies of settlement.

Western migration may have actually caused urban employers to maintain wage rates high enough to discourage workers from leaving to go farm the West.

Cities of the West began to grow as failed farmers, failed miners, and unhappy easterners sought fortune in cities.  After **1880**, the area from the Rockies to the Pacific Coast was the most urbanized region in America, measured by the percentage of people living in cities.

**The Farm Becomes a Factory**

High prices prompted farmers to concentrate on growing single "**cash**"**crops**, such as **wheat** or **corn**, and use their profits to buy produce at the general store and manufactured goods in town.

The speed of harvesting wheat dramatically increased in the 1870s by the invention of the **twine binder** and the in the 1880s by the **combine**.

The mechanization of farms brought about the idea that farms were "outdoor grain factories."

**Deflation Dooms the Debtor**

The farmers of the West became attached to the **one-crop economy** - **wheat** or **corn** - and were in the same lot as the southern cotton farmers.  The price of their product was determined in a unprotected world market by the world output.

In **1870**, the lack of currency in circulation forced the price of crops to go down.  Thousands of farms had mortgages, with the mortgage rates rising ever higher.

**Unhappy Farmers**

The good soil of the West was becoming poor, and floods added to the problem of erosion.  Beginning in the summer of **1887**, a series of **droughts**forced many people to abandon their farms and towns.

Farmers were forced to sell their low-priced products in an unprotected world market, while buying high-priced manufactured goods in a tariff-protected home market.

Farmers were also controlled by corporations and processors.  Farmers were at the mercy of the harvester trust, the barbed-wire trust, and the fertilizer trust, all of which could control the output and raise prices to high levels.

Even though farmers made up ½ the population in 1890, they never successfully organized to restrict production until forced to do so by the federal government 50 years later.

**The Farmers Take Their Stand**

The **National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry**(also known as the Grange), organized in **1867**, was led by Oliver H. Kelley.  Kelley's first objective was to enhance the lives of isolated farmers through social, educational, and fraternal activities.

The Grangers gradually raised their goals from individual self-improvement to improvement of the farmers' collective troubles.  They established cooperatively owned stores for consumers and cooperatively owned grain elevators and warehouses for producers.

Some Grangers entered politics and made **Grange Laws**, which held the idea of public control of private business for the general welfare.  The Grangers' influence faded after courts had reversed their laws.

The **Greenback Labor Party** combined the appeal of the earlier Greenbackers with a program for improving the lot of labor.

**Prelude to Populism**

Farmers formed the **Farmers' Alliance** in Texas in the late 1870s in order to break the grip of the railroads and manufacturers through cooperative buying and selling.

The Alliance weakened itself by excluding blacks and landless tenant farmers.  The **Colored Farmers' National Alliance** was formed in the 1880s to attract black farmers.

Out of the Farmers' Alliances the **People's Party**, also known as the **Populists**, emerged.  It called for nationalizing the railroads, telephones, and telegraph; instituting a graduated income tax; and creating a new federal subtreasury - a scheme to provide farmers with loans for crops stored in government-owned warehouses.  Populists also wanted the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

**Coxey's Army and the Pullman Strike**

The **panic of 1893** strengthened the Populists' stance that farmers and laborers were being mistreated by an oppressed economic and political system.

"General" Jacob S. Coxey set out for Washington in 1894 with a demand that the government relieve unemployment by an inflationary public works program.

Eugene V. Debs helped to organize the **American Railway Union**.  The **Pullman strike of 1894** was started when the Pullman Palace Car Company cut wages.  Debs was imprisoned for not ceasing the strike.

**Golden McKinley and Silver Bryan**

The Republican candidate for the **election** **of** **1896** was William McKinley.  Marcus Alonzo Hanna led the Republican presidential campaign.  Hanna felt that the prime function of government was to aid business.  The Republican platform supported the gold standard.

The Democratic candidate was William Jennings Bryan.  The platform demanded inflation through the unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold; meaning that the silver in a dollar would be worth about 50 cents.

**Class Conflict:  Plowholders versus Bondholders**

William McKinley won the election of 1896.  Many of McKinley votes came from the East.  Many of Bryan's votes came from the debt-stricken South and the trans-Mississippi West.  The wage earners in the East voted for their jobs and had no reason to favor inflation, which was the heart of Bryan's campaign.

McKinley's election ushered in a new character to the American political system.  Diminishing voter participation in elections, the weakening of party organizations and the fading of issues like the money question and civil-service reform came to replaced by the concern for industrial regulation and the welfare of labor.  Scholars have dubbed this new political era the period of the "**fourth party system**."

**Republican Stand-pattism Enthroned**

The **Dingley Tariff Bill**, passed in **1897**, proposed new high tariff rates to generate enough revenue to cover the annual Treasury deficits.

The panic of 1893 had passed and Republican politicians claimed credit for bringing prosperity to the nation.

The **Gold Standard Act of 1900** provided that paper currency be redeemed freely in gold.

Chapter 27

The Path of Empire

1890-1899

**Imperialist Stirrings**

As America bustled with a new sense of power generated by the strong growth in population, wealth, and productive capacity, labor violence and agrarian unrest increased.  It was felt that overseas markets might provide a safety valve to relieve these pressures.

Reverend Josiah Strong's *Our Country:  Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* inspired missionaries to travel to foreign nations.

Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan's book of 1890, The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783, argued that control of the sea was the key to world dominance; it stimulated the naval race among the great powers.

James G. Blaine published his **"Big Sister" policy** which aimed to rally the Latin American nations behind America's leadership and to open Latin American markets to American traders.

The willingness of America to risk war over such distance and minor disputes with Italy, Chile, and Canada demonstrated the aggressive new national mood.

**Monroe's Doctrine and the Venezuelan Squall**

The area between British Guiana and Venezuela had been in dispute for over 50 years.  When gold was discovered in the contested area, the prospect of a peaceful resolution faded.

Secretary of State to President Cleveland, Richard Olney, claimed that if Britain attempted to dominate **Venezuela** in the quarrel and gain more territory, then it would be violating the **Monroe Doctrine**.  When Britain flatly rejected the relevance of the Monroe doctrine, President Cleveland stated that the United States would fight for it.

Although somewhat annoyed by the weaker United States, Britain chose to not to fight a war.  Britain's rich merchant marine was vulnerable to American commerce raiders, Russia and France were unfriendly, and Germany was about to challenge the British naval supremacy.

With their eyes open to the European peril, Britain was determined to cultivate an American friendship.  The **Great Rapprochement**, or reconciliation, between the United States and Britain became a cornerstone of both nations' foreign policies.

**Spurning the Hawaiian Pear**

The first New England missionaries reached **Hawaii** in **1820**.

Beginning in the 1840s, the State Department began to warn other nations to keep their hands off Hawaii.  In **1887**, a treaty with the native government guaranteed **naval-base rights** at Pearl Harbor.

The profits of **sugar cultivation** in Hawaii became less profitable with the **McKinley Tariff of 1890**.  American planters decided that the best way to overcome the tariff would be to annex Hawaii.  Queen Liliuokalani insisted that native Hawaiian should control the islands.

A desperate minority of whites organized a successful revolt in **1893**.  The Queen was overthrown and white revolutionists gained control of Hawaii.  When a treaty to annex Hawaii was presented to the Senate, President Grover Cleveland promptly withdrew it.

**Cubans Rise in Revolt**

Sugar production of **Cuba** became less profitable when the America passed the **tariff of 1894**.

Cubans began to revolt against their Spanish captors in 1895 after the Spanish began to place Cubans in **reconcentration** **camps** and treat them very poorly.  Cuban revolutionaries began to reason that if they destroyed enough of Cuba and did enough damage, then Spain might abandon Cuba or the United States might move in and help the Cubans with their independence.

America had a large investment as well as annual trade stake in Cuba.

Congress passed a resolution in **1896** that recognized the belligerence of the revolted Cubans.  President Cleveland refused to budge and fight for Cuba's independence.

**The Mystery of the *Maine* Explosion**

William R. Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer led the fabricated atrocities of Cuba apart of the new "**yellow journalism**."  The two men caused the American people to believe that conditions in Cuba were worse than they actually were.

Hearst's ***Journal*** published a private letter written by the Spanish minister in Washington, Dupuy de Lome in **1898**.  The letter, which degraded President McKinley, forced Dupuy de Lome to resign.

On **February 15, 1898**, the American ship, ***Maine*** blew up in the Havana port.  The Spanish investigators deduced that it was an accident (spontaneous combustion in one of the coal bunkers) while the American investigators claimed that Spain had sunk it.  The American people were convinced by the American investigators and war with Spain became imminent.

**McKinley Unleashes the Dogs of War**

American diplomats had already gained Madrid's agreement to Washington's 2 basic demands: an end to the reconstruction camps and an armistice with Cuban rebels.

Although President McKinley did not want a war with Spain, the American people did.  He felt that the people should rule so he sent his war message to Congress on **April 11, 1898**.  Congress declared war and adopted the **Teller Amendment**.  It proclaimed to the world that when the United States had overthrown the Spanish misrule, it would give the Cubans their freedom.

**Dewey's May Day Victory at Manila**

The American people plunged into the war with jubilation, which seemed premature to Europeans.  The American army numbered 2,100 officers and 28,000 men compared to the 200,000 Spanish troops in Cuba.

The readiness of the navy (ranked 5th world-wide) owed much to the navy secretary John D. Long and his assistant secretary Theodore Roosevelt.

Roosevelt called upon Commodore George Dewey's 6-ship fleet to descend upon Spain's **Philippines** in the event of war.  On **May 1, 1898**, Dewey slipped by detection at night and **attacked** **and** **destroyed** the 10-ship Spanish fleet at **Manila**.

**Unexpected Imperialistic Plums**

Foreign ships began to gather in the Manila harbor, protecting their nationals.  After several incidents, the potential for battles with other nations blew over.

On **August 13, 1898**, American troops captured Manila.

The victory in the Philippines prompted the idea that Hawaii was needed as a supply base for Dewey in the Philippines.  Therefore, Congress passed a joint resolution of Congress to **annex Hawaii** on **July 7, 1898**.

**The Confused Invasion of Cuba**

Shortly after the outbreak of the war, the Spanish government sent a fleet of warships to Cuba, led by Admiral Cervera.  He was blockaded in the Santiago harbor in Cuba by American ships.

Leading the invasion force from the rear to drive out Cervera was General William R. Shafter.

The "**Rough Riders**," apart of the invading army, was a regiment of volunteers consisting of cowboys and ex-athletes.  Commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood, the group was organized principally by Theodore Roosevelt.

William Shafter's landing near Santiago, Cuba was made without serious opposition.

On July 1st, fighting broke out at El Caney and San Juan Hill, up which Colonel Roosevelt and his Rough Riders charged.

**Curtains for Spain in America**

Admiral Cervera's fleet was entirely destroyed on **July 3, 1898** and shortly thereafter Santiago surrendered.  General Nelson A. Miles met little resistance when he took over**Puerto Rico**.

On **August 12, 1898**, Spain signed an armistice.

Before the war's end, much of the American army was stricken with malaria, typhoid, and yellow fever.

**McKinley Heeds Duty, Destiny, and Dollars**

In late **1898**, Spanish and American negotiators met in Paris to begin heated discussions.  The Americans secured **Guam** and **Puerto Rico**, but the**Philippines** presented President McKinley with a problem:  he didn't feel he could give the island back to Spanish misrule, and America would be turning its back upon responsibilities if it simply left the Philippines.

McKinley finally decided to Christianize and to civilize all of the Filipinos.  Disputes broke out with the Spanish negotiators over control of the Philippines because Manila had been captured the day after the war, and the island could not be listed among the spoils of the war.  America therefore agreed to pay Spain **$20 million** for the Philippines.

**America's Course (Curse?) of Empire**

The **Anti-Imperialistic League** sprang up and fought the McKinley administration's expansionist moves.

In the Senate, the Spanish treaty ran into such opposition that is seemed doomed to defeat.  Democratic presidential candidate for the election of 1900,William J. Bryan used his influence on Democratic senators to get the treaty approved on **February 6, 1899**.  Bryan argued that the sooner the treaty was passed, the sooner the Filipinos could gain their independence.

**Perplexities in Puerto Rico and Cuba**

By the **Foraker Act of 1900**, Congress gave the Puerto Ricans a limited degree of popular government and, in 1917, granted them U.S. citizenship.  The American regime in Puerto Rico worked wonders in education, sanitation, transportation, and other improvements.

Beginning in 1901 with the ***Insular Cases***, the Supreme Court declared that the Constitution did not extend to the Philippines and Puerto Rico.

The United States, honoring the Teller Amendment of 1898, withdrew from Cuba in 1902.  The U.S. forced the Cubans to write their own constitution of 1901 (the **Platt Amendment**).  The constitution decreed that the United States might intervene with troops in Cuba in order to restore order and to provide mutual protection.  The Cubans also promised to sell or lease needed coaling or naval stations to the U.S.

**New Horizons in Two Hemispheres**

Although the Spanish-American War only lasted 113 days, American prestige as a world power increased.

One of the greatest results of the war was the bonding between the North and the South.

Chapter 28

America on the World Stage

1899-1909

On February 4, 1899, the Filipinos erupted in rebellion against the occupying United States forces after the Senate refused to pass a bill giving the Filipinos their independence.  The insurrection was led by Emilio Aguinaldo.

**"Little Brown Brothers" in the Philippines**

American soldiers as well as Filipino guerillas resorted to brutal fighting tactics.

The backbone of the Filipino rebellion was broken in **1901** when American soldiers captured Emilio Aguinaldo.

President McKinley appointed the **Philippine Commission** in **1899** to set up a Filipino government.  William H. Taft, who referred to the Filipinos to "little brown brothers," led the body in 1900.  He genuinely liked the Filipinos while the American soldiers did not.

President McKinley's plan of "**benevolent assimilation**" of the Filipinos was very slow and involved improving roads, sanitation, and public health.  The plan developed economic ties and set a school system with English as the 2nd language.  It was ill received by the Filipinos who preferred liberty over assimilation.

**Hinging the Open Door in China**

Following China's defeat by Japan in 1894-1895, Russia and Germany moved into **China**.  The American public, fearing that Chinese markets would be monopolized by Europeans, demanded that the U.S. Government do something.  Secretary of State John Hay dispatched to all the great powers a communication known as the **Open Door** note.  He urged the powers to announce that in their leaseholds or spheres of influence they would respect certain Chinese rights and the ideal of fair competition.  The note asked all those who did not have thieving designs to stand up and be counted.  **Italy**was the only major power to accept the Open Door unconditionally and **Russia** was the only major power not to accept it.

In **1900**, a super-patriotic group in China known as the **"Boxers"** killed hundreds of foreigners.  A multinational rescue force came in and stopped the rebellion.

After the failed rebellion, Secretary Hay declared in **1900** that the Open Door would embrace the territorial integrity of China as well as its commercial integrity.

**Imperialism or Bryanism in 1900?**

President McKinley was the Republican presidential nominee for the **election of 1900** because he had led the country through a war, acquired rich real estate, established the gold standard, and brought prosperity to the nation.  McKinley and the Republican Party supported the gold standard and imperialism.  They proclaimed that "**Bryanism**" was the paramount election issue.  This meant that Bryan would destroy the nation's prosperity once he took office with his free-silver policy and other "dangerous" ideas.

Theodore Roosevelt was nominated as the vice president after the political bosses of New York (where Roosevelt was governor) found it hard to continue their "businesses" with the headstrong governor.  They wanted Roosevelt elected as vice president so that Roosevelt would no longer pose an authority problem to the political bosses.

William Jennings Bryan was the Democratic presidential candidate for the election.  Bryan and the Democratic Party supported the silver standard and anti-imperialism.  They proclaimed that the paramount election issue was Republican overseas imperialism.

McKinley and the Republican Party won the election of 1900.

**TR:  Brandisher of the Big Stick**

In September **1901**, a deranged anarchist murdered President McKinley, and Theodore Roosevelt took over the presidency.

Roosevelt was a direct actionist in that he believed that the president should lead and keep things moving forward.  He had no real respect for the checks and balances system among the 3 branches of government.  He felt that he may take any action in the general interest that is not specifically forbidden by the laws of the Constitution.

**Colombia Blocks the Canal**

In order for ships to cross quickly from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, a canal had to be built across the Central American isthmus.  There were initial legal issues blocking the construction of this canal.  By the terms of the **Clayton-Bulwer Treaty**, made with Britain in **1850**, the U.S. could not gain exclusive control over a route for the canal.  But because of friendly relations with Britain, Britain signed the **Hay-Pauncefote Treaty** in **1901**, which gave the U.S. a helping hand to build the canal and rights to fortify it.

Many Americans favored the Nicaraguan route for the canal, but Congress decided on the Panama route for the canal in June 1902 after the New Panama Canal Company dropped the price of its holdings significantly.

**Colombia** stood in the way of the construction of the canal.  After a treaty to buy land for the canal had been rejected by the Colombian senate, President Roosevelt, who was eager to win the upcoming election, demanded that the canal be built without Colombia's consent.

**Uncle Sam Creates Puppet Panama**

On November 3, 1903, Panamanians, who feared the United States would choose the Nicaraguan route for the canal, made a successful revolution led byBunau-Varilla.  Bunau-Varilla became the Panamanian minister to the United States and signed the **Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty** in Washington.  The treaty gave the U.S. control of a 10-mile zone around the proposed Panama Canal.

**Completing the Canal and Appeasing Colombia**

The so-called rape of Panama marked a downward lurch in U.S relations with Latin America.

President Roosevelt defended himself against all charges of doing anything wrong.  He claimed that Colombia had wronged the United States by not permitting itself to be benefited by the construction of the canal.

In **1904** the construction of the **Panama Canal** began, and in **1914** it was completed at a cost of $400 million.

**TR's Perversion of Monroe's Doctrine**

Several nations of Latin America were in debt to European countries.  President Roosevelt feared that if the European nations (mainly the Germany and Britain) got their feet in the door of Latin America, then they might remain there, in violation of the Monroe Doctrine.  Roosevelt therefore created a policy known as "**preventive intervention**."  The **Roosevelt Corollary** to the Monroe Doctrine declared that in the event of future monetary problems of Latin American countries with European countries, the U.S. could pay off the Latin American counties' debts to keep European nations out of Latin America.

Latin American countries began to hate the Monroe Doctrine for it had become the excuse for numerous U.S. interventions in Latin America.  In actuality, President Roosevelt was the one to be blamed for the interventions.

**Roosevelt on the World Stage**

**Japan** began **war** with **Russia** in **1904** after Russia failed to withdraw troops from Manchuria and Korea.  Japan was defeating Russia in the war when Japan's supply of troops began to run low.  Japan therefore asked President Roosevelt to step in and sponsor peace negotiations.  Roosevelt agreed and in 1905 forced through an agreement in which the Japanese received no compensation for the losses and only the southern half of Sakhalin.

Because of the treaty, friendship with Russia faded away and Japan became a rival with America in Asia.

**Japanese Laborers in California**

When the Japanese government lifted its ban on its citizens emigrating in 1884, thousands of Japanese were recruited to work in California.  Japanese immigrants were confronted with racist hostility by whites.

In **1906**, San Francisco's school board segregated the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean students to make room for white students.  The Japanese saw this action as an insult and threatened with war.

President Roosevelt invited the entire San Francisco Board of Education to the White House to settle the dispute.  TR broke the deadlock and the Californians were persuaded to repeal the segregation and to accept what came to be known as the "**Gentlemen's Agreement**."  The Japanese agreed to stop the flow of immigrants to the United States.

In **1908**, the **Root-Takahira agreement** was reached with Japan.  The U.S. and Japan pledged themselves to respect each other's territorial possessions.

Chapter 29

Progressivism and the Republican Roosevelt

1901-1912

At the beginning of the 20th Century, the ethnically and racially mixed American people were convulsed by a reform movement.  The new crusaders, who called themselves "**progressives**," waged war on many evils including monopolies, corruption, inefficiency, and social injustice.

**Progressive Roots**

Well before 1900, politicians and writers had begun to pinpoint targets for the progressive attack.  Henry Demarest Lloyd assailed the Standard Oil Company in 1894 with his book **Wealth Against Commonwealth**.  Jacob A. Riis shocked middle-class Americans in 1890 with **How the Other Half Lives** which described the dark and dirty slums of New York.

Socialists and feminists were at the front of social justice.

**Raking Muck with the Muckrakers**

Popular magazines began to appear in American newsstands in 1902.  They exposed the corruption and scandal that the public loved to hate. The reform-minded journalists who wrote articles in these magazines were called **Muckrakers** by President Roosevelt.

In **1902**, New York reporter, Lincoln Steffens launched a series of articles in *McClure's* titled "**The Shame of the Cities**" which unmasked the corrupt alliance between big business and municipal government.

Ida M. Tarbell published a devastating but factual depiction of the Standard Oil Company.

David G. Phillips published a series, "**The Treason of the Senate**" in *Cosmopolitan* that charged that 75 of the 90 senators did not represent the people but they rather represented railroads and trusts.

Some of the most effective attacks of the muckrakers were directed at social evils.  The suppression of America's blacks was shown in Ray Stannard's***Following the Color Line*** (1908).  John Spargo wrote of the abuses of child labor in ***The Bitter Cry of the Children*** (1906).

**Political Progressivism**

Progressive reformers were mainly middle-class men and women.

The progressives sought **2 goals**:  to use state power to control the trusts; and to stem the socialist threat by generally improving the common person's conditions of life and labor.

Progressives wanted to regain the power that had slipped from the hands of the people into those of the "interests."  Progressives supported direct primary elections and favored "**initiative**" so that voters could directly propose legislation themselves, thus bypassing the boss-sought state legislatures.  They also supported "**referendum**" and "**recall**."  Referendum would place laws on ballots for final approval by the people, and recall would enable the voters to remove faithless corrupt officials.

As a result of pressure from the public's progressive reformers, the **17th Amendment** was passed to the Constitution in **1913**.  It established the direct election of U.S. senators.

**Progressivism in the Cities and States**

States began the march toward progressivism when they undertook to regulate railroads and trusts.  In **1901**, the governor of Wisconsin and significant figure of the progressive era, Robert M. La Follette took considerable control from the corrupt corporations and returned it to the people.

Governor of California, Hiram W. Johnson helped to break the dominant grip of the Southern Pacific Railroad on California politics in **1910**.

**Progressive Women**

A crucial focus for women's activism was the **settlement house movement**.  Settlement houses exposed middle-class women to poverty, political corruption, and intolerable working and living conditions.

Most female progressives defended their new activities as an extension of their traditional roles of wife and mother.

Female activists worked through organizations like the **Women's Trade Union League** and the **National Consumers League**.

Florence Kelley took control of the **National Consumers League** in **1899** and mobilized female consumers to pressure for laws safeguarding women and children in the workplace.

Caught up in the crusade, some states controlled, restricted, or abolished alcohol.

**TR's Square Deal for Labor**

President Roosevelt believed in the progressive reform.  He enacted a "**Square Deal**" program that consisted of 3 parts:  control of the corporations, consumer protection, and conservation of natural resources.

In **1902**, coal miners in Pennsylvania went on strike and demanded a 20% raise in pay and a workday decrease from 10 hours to 9 hours.  When mine spokesman, George F. Baer refused to negotiate, President Roosevelt stepped in and threatened to operate the mines with federal troops.  A deal was struck in which the miners received a 10% pay raise and an hour workday reduction.

Congress, aware of the increasing hostilities between capital and labor, created the **Department of Commerce** in **1903**.

**TR Corrals the Corporations**

Although the Interstate Commerce Commission was created in 1887, railroad barons were still able to have high shipping rates because of their ability to appeal the commission's decisions on high rates to the federal courts.

In **1903**, Congress passed the **Elkins Act**, which allowed for heavy fines to be placed on railroads that gave rebates and on the shippers that accepted them. (Railroad companies would offer rebates as incentives for companies to use their rail lines.)

Congress passed the **Hepburn Act of 1906**, restricting free passes and expanding the Interstate Commerce Commission to extend to include express companies, sleeping-car companies, and pipelines.  (**Free passes**:  rewards offered to companies allowing an allotted number of free shipments; given to companies to encourage future business.)

In **1902**, President Roosevelt challenged the **Northern Securities Company**, a railroad trust company that sought to achieve a monopoly of the railroads in the Northwest.  The Supreme Court upheld the President and the trust was forced to be dissolved.

**Caring for the Consumer**

After botulism was found in American meats, foreign governments threatened to ban all American meat imports.  Backed by the public, President Roosevelt passed the **Meat Inspection Act of 1906**.  The act stated that the preparation of meat shipped over state lines would be subject to federal inspection.

The **Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906** was designed to prevent the adulteration and mislabeling of foods and pharmaceuticals.

**Earth Control**

The first step towards conservation came with the **Desert Land Act of 1887**, under which the federal government sold dry land cheaply on the condition that the purchaser would irrigate the soil within 3 years.  A more successful step was the **Forest Reserve Act of 1891**.  It authorized the president to set aside public forests as national parks and other reserves.  The **Carey Act of 1894**distributed federal land to the states on the condition that it be irrigated and settled.

President Roosevelt, a naturalist and rancher, convinced Congress to pass the **Newlands Act of 1902**, which authorized the federal government to collect money from the sale of public lands in western states and then use these funds for the development of irrigation projects.

In **1900** Roosevelt, attempting to preserve the nation's shrinking forests, set aside 125 million acres of land in federal reserves.

Under President Roosevelt, professional foresters and engineers developed a policy of "**multiple-use resource management**."  They sought to combine recreation, sustained-yield logging, watershed protection, and summer stock grazing on the same expanse of federal land.  Many westerners soon realized how to work with federal conservation programs and not resist the federal management of natural resources.

**The "Roosevelt Panic" of 1907**

Theodore Roosevelt was elected as president in **1904**.  President Roosevelt made it known that he would not run for a 3rd term.

A panic descended upon Wall Street in **1907**.  The financial world blamed the panic on President Roosevelt for unsettling the industries with his anti-trust tactics.

Responding to the **panic of 1907**, Congress passed the **Aldrich-Vreeland Act** in **1908** which authorized national banks to issue emergency currency backed by various kinds of collateral.

**The Rough Rider Thunders Out**

For the **election of 1908**, the Republican Party chose William Howard Taft, secretary of war to Theodore Roosevelt.  The Democratic Party choseWilliam Jennings Bryan.

William Howard Taft won the election of 1908.

In Roosevelt's term, Roosevelt attempted to protect against socialism and to protect capitalists against popular indignation.  He greatly enlarged the power and prestige of the presidential office, and he helped shape the progressive movement and beyond it, the liberal reform campaigns later in the century.  TR also opened the eyes of Americans to the fact that they shared the world with other nations.

**Taft:  A Round Peg in a Square Hole**

President Taft had none of the arts of a dashing political leader, such as Roosevelt, and none of Roosevelt's zest.  He generally adopted an attitude of passivity towards Congress.

**The Dollar Goes Abroad as a Diplomat**

Taft encouraged Wall Street bankers to invest in foreign areas of strategic interest to the United States.  New York bankers thus strengthened American defenses and foreign policies, while bringing prosperity to America.

In China's **Manchuria**, Japan and Russia controlled the railroads.  President Taft saw in the Manchurian monopoly a possible strangulation of Chinese economic interests and a slamming of the Open Door policy.  In **1909**, Secretary of State Philander C. Knox proposed that a group of American and foreign bankers buy the Manchurian railroads and then turn them over to China.  Both Japan and Russia flatly rejected the selling of their railroads.

**Taft the Trustbuster**

Taft brought 90 lawsuits against the trusts during his 4 years in office as opposed to Roosevelt who brought just 44 suits in 7 years.

In **1911**, the Supreme Court ordered the dissolution of the **Standard Oil Company**, stating that it violated the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890.

Also in **1911**, the Courts handed down its "**rule of reason**"; a doctrine that stated that only those trusts that unreasonably restrained trade were illegal.

**Taft Splits the Republican Party**

President Taft signed the **Payne-Aldrich Bill** in **1909**, a tariff bill that placed a high tariff on many imports.  With the signing, Taft betrayed his campaign promises of lowering the tariff.

Taft was a strong conservationist, but in **1910**, the **Ballinger-Pinchot quarrel** erased much of his conservationist record.  When Secretary of the InteriorRichard Ballinger opened public lands in Wyoming, Montana, and Alaska to corporate development, he was criticized by chief of the Agriculture Department's Division of Forestry, Gifford Pinchot.  When Taft dismissed Pinchot, much protest arose from conservationists.

By the spring of **1910**, the reformist wing of the Republican Party was furious with Taft and the **Republican Party** had **split**.  One once supporter of Taft, Roosevelt, was now an enemy.  Taft had broken up Roosevelt's U.S. Steel Corporation, which Roosevelt had worked long and hard to form.

**The Taft-Roosevelt Rupture**

In **1911**, the **National Progressive Republican League** was formed with La Follette as its leading candidate for the Republican presidential nomination.

In February of **1912**, Theodore Roosevelt, with his new views on Taft, announced that he would run again for presidency, clarifying that he said he wouldn't run for 3 *consecutive* terms.

The **Taft-Roosevelt explosion** happened in June of 1912 when the Republican convention met in Chicago.  When it came time to vote, the Roosevelt supporters claimed fraud and in the end refused to vote.  Taft subsequently won the Republican nomination.

Chapter 30

Wilsonian Progressivism at Home and Abroad

1912-1916

Woodrow Wilson won the governorship of New Jersey waging a reform campaign in which he attacked the predatory trusts and promised to return the state government to the people.

**The "Bull Moose" Campaign of 1912**

The Democrats chose Woodrow Wilson as their presidential candidate for the **election of 1912**.  The Democrats saw in Wilson an outstanding reformist leader of whom they felt would beat Republican Taft.  The Democrats had a strong **progressive** **platform** that called for stronger antitrust laws, banking reform, and tariff reductions.

Theodore Roosevelt ran again in the election as a 3rd party candidate.  It was unsure whether Roosevelt's **New Nationalism** or Wilson's **New Freedom**would prevail.  Both men favored a more active government role in economic and social affairs, but they disagreed over specific strategies.

Roosevelt's New Nationalism campaigned for stronger control of trusts, woman suffrage, and programs of social welfare.

Wilson's New Freedom favored small enterprise, entrepreneurship, and the free functioning of unregulated and unmonopolized markets.  Democrats shunned the social-welfare programs and supported the fragmentation of trusts.

The campaign cooled down when Roosevelt was shot by a fanatic.  He eventually recovered after suspending campaigning for a couple weeks.

**Woodrow Wilson:  A Minority President**

Taft and Roosevelt split the Republican votes, giving Woodrow Wilson the presidency.

Roosevelt's Progressive Party soon died out due to lack of officials elected to state and local offices.

**Wilson:  The Idealist in Politics**

Wilson relied on sincerity and moral appeal to attract the public.  He was extremely smart but lacked the common touch with the public.  (He didn't have people skills.)  Wilson's idealism and sense of moral righteousness made him incredibly stubborn in negotiating.

**Wilson Tackles the Tariff**

President Wilson called for an all-out war on what he called "**the triple wall of privilege**":  the tariff, the banks, and the trusts.

Wilson called a special meeting of Congress in **1913** to address the tariff.  He convinced Congress to pass the **Underwood Tariff Bill**, which significantly reduced the tariff rates.  Under authority from the 16th Amendment, Congress also enacted a **graduated** **income tax**.

**Wilson Battles the Bankers**

The most serious problem of the National Banking Act passed during the Civil War in 1863 was the inelasticity of currency.  Banking reserves were located in New York and a handful of other large cities and could not be mobilized in times of financial stress into areas that needed money.

In **1913**, President Wilson delivered a plea to Congress for a reform of the banking system.  Congress answered and in the same year, he signed the**Federal Reserve Act**.  The new**Federal Reserve Board**, appointed by the president, oversaw a nationwide system of 12 regional Federal Reserve banks.  Each reserve bank was the central bank for its region.  The final authority of the Federal Reserve Board guaranteed a substantial level of public control.  The board was empowered to issue paper money, **Federal Reserve Notes**, backed by commercial paper.  Thus, the amount of money in circulation could be increased as needed for the requirements of business.  ([More information](http://www.historychannel.com/perl/print_book.pl?ID=86487))

**The President Tames the Trusts**

After Wilson's persuasion, Congress passed the **Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914**.  This law authorized a presidentially-appointed commission to oversee industries engaged in interstate commerce, such as the meatpackers.  The commissioners were expected to crush monopolies at the source.

The **Clayton Antitrust Act of** **1914** lengthened the Sherman Act's list of business practices that were deemed objectionable.  It also sought to exempt labor and agricultural organizations from antitrust prosecution, while legalizing strikes and peaceful picketing.  Union leader Samuel Gompers praised the act.

**Wilsonian Progressivism at High Tide**

The **Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916** made loans available to farmers at low rates of interest.  The **Warehouse Act of 1916**authorized loans on the security of staple crops.

The **La Follette Seamen's Act of 1915** benefited sailors by requiring decent treatment and a living wage on American ships.

President Wilson assisted the workers with the **Workingmen's Compensation Act of 1916**, giving assistance to federal civil-service employees during periods of disability.  Also in 1916, the president approved an act restricting **child** **labor** on products flowing into interstate commerce.  The **Adamson Act of 1916** established an 8-hour work day for all employees on trains in interstate commerce.

Wilson nominated for the Supreme Court reformer Louis D. Brandeis, the first Jew to be a Supreme Court justice.

**New Directions in Foreign Policy**

President Wilson was an anti-imperialist and withdrew from aggressive foreign policy.

He persuaded Congress in **1914** to **repeal** the **Panama Canal Tolls Act of 1912**, which had exempted American coastal shipping from tolls.  He also signed the **Jones Act** in **1916**, which granted the Philippines territorial status and promised independence as soon as a stable government could be established.

When political turmoil broke out in **Haiti** in **1915**, Wilson dispatched marines to protect American lives and property.  In **1916**, he signed a treaty with Haiti providing for U.S. supervision of finances and the police.

In **1917**, Wilson purchased the Virgin Islands from Denmark.

**Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico**

In **1913**, the **Mexican** **revolution** took an ugly turn when the president was murdered and replaced by General Victoriano Huerta.  Because of the chaos in Mexico, millions of Spanish-speaking immigrants came to America.

At first, President Wilson refused to intervene with the war in Mexico.  But after a small party of American sailors was accidentally captured by the Mexicans, Wilson ordered the navy to seize the Mexican port of Vera Cruz.

Just as war seemed imminent with Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile intervened and pressured Huerta to step down.

Venustiano Carranza became the president of Mexico.  Francisco Villa, rival to President Carranza, attempted to provoke a war between Mexico and the U.S by killing Americans.  Wilson, rather, ordered General John J. Perishing to break up Villa's band of outlaws.  The invading American army was withdrawn from Mexico in **1917** as the threat of war with Germany loomed.

**Thunder Across the Sea**

In **1914**,**World War I** was sparked when the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary was murdered by a Serb patriot.  An outraged Vienna government, backed by Germany, presented an ultimatum to Serbia.  Serbia, backed by Russia, refused to budge.  Russia began to mobilize its army, alarming Germany on the east, and France confronted Germany on the west.
Germany struck at France first and the fighting began.  The **Central Powers** consisted of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria.  The **Allies**consisted of France, Britain, Russia, Japan, and Italy.

**A Precarious Neutrality**

President Wilson issued the neutrality proclamation at the outbreak of WWI.

Most Americans were anti-Germany from the outset of the war.  Kaiser Wilhelm II, the leader of Germany, seemed the embodiment of arrogant autocracy.  Yet, the majority of Americans were against war.

**America Earns Blood Money**

American industry prospered off trade with the Allies.  Germany and the Central Powers protested American trading with the Allies, although America wasn't breaking the international neutrality laws -- Germany was free to trade with the U.S., but Britain prevented this trade by controlling the Atlantic Ocean by which Germany had to cross in order to trade with the U.S.

In **1915**, several months after Germany started to use submarines in the war, one of Germany's submarines sunk the British liner ***Lusitania***, killing 128 Americans.

Americans demanded war but President Wilson stood strong on his stance against war.  When Germany sunk another British liner, the ***Arabic***, in **1915**, Berlin agreed to not sink unarmed passenger ships without *warning*.  Germany continued to sink innocent ships as apparent when one of its submarines sank a French passenger steamer, the *Sussex*.  President Wilson informed the Germans that unless they renounced the inhuman practice of sinking merchant ships without warning, he would break diplomatic relations, leading to war.  Germany agreed to Wilson's ultimatum, but attached additions to their ***Sussex* pledge**:  the United States would have to persuade the Allies to modify what Berlin regarded as their illegal blockade.  Wilson accepted the Germany pledge, without accepting the "string" of additions.

**Wilson Wins the Reelection in 1916**

The Progressive Party and the Republican Party met in 1916 to choose their presidential candidate.  Although nominated by the Progressives, Theodore Roosevelt refused to run for president.  The Republicans chose Supreme Court justice Charles Evans Hughes.  The Republican platform condemned the Democratic tariff, assaults on the trusts, and Wilson's dealings with Mexico and Germany.

The Democrats chose Wilson and ran an anti-war campaign.  Woodrow Wilson won the **election of 1916** and was reelected to the presidency.

Chapter 31

The War to End War

1917-1918

On January 31, 1917 Germany announced its decision to wage unrestricted submarine warfare on all ships, including American ships, in the war zone.

**War by Act of Germany**

German foreign secretary Arthur Zimmermann secretly proposed a German-Mexican alliance with the **Zimmermann** **note**.  News of the Zimmermann note leaked out to the public, infuriating Americans.

On April 2, 1917, President Wilson asked for a declaration of war from Congress after 4 more unarmed merchant ships had been sunk.

**3 Mains Causes of War**:  Zimmermann Note, Germany declares unrestricted submarine warfare, Bolshevik Revolution.

**Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned**

President Wilson persuaded the public for war by declaring his twin goals of "a war to end war" and a crusade "to make the world safe for democracy."  He argued that America only fought to shape an international order in which democracy could flourish without fear of dictators and militarists.

Wilson was able to get war to appeal to the American public.

**Wilson's Fourteen Potent Points**

Wilson delivered his **Fourteen Points Address** to Congress on January 8, 1918.

The message, though intensely idealistic in tone and primarily a **peace program**, had certain very practical uses as an instrument for propaganda.  It was intended to reach the people and the liberal leaders of the Central Powers as a seductive appeal for peace, in which purpose it was successful.  It was hoped that the points would provide a framework for peace discussions. The message immediately gave Wilson the position of moral leadership of the Allies and furnished him with a tremendous diplomatic weapon as long as the war persisted.

The first 5 points and their effects were:

1.        A proposal to abolish secret treaties pleased liberals of all countries.

2.        Freedom of the seas appealed to the Germans, as well as to Americans who distrusted British sea power.

3.        A removal of economic barriers among nations was comforting to Germany, which feared postwar vengeance.

4.        Reduction of armament burdens was gratifying to taxpayers.

5.        An adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of both native people and the colonizers was reassuring to the anti-imperialists.

The largest achievement, #14, foreshadowed the **League of Nations** - an international organization that Wilson dreamed would provide a system of collective security.

**Creel Manipulates Minds**

The **Committee on Public Information** was created to rally public support of war.  It was headed by George Creel.  His job was to sell America on the war and sell the world on Wilsonian war aims.

The Creel organization employed thousands of workers around the world to spread war propaganda.  The entire nation was as a result swept into war fever.

**Enforcing Loyalty and Stifling Dissent**

There were over 8 million German-Americans; rumors began to spread of spying and sabotage.  As a result, a few German-Americans were tarred, feathered, and beaten.  A hysterical hatred of Germans and things related to Germany swept the nation.

The **Espionage Act of 1917** and the **Sedition Act of 1918** reflected fears about Germans and antiwar Americans.  Kingpin Socialist Eugene V. Debsand the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) leader William D. Haywood were convicted under the Espionage Act.

At this time, nearly any criticism of the government could be censored and punished.  The Supreme Court upheld these laws in ***Schenck v. United States*** (**1919**); it argued that freedom of speech could be revoked when such speech posed a danger to the nation.

**The Nation's Factories Go to War**

President Wilson created a **Civilian Council of National Defense** to study problems of economic mobilization; increased the size of the army; and created a shipbuilding program.

No one knew how much steel or explosive powder the country was capable of producing.  Fears of big government restricted efforts to coordinate the economy from Washington.  States' rights Democrats and businesspeople hated federal economic controls.

In **1918**, Wilson appointed Bernard Baruch to head the **War** **Industries** **Board** in order to impose some order on the economic confusion.  The Board never really had much control and was disbanded after the end of the war.

**Workers in Wartime**

Workers were discouraged from striking by the War Department's decree in 1918 that threatened any unemployed male with drafting.

The **IWW** (**Industrial Workers of the World**) were victims of some of the worst working conditions in the country.  At the end of the war, the **AF of L**'s (American Federation of Labor) membership had more than doubled.

Wartime inflation threatened to eliminate wage gains and thousands of strikes resulted.

In **1919**, the greatest strike in American history hit the **steel** **industry**.  More than 250,000 steelworkers walked off their jobs in an attempt to force their employers to recognize their right to organize and bargain collectively.  The steel companies resisted and refused to negotiate with union representatives.  The companies brought in 30,000 African-Americans to keep the mills running.  After several deadly confrontations, the strike collapsed, marking a grave setback that crippled the union movement for over 10 years.

Thousands of blacks were drawn to the North in wartime by the allure of war-industry employment.  The blacks served as meatpackers and strikebreakers.  Deadly disputes between whites and blacks consequently erupted.

**Suffering Until Suffrage**

The **National Woman's party**, led by Alice Paul, protested the war.

The larger part of the **suffrage movement**, represented by the **National American Woman Suffrage Association**, supported Wilson's war.

War mobilization gave momentum to the suffrage movement.  Impressed by women's war work, President Wilson supported women suffrage.  In **1920**, The **19th Amendment** was passed, giving all American women the right to vote.

Congress passed the **Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act of 1921**, providing federally financed instruction in maternal and infant health care.

In the postwar decade, feminists continued to campaign for laws to protect women in the workplace and prohibit child labor.

**Forging a War Economy**

Herbert C. Hoover led the **Food Administration**.  Hoover rejected issuing ration cards and, to save food for export, he proclaimed wheatless Wednesdays and meatless Tuesdays, all on a voluntary basis.

Congress restricted the use of foodstuffs for manufacturing alcoholic beverages, helping to accelerate the wave of prohibition that was sweeping the country.  In **1919**, the **18th Amendment** was passed, prohibiting all alcoholic drinks.

The money-saving tactics of Hoover and other agencies such as the Fuel Administration and Treasury Department yielded about $21 billion towards the war fund.  Other funding of the war came through increased taxes and bonds.

**Making Plowboys into Doughboys**

Although President Wilson opposed a draft, he eventually realized that a draft was necessary to quickly raise the large army that was to be sent to France.  Through much tribulation, Congress passed the **draft act** in **1917**.  It required the registration of all males between the ages of 18 and 45, and did not allow for a man to purchase his exemption from the draft.

For the first time, women were allowed in the armed forces.

**Fighting in France-Belatedly**

In **1917**, the **Bolshevik Revolution** in communist Russia toppled the tsar regime.  Russia pulled out of the "capitalist" war, freeing up thousands of Germans on the Russian front to fight the western front in France.  Russia pulling out allowed the U.S. fight solidly for Democracy in the war.

A year after Congress declared war, the first American troops reached France.  They were used as replacements in the Allied armies and were generally deployed in quiet sectors with the British and French.  Shipping shortages plagued the Allies.

American troops were also sent to Belgium, Italy, and Russia.  Americans hoped to prevent Russian munitions from falling into the hands of the Germans.

**America Helps Hammer the "Hun"**

In the spring of **1918**, the German drive on the western front exploded.  Spearheaded by about 500,000 troops, the Germans rolled forward with terrifying momentum.  The Allied nations for the first time united under a supreme commander, French marshal Foch.

In order to stop Germany from taking Paris and France, 30,000 American troops were sent to the French frontlines.  This was the first significant engagement of American troops in a European war.

By **July** **1918**, the German drive had been halted and Foch made a counteroffensive in the **Second Battle of** **the** **Marne**.  This engagement marked the beginning of a German withdrawal.

The Americans, dissatisfied with simply bolstering the French and British, demanded a separate army; General John J. Pershing was assigned a front of 85 miles.  Pershing's army undertook the **Meuse-Argonne** **offensive** from September 26 to November 11, 1918.  One objective was to cut the German railroad lines feeding the western front.  Inadequate training left 10% of the Americans involved in the battle injured or killed.

As German supplies ran low and as their allies began to desert them, defeat was in sight for Germany.

**The Fourteen Points Disarm Germany**

In October of 1918, the Germans were ready for peace based on the Fourteen Points.  On **November 11, 1918**, after the emperor of Germany had fled to Holland, Germany surrendered.

The United States's main contributions to the victory had been foodstuffs, munitions, credits, oil, and manpower.  The Americans only fought **2 major battles**, at **St. Mihiel**and the **Meuse-Argonne**.  The prospect of endless U.S. troops, rather than America's actual military performance eventually demoralized the Germans.

**Wilson Steps Down from Olympus**

President Wilson had gained much world popularity as the moral leader of the war.  When he personally appealed for a Democratic victory in the**congressional elections of November 1918**, the plan backfired and the voters instead returned a Republican majority to Congress.

Wilson's decision to go to Paris in person to negotiate the treaty infuriated the Republicans because no president had ever traveled to Europe.

**An Idealist Battles the Imperialists in Paris**

The **Paris Conference** fell into the hands of an inner clique, known as the **Big Four**.  Wilson, having the most power, was joined by Premier Vittorio Orlando of Italy, Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Britain, and Premier Georges Clemenceau of France.

The Conference opened on **January 18, 1919**.  Wilson's ultimate goal was a world parliament known as the**League of Nations**.  It would contain an assembly with seats for all nations and a council to be controlled by the great powers.  In February 1919, the skeptical Old World diplomats agreed to make the **League Covenant**.

**Hammering Out the Treaty**

**Republicans** in America had much animosity towards the League of Nations.  The Republican Congress claimed that it would never approve the League of Nations in its existing form.  These difficulties delighted Wilson's Allied adversaries in Paris who were now in a stronger bargaining position because Wilson would have to beg them for changes in the covenant that would safeguard the Monroe Doctrine and other American interests valued to the senators.

**France** settled for a compromise in which the **Saar Valley** would remain under the League of Nations for 15 years, and then a popular vote would determine its fate.  In exchange for dropping its demands for the **Rhineland**, France got the **Security Treaty**, in which both Britain and America pledged to come to its aid in the event of another German invasion.

**Italy** demanded **Fiume**, a valuable seaport inhabited by both Italians and Yugoslavs.  The seaport went to Yugoslavia after Wilson's insisting.

**Japan** demanded China's **Shandong** **Peninsula** and the German islands of the Pacific, which it had seized during the war.  After Japan threatened to walk out, Wilson accepted a compromise in which Japan kept Germany's economic holdings in Shandong and pledged to return the peninsula to China at a later date.

**The Peace Treaty That Bred a New War**

The **Treaty of Versailles** was forced upon the Germans in June **1919**.  The Germans were outraged with the treaty, noticing that most of the Fourteen Points were left out.

Wilson, also not happy with the outcome of the treaty, was forced to compromise away some of his Fourteen Points in order to salvage the more precious League of Nations.

**The Domestic Parade of Prejudice**

Critics of the League of Nations came from all sides.  Irish-Americans, isolationists, and principled liberals all denounced the League.

**Wilson's Tour and Collapse (1919)**

The Republicans in Congress had no real hope of defeating the **Treaty of Versailles**; they hoped to rather "Americanize" or "Republicanize" it so that the Republicans could claim political credit for the changes.

In an attempt to speed up the passing of the treaty in the Senate, President Wilson decided to go to the country in a speechmaking tour.  He would appeal over the heads of the Senate to the sovereign people.  The speeches in the Midwest did not go as well as in the Rocky Mountain region and on the Pacific Coast.

On his return to Washington, Wilson suffered a stroke and suffered from physical and nervous exhaustion.

**Defeat Through Deadlock**

Senator Lodge, a critic to the president, came up with **fourteen reservations** to the Treaty of Versailles.  These safeguards reserved the rights of the U.S. under the Monroe Doctrine and the Constitution and otherwise sought to protect American sovereignty.

After the Senate rejected the Treaty twice, the Treaty of Versailles was **defeated**.  The Lodge-Wilson personal feud, traditionalism, isolationism, disillusionment, and partisanship all contributed to the defeat of the treaty.

**The "Solemn Referendum" of 1920**

Wilson proposed to settle the treaty issue in the upcoming presidential campaign of 1920 by appealing to the people for a "**solemn referendum**."

The Republicans chose Senator Warren G. Harding as their presidential nominee for the election of 1920.  Their vice-presidential nominee was GovernorCalvin Coolidge.  The Republican platform appealed to both pro-League and anti-League sentiment in the party.

Democrats nominated pro-League Governor James. M. Cox as their presidential hopeful and chose Franklin D. Roosevelt as their vice-presidential nominee.

Warren Harding won the **election of 1920**.  Harding's victory lead to the death of the League of Nations.

**The Betrayal of Great Expectations**

The Treaty of Versailles was the only one of the four peace treaties not to succeed.

After the war, America did not embrace the role of global leader.  In the interests of its own security, the United States should have used its enormous strength to shape world-shaking events.  It instead permitted the world to drift towards yet another war.

Chapter 32

American Life in the "Roaring Twenties"

1919-1929

**Seeing Red**

Fear of **Russia** ran high even after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, which spawned a communist party in America.

The "**red scare**" of 1919-1920 resulted in a nationwide crusade against those whose Americanism was suspect.  Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmerwas chosen to round up immigrants who were in question.

In 1919-1920, a number of states passed **criminal syndicalism laws** that made the advocacy of violence to secure social change unlawful.  Traditional American ideals of free speech were restricted.

**Antiredism** and **antiforeignism** were reflected in the criminal case of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.  The two men were convicted in **1921** of the murder of a Massachusetts paymaster and his guard.  Although given a trial, the jury and judge were prejudiced against the men because they were Italians, atheists, anarchists, and draft dodgers.  Despite criticism from liberals and radicals all over the world, the men were electrocuted in **1927**.

**Hooded Hoodlums of the KKK**

The **Ku Klux Klan**(**Knights of the Invisible Empire**) grew quickly in the early 1920s.  The Klan was antiforeign, anti-Catholic, anti-black, anti-Jewish, antipacifist, anti-Communist, anti-internationalist, antievolutionist, antibootlegger, antigambling, antiadultery, and anti-birth control.  It was pro-Anglo-Saxon, pro-"native" American, and pro-Protestant.

The Klan spread rapidly, especially in the Midwest and the South, claiming 5 million members.

It collapsed in the late 1920s after a congressional investigation exposed the internal embezzling by Klan officials.

The KKK was an alarming manifestation of the intolerance and prejudice plaguing people anxious about the dizzying pace of social change in the 1920s.

**Stemming the Foreign Blood**

Isolationist Americans of the 1920s felt they had no use for immigrants.  The "**New Immigration**" of the 1920s caused Congress to pass the**Emergency Quota Act of 1921**, restricting newcomers from Europe in any given year to a definite quota, which was at 3% of the people of their nationality who had been living in the United States in 1910.

The **Immigration Act of 1924** replaced the Quota Act of 1921, cutting quotas for foreigners from 3% to 2%.  Different countries were only allowed to send an allotted number of its citizens to America every year.  Japanese were outright banned from coming to America.  Canadians and Latin Americans, whose proximity made them easy to attract for jobs when times were good and just as easy to send back home when times were not, were exempt from the act.

The quota system caused immigration to dwindle.

The Immigration Act of 1924 marked the end of an era of unrestricted immigration to the United States.  Many of the most recent arrivals lived in isolated enclaves with their own houses of worship, newspapers, and theaters.

**The Prohibition "Experiment"**

The **18th Amendment**, passed in **1919**, banned alcohol.  **Prohibition**, supported by churches and women, was one the last peculiar spasms of the progressive reform movement.  It was popular in the South, where white southerners were eager to keep stimulants out of the hands of blacks, and in the West, where alcohol was associated with crime and corruption.

Prohibitionists were naïve in that Federal authorities had never been able to enforce a law where the majority of the people were hostile to it.  Prohibition might have started off better if there had been a larger number of enforcement officials.

"**Speakeasies**" replaced saloons.  Prohibition caused bank savings to increase and absenteeism in industry to decrease.

**The Golden Age of Gangsterism**

The large profits of illegal alcohol led to bribery of police.  Violent wars broke out in the big cities between rival gangs, who sought control of the booze market.

**Chicago** was the most spectacular example of lawlessness.  "Scarface" Al Capone, a murderous booze distributor, began 6 years of gang warfare that generated millions of dollars.  Capone was eventually tried and convicted of income-tax evasion and sent to prison for 11 years.

Gangsters began to move into other profitable and illicit activities:  prostitution, gambling, narcotics, and kidnapping for ransom.

After the son of Charles A. Lindbergh was kidnapped for ransom and murdered, Congress passed the **Lindbergh Law** in **1932**, making interstate abduction in certain circumstances a death-penalty offense.

**Monkey Business in Tennessee**

**Education** made great strides in the 1920s.  Professor John Dewey set forth the principles of "learning by doing" that formed the foundation of so-called progressive education.  He believed that "education for life" should be a primary goal of the teacher.

Science and better health care also resulted out of the 1920s.

**Fundamentalists**, old-time religionists, claimed that the teaching of **Darwinism** **evolution** was destroying faith in God and the Bible, while contributing to the moral breakdown of youth.

In **1925**, John T. Scopes was indicted in Tennessee for teaching evolution.  At the "**Monkey Trial**," Scopes was defended by Clarence Darrow, while former presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan prosecuted him.  Scopes was found guilty and fined $100.

**The Mass-Consumption Economy**

WWI and Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon's tax policies brought much prosperity to the mid-1920s.

Bruce Barton founded **advertising** which sought to make Americans want more and more.

**Sports** became a big business in the consumer economy of the 1920s.

Buying in **credit** was another new feature of the postwar economy.  Prosperity thus accumulated an overhanging cloud of debt, and the economy became increasingly vulnerable to disruptions of the credit structure.

**Putting America on Rubber Tires**

The automobile industrial started an industrial revolution in the 1920s.  It yielded a new industrial system based on assembly-line methods and mass-production techniques.  Detroit became the motorcar capital of the world.

Henry Ford, father of the assembly line, created the **Model T** and erected an immense personal empire on the cornerstone of his mechanical genius.  By 1930, the number of Model Ts in the nation had reached 20 million.

**The Advent of the Gasoline Age**

The **automobile** **industry** exploded, creating millions of jobs and supporting industries.  America's standard of living rose sharply, and new industries flourished while old ones dwindled.  The petroleum business experienced an explosive development and the railroad industry was hard hit by the competition of automobiles.

The automobile freed up women from their dependence on men, and isolation among the sections was broken down.  It was responsible for thousands of deaths, while at the same time bringing more convenience, pleasure, and excitement into more people's lives.

**Humans Develop Wings**

Gasoline engines provided the power that enabled humans to fly.  On **December 17, 1903**, Orville and Wilbur Wright made their first **flight**, lasting 12 seconds and 120 feet.

After the success of airplanes in WWI, private companies began to operate passenger airlines with airmail contracts.

Charles A. Lindberg became the first man to fly solo across the Atlantic Ocean in **1927**.  His flight energized and gave a strong boost to the new aviation industry.

**The Radio Revolution**

Guglielmo Marconi invented wireless telegraphy (the **telegraph**) in the 1890s.

In the 1920s, the first voice-carrying radio broadcasts reached audiences.  While automobiles were luring Americans away from the home, the radio was luring them back.  Educationally and culturally, the radio also made a significant contribution.

**Hollywood's Filmland Fantasies**

As early as the 1890s, the **motion picture**, invented by Thomas A. Edison, had gained some popularity.  The true birth of motion picture came in 1903 with the release of the first story sequence:  *The Great Train Robbery*.  Hollywood became the movie capital of the world.

Motion picture was used extensively in WWI as anti-German propaganda.

Much of the diversity of the immigrants' cultures was lost, but the standardization of tastes and of language hastened entry into the American mainstream-and set the stage for the emergence of a working-class political coalition that would overcome the divisive ethnic differences of the past.

**The Dynamic Decade**

In the 1920s, the majority of Americans had shifted from rural areas to urban (city) areas.

Women continued to find jobs in the cities.  Margaret Sanger led a birth-control movement.  Alice Paul formed the **National Women's Party** in **1923** to campaign for an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution.

The **Fundamentalists** lost ground to the **Modernists** who believed that God was a "good guy" and the universe was a friendly place.

The 1920s witnessed an explosion in sex appeal in America.  Young women, "**flappers**," rolled their stockings, taped their breasts flat, and roughed their cheeks.  Women began to wear one-piece bathing suits.

Dr. Sigmund Freud writings justified this new sexual frankness by arguing that sexual repression was responsible for a variety of nervous and emotional ills.

**Jazz** thrived in the era of the 1920s.

Racial pride blossomed in the northern black communities.  Marcus Garvey founded the **United Negro Improvement Association** (UNIA) to promote the resettlement of blacks in Africa.  In the United States, the UNIA also sponsored stores and other businesses to keep blacks' dollars in black pockets.

**Cultural Liberation**

In the decade after WWI, a new generation of writers emerged.  They gave American literature new life, imaginativeness, and artistic quality.

H.L. Mencken attacked marriage, patriotism, democracy, and prohibition in his monthly *American Mercury*.

F. Scott Fitzgerald published *This Side of Paradise* in **1920** and ***The Great Gatsby*** in **1925**.

Earnest Hemingway was among the writers most affected by the war.  He responded to propaganda and the overblown appeal to patriotism.  He wrote of disillusioned, spiritually numb American expatriates in Europe in *The Sun Also Rises* (**1926**).

Sinclair Lewis wrote *Main Street* (**1920**) and *Babbitt* (**1922**).

Sherwood Anderson wrote *Winesburg, Ohio* (**1919**).

Architecture also became popular as materialism and functionalism increased.

**Wall Street's Big Bull Market**

In the 1920s, the **stock** **market** became increasingly popular.

In Washington, little was done to curtail money management.

In **1921**, the Republican Congress created the **Bureau of the Budget** in order to assist the president in preparing estimates of receipts and expenditures for submission to Congress as the annual budget.  It was designed to prevent haphazardly extravagant appropriations.

Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon's belief was that taxes forced the rich to invest in tax-exempt securities rather than in the factories that provided prosperous payrolls.  Mellon helped create a series of tax reductions from 1921-1926 in order to help rich people.  Congress followed by abolishing the gift tax, reducing excise taxes, the surtax, the income tax, and estate taxes.  Mellon's policies shifted much of the tax burden from the wealthy to the middle-income groups.  Mellon reduced the national debt by $10 billion.

Chapter 33

The Politics of Boom and Bust

1920-1932

**The Republican "Old Guard" Returns**

Warren G. Harding was inaugurated in **1921**.  He, like Grant, was unable to detect immoral people working for him.  He was also very soft in that he hated to say "no," hurting peoples' feelings.

Charles Evans Hughes was the secretary of state.  Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh's multimillionaire aluminum king, was the secretary of the Treasury. Herbert Hoover was the secretary of commerce.

Harding's brightest and most capable officials (above) were offset by two of the worst:  Senator Albert B. Fall, an anticonservationist who was the secretary of the interior, and Harry M. Daugherty, a big-time crook chosen to be the attorney general.

**GOP Reaction at the Throttle**

The newly-elected government officials almost directed the president's actions on the issue of government and business.  They wanted not only for the government to have no control over businesses but for the government to help guide businesses along the path to profits.

In the first years of the 1920s, the Supreme Court struck down progressive legislation.  The Supreme Court ruling in ***Adkins v. Children's Hospital***(**1923**) declared that under the 19th Amendment, women were no longer deserving of special protection in the workplace.

Corporations under President Harding could once again expand without worry of the antitrust laws.

The Interstate Commerce Commission came to be dominated by men who were sympathetic to the managers of the railroads.

**The Aftermath of War**

Wartime government controls of the economy were quickly dismantled.  With the **Esch-Cummins Transportation Act of 1920**, Congress returned the railroads to private management.  Congress encouraged private ownership of the railroads and pledged the Interstate Commerce Commission to guarantee their profitability.

The **Merchant Marine Act of 1920** authorized the Shipping Board to dispose of the wartime fleet of 1500 vessels at extremely low prices.

Under the **La Follette Seaman's Act of 1915**, American shipping could not thrive in competition with foreigners, who all too often provided their crews with wretched food and starvation wages.

Labor, suddenly deprived of its wartime crutch of friendly government support, limped along poorly in the postwar decade.

In **1921**, Congress created the **Veterans Bureau**to operate hospitals and provide vocational rehabilitation for the disabled.  Veterans organized and formed pressure groups.  The **American Legion** was created in **1919** by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Jr.  Legionnaires met to renew old hardships and let off steam.  The legion became distinguished for its militant patriotism, conservatism, and antiradicalism.  It convinced Congress in **1924** to pass the**Adjusted Compensation Act**, giving every former soldier a paid-up insurance policy due in 20 years.

**America Seeks Benefits Without Burdens**

Because of the rejection of the Treaty of Versailles, the United States had technically been at war with Germany, Austria, and Hungary for 3 years after the armistice.  To finally achieve peace, Congress passed a joint resolution in July 1921 that declared the war officially over.

**Isolationism** was still the idea in Washington.  President Harding hated the **League of Nations** and at first, refused to support the League's world health program.

Harding could not completely turn his back on the world.  In the Middle East, a sharp rivalry had developed between America and Britain for oil-drilling rights.  Secretary Hughes eventually secured the rights for American oil companies to share the oil-rich land with Britain.

**Disarmament** was one international issue that Harding eventually tackled.  Public pressure brought about the **Washington "Disarmament" Conference** in **1921-1922**.  Invitations to the conference went out to all the major naval powers.  Secretary Hughes laid out a plan for declaring a ten-year hiatus on construction of battleships and even for scrapping some of the huge ships already built.  He proposed that the scaled-down navies of America and Britain should have the same number of battleships and aircraft carriers; the ratio being 5:5:3 (Japan's navy would be smaller than America's and Britain's).

The **Five-Power Naval Treaty of 1922** stated that the British and Americans would refrain from fortifying their Far Eastern possessions, including the Philippines.  The Japanese were not subjected to such restraints in their possessions.

A **Four-Power Treaty** between Britain, Japan, France and the United States replaced the 20-year old Anglo-Japanese Treaty and preserved the status quo in the Pacific.

The Hardingites were satisfied with the final results of disarmament of the navy although no restrictions had been placed on small warships, and the other powers churned ahead with the construction of cruisers, destroyers, and submarines.

In the late 1920s, Americans called for the "outlaw of war."  When petitions bearing 2 million signatures reached Washington, Calvin Coolidge's secretary of state Frank. B. Kellogg signed with the French foreign minister in **1928** the **Kellogg-Briand Pact**.  Known as the **Pact of Paris**, it was ratified by 62 nations.  The new parchment peace was delusory in the extreme.  Defensive wars were still permitted; causing one to wonder what scheming aggressor could not make an excuse of self-defense.  Although virtually useless if challenged, the pact accurately reflected the American mind in the 1920s.

**Hiking the Tariff Higher**

Because businessmen did not want Europe flooding American markets with cheap goods after the war, Congress passed the **Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law** in **1922**, raising the tariff from 27% to 35%.

Presidents Harding and Coolidge were much more prone to increasing tariffs than decreasing them; this presented a problem: Europe needed to sell goods to the U.S. in order to get the money to pay back its war debts, and when it could not sell, it could not repay.

**The Stench of Scandal**

In **1923**, Colonel Charles R. Forbes, head of the Veterans Bureau, was caught stealing $200 million from the government, chiefly in connection with the building of veterans' hospitals.

Most shocking of all was the **Teapot Dome scandal** that involved priceless naval oil reserves at Teapot Dome and Elk Hills.  In **1921**, the secretary of the interior, Albert B. Fall, convinced the secretary of the navy to transfer these valuable properties to the Interior Department.  Harding indiscreetly signed the secret order.  Fall then leased the lands to oilmen Harry F. Sinclair and Edward L. Doheny, but not until he had received a bribe of $100,000.  The Teapot Dome scandal eventually leaked to the public and polluted the Washington government.

More scandals still erupted; there were reports as to the underhanded doings of Attorney General Daugherty, in which he was accused of the illegal sale of pardons and liquor permits.  President Harding **died** in San Francisco on **August 2, 1923**, of pneumonia and thrombosis, not having to live through much of the uproar of the scandal.

**"Silent Cal" Coolidge**

Vice President Calvin Coolidge took over the presidency following Harding's death.  He was extremely shy and delivered very boring speeches.

Coolidge sympathized with Secretary of the Treasury Mellon's efforts to reduce both taxes and debts.  He gave the Harding regime a badly needed moral fumigation.

**Frustrated Farmers**

Peace had brought an end to government-guaranteed high prices and to massive purchases of farm products by other nations.  Machines also threatened to plow the farmers under an avalanche of their own overabundant crops.  Because farmers were able to create more crops with more efficiency, the size of surpluses decreased prices.

The **Capper-Volstead Act** exempted farmers' marketing cooperatives from anti-trust prosecution.

The **McNary-Haugen Bill** sought to keep agricultural prices high by authorizing the government to buy up surpluses and sell them abroad.  President Coolidge vetoed the bill twice, keeping farm prices down, and farmers' political temperatures high coming into the election of 1924.

**A Three-Way Race for the White House in 1924**

After being split between, urbanites and farmers, Fundamentalists and Modernists, northern liberals and southern stand-patters, and immigrants and old-stock Americans, the Democrats finally chose John W. Davis to compete with Calvin Coolidge and La Follette for the presidency.

Senator La Follette from Wisconsin leapt forward to lead a new liberal **Progressive party**.  He was endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and by farmers.  The Progressive party platform called for government ownership of railroads and relief for farmers, lashed out at monopoly and antilabor injunctions, and urged a constitutional amendment to limit the Supreme Court's power to invalidate laws passed by Congress.

Calvin Coolidge won the **election of 1924**.

**Foreign-Policy Flounderings**

In the Coolidge era, **isolationism** continued to reign.

The armed interventionism in the **Caribbean** and **Central America** was the exception to the United States' isolation policies.  American troops remained in Haiti from 1914-1934, and were stationed in Nicaragua from 1926-1933.

In **1926**, the Mexican government declared its control over oil resources.  Despite American oil companies clamoring for war, Coolidge resolved the situation diplomatically.

World War I had reversed the international financial position of the United States; it was now a creditor nation in the sum of about $16 billion.  **Americaninvestors** had loaned about $10 billion to the Allies in WWI, and following the war, they wanted to be paid.  The Allies, especially the French and British, protested the demand for repayment pointing out that they had lost many troops and that America should just write off the loans as war costs.

America's postwar tariff walls made it almost impossible for the European Allied nations to sell their goods to earn the dollars to pay their debts.

**Unraveling the Debt Knot**

America's demand for repayment from France and Britain caused the two countries to press Germany for enormous reparations payments, totaling some $32 billion, as compensation for war-inflicted damages.  The Allies hoped to settle their debts with the United States with the money received from Germany.

Disputes in government on whether or not war debts and reparations should have even been paid broke out.  Negotiated by Charles Dawes, the **Dawes Plan of 1924** resolved this issue.  It rescheduled German reparations payments and opened the way for further American private loans to Germany.  United States bankers loaned money to Germany, Germany paid reparations to France and Britain, and the Allies paid war debts to the United States.  After the well of investors dried up in 1931, the jungle of international finance was turned into a desert.  President Herbert Hoover declared a one-year debt suspension in **1931**.

**The United States never did get its money from Europe.**

**The Triumph of Herbert Hoover, 1928**

When Calvin Coolidge chose not to run for president in the **election of 1928**, the Republicans chose Herbert Hoover.  Hoover was a small-town boy who worked his way through Stanford.  His experiences abroad strengthened his faith in American **individualism**, **free enterprise**, and **small government**.  His real power lay in his integrity, his humanitarianism, his passion for assembling the facts, his efficiency, his talents for administration, and his ability to inspire loyalty in close associates.

The Democrats nominated Alfred E. Smith.  He was a Roman Catholic in an overwhelmingly Protestant country, and was "wet" at a time when the country was still devoted to prohibition.

For the first time, the **radio** was used prominently in election campaigns.  It mostly helped Hoover's campaign.

The combination of Catholicism, wettism, foreignism, and liberalism of Smith was too much for the southerners.  Herbert Hoover won the election of 1928 in a landslide, becoming the first Republican candidate in 52 years, except for Harding's Tennessee victory, to win a state that had seceded.

**President Hoover's First Moves**

Two groups of citizens were not getting rich in the growing economy:  the unorganized **wage earners** and the disorganized **farmers**.

The **Agricultural Marketing Act**, passed in **1929**, was designed to help the farmers.  It set up the **Federal Farm Board**, which could lend money to farm organizations seeking to buy, sell, and store agricultural surpluses.

In **1930**, the Farm Board created the **Grain Stabilization Corporation** and the **Cotton Stabilization Corporation**.  Their goal was to boost falling prices by buying up surpluses.  The two agencies eventually failed.

The **Hawley-Smoot Tariff of 1930** started out as a mild tariff before 1,000 amendments were added to it.  It raised the tariff to 60%, becoming the nation's highest protective tariff during peacetime.  The tariff deepened the depression that had already begun in America and other nations, and it increased international financial chaos.

**The Great Crash Ends the Golden Twenties**

The catastrophic stock-market **crash** came in **October 1929**.  It was partially triggered by the British, who raised their interest rates in an effort to bring back capital lured abroad by American investments.  The British needed money; they were unable to trade with the United States due the high tariffs.

On "**Black Tuesday**" of **October 29, 1929**, millions of stocks were sold in a panic.  By the end of 1929, two months after the initial crash, stockholders had lost $40 billion.

As a result of the crash, millions lost their jobs and thousands of banks closed.  No other industrialized nation suffered so severe a setback as the United States.

**Hooked on the Horn of Plenty**

One of the **main causes** of the **Great Depression** was overproduction by both farm and factory.  The nation's ability to produce goods had outrun its capacity to consume or pay for them.  All the money was being invested in factories and other agencies of production; not enough money was going into salaries and wages.  Overexpansion of credit also contributed to the depression.

The Great Depression continued the economic destruction of Europe, which had not yet fully recovered from WWI.

In the 1930s, a terrible **drought** scorched the Mississippi Valley, causing thousands of farms to be sold.

**Rugged Times for Rugged Individuals**

In the beginning of the Great Depression, President Hoover believed that industry and self-reliance had made America great and that the government should play no role in the welfare of the people.  He soon realized, however, that the welfare of the people in a nationwide catastrophe was a direct concern of the government.

Hoover developed a **plan** in which the government would assist the railroads, banks, and rural credit corporations in the hope that if financial health was restored at the top of the economic pyramid, then unemployment would be relieved as the prosperity trickled down.  Hoover's efforts were criticized because he gave government money to the big bankers who had allegedly started the depression.

**Herbert Hoover Battles the Great Depression**

President Hoover secured from Congress $2.25 billion for useful **public works**.  (ex. the Hoover Dam)

Hoover was strongly opposed to all schemes that he saw as "socialistic."  He vetoed the **Muscle Shoals Bill**, which was designed to dam the Tennessee River and sell government-produced electricity in competition with citizens in private companies.

In **1932**, Congress established the **Reconstruction Finance Corporation** (RFC), which was designed to provide indirect economic relief by assisting insurance companies, banks, agricultural organizations, railroads, and state and local governments.

Congress passed the **Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act** in **1932**, outlawing antiunion contracts and fording federal courts to issue injunctions to restrain strikes, boycotts, and peaceful picketing.

**Routing the Bonus Army in Washington**

Veterans of WWI were among the hardest hit by the Great Depression.  A drive developed for the premature payment of the suspended bonus vetoed by Congress in 1924.

The "**Bonus Expeditionary Force**" (BEF), which claimed about 20,000 people, converged on the capital in the summer of 1932, demanding the immediate payment of their entire bonus.

After the BEF refused to leave the capital, President Hoover sent in the army to evacuate the group.  The ensuing riots and incidents brought additional public abuse of Hoover.

**Japanese Militarists Attack China**

In September **1931**, **Japanese** **imperialists**, seeing that the Western world was bogged down in the Great Depression, invaded the Chinese province of**Manchuria**.  Although a direct violation of the League of Nations, the League was unable to do anything because it could not count on America's support.

In **1932**, Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson decided to only diplomatically attack the Japanese aggressors by issuing the **Stimson doctrine**.  It declared that the United States would not recognize any territorial acquisitions achieved by force.  Japan ignored the doctrine and moved onto **Shanghai**in **1932**.  The violence continued without the League of Nation's intervention as WWII was born.

**Hoover Pioneers the Good Neighbor Policy**

President Hoover brought better relations with America's Latin American neighbors.  An advocate of international goodwill, he withdrew American troops from Latin America.

He had engineered the foundation of a **"Good Neighbor" policy**.

Chapter 34

The Great Depression and the New Deal

1933-1939

As the **election of 1932** neared, unemployment and poverty brought dissent of President Hoover and a demand for a change in policy.  The Republicans nominated Herbert Hoover to run for president in the election of 1932.  The Democrats chose Franklin Delano Roosevelt.  He had been born to a wealthy New York family and served as the governor of New York.

**FDR:  Politician in a Wheelchair**

Franklin D. Roosevelt's wife, Eleanor Roosevelt, was to become the most active First Lady in history.  She powerfully influenced the policies of the national government, battling for the impoverished and oppressed.

Roosevelt's commanding presence and golden speaking voice made him the premier American orator of his generation.

**Presidential Hopefuls of 1932**

In the Democratic campaign of 1932, Roosevelt attacked the Republican Old Deal and concentrated on preaching a New Deal for the "forgotten man."  He promised to balance the nation's budget and decrease the heavy Hooverian deficits.

Although Americans' distrust in the Republican party was high because of the dire economic state of the country (Great Depression), Herbert Hoover and the Republican party had hopes that the worst of the Depression was over. Hoover reaffirmed his faith in American free enterprise and individualism.

**Hoover's Humiliation in 1932**

Franklin Roosevelt won the election of 1932 by a sweeping majority, in both the popular vote and the Electoral College.

Beginning in the election of 1932, blacks became, notably in the urban centers of the North, a vital element of the Democratic Party.

**FDR and the Three *R*'s:  Relief, Recovery, Reform**

Franklin Roosevelt was inaugurated on March 4, 1933.

On March 6-10, President Roosevelt declared a national banking holiday as a prelude to opening the banks on a sounder basis.  The **Hundred DaysCongress/Emergency Congress** (March 9-June 16, 1933)passed a series laws in order to cope with the national emergency (The Great Depression).

Roosevelt's **New Deal** programs aimed at 3 *R*'s:  **relief**, **recovery**, **reform**.  Short-range goals were relief and immediate recovery, and long-range goals were permanent recovery and reform of current abuses.

Congress gave President Roosevelt extraordinary **blank-check powers**:  some of the laws it passed expressly delegated legislative authority to the president.

The New Dealers embraced such **progressive** **ideas** as unemployment insurance, old-age insurance, minimum-wage regulations, conservation and development of natural resources, and restrictions on child labor.

**Roosevelt Tackles Money and Banking**

The impending banking crisis caused Congress to pass the **Emergency Banking Relief Act of 1933**.  It gave the president power to regulate banking transactions and foreign exchange and to reopen solvent banks.  President Roosevelt began to give "fireside chats" over the radio in order to restore public confidence of banks.

Congress then passed the **Glass-Steagall Banking Reform Act**, creating the **Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation**(**FDIC**).  A reform program, the FDIC insured individual bank deposits up to $5,000, ending the epidemic of bank failures.

In order to protect the shrinking gold reserve, President Roosevelt ordered all private holdings of gold to be given to the Treasury in exchange for paper currency and then the nation to be taken off the gold standard-Congress passed laws providing for these measures.

The goal of Roosevelt's "managed currency" was **inflation**, which he believed would relieve debtors' burdens and stimulate new production.  Inflation was achieved through gold buying; the Treasury purchased gold at increasing prices, increasing the dollar price of gold.  This policy increased the amount of dollars in circulation.

**Creating Jobs for the Jobless**

President Roosevelt had no qualms about using federal money to assist the unemployed in order to jumpstart the economy.  Congress created the**Civilian Conservation Corps** (**CCC**), which provided employment for about 3 million men in government camps.  Their work included reforestation, fire fighting, flood control, and swamp drainage.

Congress's first major effort to deal with the massive unemployment was to pass the **Federal Emergency Relief Act**.  The resulting **Federal Emergency Relief Administration** (**FERA**) was headed by Harry L. Hopkins.  Hopkins's agency granted about $3 billion to the states for direct relief payments or for wages on work projects.  Created in **1933**, the **Civil Works** **Administration** (**CWA**), a branch of the FERA, was designed to provide temporary jobs during the winter emergency.  Thousands of unemployed were employed at leaf raking and other manual-labor jobs.

Relief was given to the farmers with the **Agricultural Adjustment Act** (**AAA**), making available millions of dollars to help farmers meet their mortgages.

The **Home Owners' Loan Corporation** (**HOLC**) assisted many households that had trouble paying their mortgages.

**A Day for Every Demagogue**

As unemployment and suffering continued, radical opponents to Roosevelt's New Deal began to arise.  Father Charles Coughlin's anti-New Deal radio broadcasts eventually became so anti-Semitic and fascistic that he was forced off the air.  Senator Huey P. Long publicized his "Share Our Wealth" program in which every family in the United States would receive $5,000.  His fascist plans ended when he was assassinated in 1935.  Dr. Francis E. Townsend attracted millions of senior citizens with his plan that each citizen over the age of 60 would receive $200 a month.

Congress passed the **Works Progress Administration** (**WPA**) in **1935**, with the objective of employment on useful projects (i.e. the construction of buildings, roads, etc.).  Taxpayers criticized the agency for paying people to do "useless" jobs such as painting murals.

**A Helping Hand for Industry and Labor**

The **National Recovery Administration** (**NRA**) was designed to assist industry, labor, and the unemployed.  Individual industries, through "fair competition" codes, were forced to lower their work hours so that more people could be hired; a minimum wage was also established.  Workers were formally guaranteed the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their choosing, not through the company's choosing.

Although initially supported by the public, collapse of the NRA came in **1935** with the Supreme Court's ***Schechter*** decision in which it was ruled that Congress could not "delegate legislative powers" to the president and that congressional control of interstate commerce could apply to local fowl business.

The **Public Works Administration** (**PWA**) was intended for both industrial recovery and for unemployment relief.  Headed by Harold L. Ickes, the agency spent over $4 billion on thousands of projects, including public buildings and highways.

In order to raise federal revenue and provide a level of employment, Congress repealed prohibition with the **21st Amendment** in late **1933**.

**Paying Farmers Not to Farm**

Congress created the **Agricultural Adjustment Administration** (**AAA**).  It established "**parity prices**" for basic commodities.  "Parity" was the price set for a product that gave it the same real value, in purchasing power, that it had from 1909-1914.  The agency also paid farmers to reduce their crop acreage, eliminating surpluses, while at the same time increasing unemployment.

The Supreme Court struck down the AAA in **1936**, declaring its regulatory taxation provisions unconstitutional.

The New Deal Congress passed the **Soil Conservation**and**Domestic Allotment Act of 1936**.  The reduction of crop acreage was now achieved by paying farmers to plant soil-conserving crops.

The **Second Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938** continued conservation payments; if farmers obeyed acreage restrictions on specific commodities, they would be eligible for parity payments.

**Dust Bowls and Black Blizzards**

Late in **1933**, a prolonged drought struck the states of the trans-Mississippi Great Plains.  The **Dust Bowl** was partially caused by the cultivation of countless acres, dry-farming techniques, and mechanization.

Sympathy towards the affected farmers came with the **Frazier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act**, passed in **1934**.  It made possible a suspension of mortgage foreclosures for 5 years.  It was struck down in **1935** by the Supreme Court.

In **1935**, President Roosevelt set up the **Resettlement Administration**, given the task of moving near-farmless farmers to better lands.

The **Indian Reorganization Act of 1934** encouraged Native American tribes to establish self-government and to preserve their native crafts and traditions.  77 tribes refused to organize under the law, while hundreds did organize.

**Battling Bankers and Big Business**

In order to protect the public against fraud, Congress passed the "Truth in Securities Act" (**Federal Securities Act**), requiring promoters to transmit to the investor sworn information regarding the soundness of their stocks and bonds.

In **1934**, Congress took further steps to protect the public with the **Securities and Exchange Commission** (**SEC**).  It was designed as a watchdog administrative agency.

**The TVA Harnesses the Tennessee River**

Zealous New Dealers accused the electric-power industry of gouging the public with excessive rates.

2.5 million of America's most poverty-stricken people inhabited Muscle Shoals.  If the government constructed a dam on the Tennessee River in Muscle Shoals, it could combine the immediate advantage of putting thousands of people to work with a long-term project for reforming the power monopoly.

In **1933**, the Hundred Days Congress created the **Tennessee Valley Authority** (**TVA**).  It was assigned the task of predicting how much the production and distribution of electricity would cost so that a "yardstick" could be set up to test the fairness of rates charged by private companies.

The large project of constructing dams on the Tennessee River brought to the area full employment, the blessings of cheap electric power, low-cost housing, abundant cheap nitrates, the restoration of eroded soil, reforestation, improved navigation, and flood control.  The once-poverty-stricken area was being turned into one of the most flourishing regions in the United States.

The conservative reaction against the "socialistic" New Deal would confine the TVA's brand of federally guided resource management and comprehensive regional development to the Tennessee Valley.

**Housing Reform and Social Security**

To speed recovery and better homes, President Roosevelt set up the **Federal Housing Administration** (**FHA**) in **1934**.

To strengthen the FHA, Congress created the **United States Housing Authority** (**USHA**) in **1937**.  It was designed to lend money to states or communities for low-cost construction.

The more important success of New Dealers was in the field of unemployment insurance and old-age pensions.  The **Social Security Act of 1935**provided for federal-state unemployment insurance.  To provide security for old age, specified categories of retired workers were to receive regular payments from Washington.

Republicans were strongly opposed to Social Security.  Social Security was inspired by the example of some of the more highly industrialized nations of Europe.

 In an urbanized economy, the government was now recognizing its responsibility for the welfare of its citizens.

**A New Deal for Unskilled Labor**

When the Supreme Court struck down the National Recovery Administration (NRA), Congress, sympathetic towards labor unions, passed the **National Labor Relations Act of 1935**(**Wagner Act**).  This law created a powerful **National Labor Relations Board** for administrative purposes and reasserted the rights of labor to engage in self-organization and to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choice.

The stride for unskilled workers to organize was lead by John L. Lewis, boss of the United Mine Workers.  He formed the **Committee for Industrial Organization** (**CIO**) in **1935**.  The CIO led a series of strikes including the sit-down strike at the General Motors automobile factory in 1936.

Congress passed the **Fair Labor Standards Act** (**Wages and Hours Bill**) in **1938**.  Industries involved in interstate commerce were to set up minimum-wage and maximum-hour levels.  Labor by children under the age of 16 was forbidden.

In **1938**, the CIO joined with the AF of L and the name "*Committee* for Industrial Organization" was changed to "***Congress* of Industrial Organization*s***."-led by John Lewis.  By 1940, the CIO claimed about 4 million members.

**Landon Challenges "the Champ" in 1936**

As the **election of 1936** neared, the New Dealers had achieved considerable progress, and millions of "reliefers" were grateful to their government.

The Republicans chose Alfred M. Landon to run against President Roosevelt.  The Republicans condemned the New Deal for its radicalism, experimentation, confusion, and "frightful waste."

President Roosevelt was **reelected** as president in a lopsided victory.  FDR won primarily because he had appealed to the "forgotten man."  He had forged a powerful and enduring coalition of the South, blacks, urbanites, and the poor.

**Nine Old Men on the Supreme Bench**

Ratified in **1933**, the **20th Amendment** shortened the period from election to inauguration by 6 weeks.  FDR took the presidential oath on January 20, 1937, instead of the traditional March 4.

Roosevelt saw his reelection as a mandate to continue the New Deal reforms.  The ultraconservative justices on the Supreme Court proved to be a threat to the New Deal as the Roosevelt administration had been thwarted 7 times in cases against the New Deal.

With his reelection, Roosevelt felt that the American people had wanted the New Deal.  If the American way of life was to be preserved, he argued, and then the Supreme Court had to get in line with public opinion.  President Roosevelt released his plan to ask Congress to pass legislation allowing him to appoint one new justice to the Supreme Court for every member over the age of 70 who would not retire; the maximum number of justices would now be 15.  Shocking both Congress and the public, the plan received much negative feedback.

**The Court Changes Course**

President Roosevelt was belittled for attempting to break down the checks and balances system among the 3 branches of government.

Justice Owen J. Roberts, formerly regarded as a conservative, began to vote liberal.  In March 1937, the Supreme Court upheld the principle of state minimum wage for women, reversing its stand on a different case a year earlier.  The Court, now sympathetic towards the New Deal, upheld the National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) and the Social Security Act.

A succession of deaths and resignations of justices enabled Roosevelt to appoint 9 justices to the Court.

FDR aroused conservatives of both parties in Congress so that few New Deal reforms were passed after 1937.  He lost much of the political goodwill that had helped him to win the election of 1936.

**The Twilight of the New Deal**

In Roosevelt's first term, from 1933-1937, unemployment still ran high and recovery had been relatively slow.  In **1937**, the **economy** took another**downturn** as new Social Security taxes began to cut into payrolls and as the Roosevelt administration cut back on spending out of the continuing reverence for the orthodox economic doctrine of the balanced budget.

The New Deal had run deficits for several years, but all of them had been somewhat small and none was intended.  Roosevelt embraced the recommendations of the British economist John Maynard Keynes.  The newly-accepted "**Keynesianism**" economic program was to stimulate the economy by planned deficit spending.

In **1939**, Congress passed the **Reorganization Act**, giving President Roosevelt limited powers for administrative reforms, including the new Executive Office in the White House.

Congress passed the **Hatch Act of 1939**, barring federal administrative officials from active political campaigning and soliciting.  It also forbade the use of government funds for political purposes as well as the collection of campaign contributions from people receiving relief payments.

**New Deal or Raw Deal?**

Foes of the New Deal charged the president of spending too much money on his programs, significantly increasing the **national debt**; by 1939, the national debt was at $40,440,000,000.  Lavish financial aid and relief were undermining the old virtue of initiative.

Private enterprise was being suppressed and states' rights were being ignored.  The most damning indictment of the New Deal was that it did not end the depression; it merely administered "aspirin, sedatives, and Band-Aids."  Not until World War II was the unemployment problem solved.

**FDR's Balance Sheet**

New Deal supporters had pointed out that relief, not economy, had been the primary objective of their war on the depression.  Roosevelt believed that the government was morally bound to prevent mass hunger and starvation by "managing" the economy.

FDR was a Hamiltonian in his idea of big government, but a Jeffersonian in his concern for the "forgotten man."

**New Deal Acronyms**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Acronym** | **Definition** |
| AAA | Agricultural Adjustment Administration |
| CCC | Civilian Conservation Corps |
| CWA | Civil Works Administration |
| FERA | Federal Emergency Relief Administration |
| FHA | Federal Housing Administration |
| FSA | Farm Security Administration |
| HOLC | Home Owners Loan Corporation |
| NRA | National Recovery Administration |
| NYA | National Youth Administration |
| PWA | Public Works Administration |
| REA | Rural Electrification Administration |
| SSA | Social Security Administration |
| TVA | Tennessee Valley Authority |
| WPA | Work Projects (Progress) Administration |

Chapter 35

Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Shadow of War

1933-1941

**The London Conference**

In the summer of **1933**, 66 nations sent delegates to the **London Economic Conference**.  The delegates hoped to organize a coordinated international attack on the global depression.  They sought to stabilize the values of various nations' currencies and the rates at which they could be exchanged.

President Roosevelt, at first, agreed to send delegates to the conference, but had second thoughts after he realized that an international agreement to maintain the value of the dollar in terms of other currencies wouldn't allow him to inflate the value of the dollar.  He declared that America wouldn't take place in the negotiations.

Without support from the United States, the London Economic Conference fell apart.  The collapse strengthened the global trend towards nationalism, while making international cooperation increasingly difficult.

**Freedom for (from?) the Filipinos and Recognition for the Russians**

Increasing the nation's isolationism, President Roosevelt withdrew from Asia.  Bowing to organized labor's demands of the exclusion of low-wage Filipino workers, Congress passed the **Tydings-McDuffie Act** in **1934**, providing for the independence of the Philippines by 1946.  The nation did not want to have to support the Philippines if Japan attacked there.

In **1933**, Roosevelt formally recognized the **Soviet Union**, opening up trade and bolstering a friendly counter-weight to the possible threat of German power in Europe and Japanese power in Asia.

**Becoming a Good Neighbor**

President Roosevelt initiated the **Good Neighbor policy**, renouncing armed intervention in Latin America.  The last marines left **Haiti** in 1934; **Cuba**, under the Platt Amendment, was released from American control; and the grip on **Panama** was relaxed in 1936.

When the **Mexican** **government** seized American oil properties in **1938**, President Roosevelt held to his unarmed intervention policy and a settlement was eventually worked out in **1941**, causing the oil companies to lose much of their original stake.

**Secretary Hull's Reciprocal Trade Agreements**

Congress passed the **Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act** in **1934**.  Designed to lower the tariff, it aimed at both relief and recovery.  Secretary of State Hull succeeded in negotiating **pacts** with 21 countries by the end of 1939.  These pacts were essentially trade agreements that stated if the United States lowered its tariff, then the other country would do the same.  With the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, the president was empowered to lower existing rates by as much as 50% provided that the other country involved would do the same.

During these years of trade agreements, U.S. foreign trade increased dramatically.  The act paved the way for the American-led free-trade international economic system that took shape after WWII.

**Impulses Toward Storm-Cellar Isolationism**

Joseph Stalin took control of the Communist USSR, Benito Mussolini took control of Italy in 1922, and Adolf Hitler took control of Germany.  Hitler was the most dangerous of all of them because he combined tremendous power with impulsiveness.

In **1936**, Nazi Hitler and Fascist Mussolini allied themselves in the **Rome-Berlin Axis**.

Determined to find a place in the Asiatic sun, **Japan** terminated the **Washington Naval Treaty** and accelerated their construction of giant battleships.

Mussolini, seeking power and glory in Africa, attacked **Ethiopia** in **1935**.

In **1934**, Congress passed the **Johnson Debt Default Act**, preventing the debt-dodging nations from borrowing further in the United States.  Americans maintained the isolationist mentality due to the ocean borders.

**Congress Legislates Neutrality**

Responding to overwhelming popular pressure, Congress passed the **Neutrality Acts of** **1935**, **1936**, and **1937**.  The acts 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, sell or transport munitions to a belligerent, or make loans to a belligerent.

The Neutrality Acts were made to keep the United States out of a conflict.  By declining to use its vast industrial strength to aid its democratic friends and defeat its totalitarian foes, the United States helped to provoke the aggressors.

**America Dooms Loyalist Spain**

The **Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939** started when Spanish rebels, led by General Francisco Franco, rose against the left-wing Republican government in Madrid.  Aided by Mussolini and Hitler, Franco undertook to overthrow the **Loyalist regime**, which was assisted by the Soviet Union.

Although it was legal for the United States to send aid to the Loyalist regime, the United States desperately wanted to stay out of war; Congress amended the existing neutrality legislation so as to apply an arms embargo to both Loyalists and rebels.

**Appeasing Japan and Germany**

In **1937**, the Japanese militarists touched off an explosion that led to the all-out **invasion** **of** **China**.  President Roosevelt declined to invoke the recently passed neutrality legislation by refusing to call the "China incident" an officially declared war.  If he had, he would have cut off the trickle of munitions on which the Chinese were dependent.  The Japanese, as a result, were able to continue to buy war supplies in the United States.

In **1937**, Japanese planes sunk an American gunboat, the ***Panay***.  Tokyo was quick to make apologies and the United States accepted.

In **1935**, Hitler **violated the Treaty of Versailles** when he introduced mandatory military service in Germany.  In 1936, he again violated the treaty when he took over the demilitarized German Rhineland.

In **March 1938**, Hitler invaded **Austria**.  (Note:  Austria actually voted for the occupation, fully aware that if it resisted, Germany would forcefully take over Austria.)

At a **conference** in Munich, Germany in **September 1938**, the Western European democracies, unprepared for war, betrayed Czechoslovakia to Germany when they gave away **Sudetenland**.  They hoped that by doing this, Hitler's greed for power would end.

In **March 1939**, Hitler took control of **Czechoslovakia**.  (See Austria note.)

**Hitler's Belligerency and U.S. Neutrality**

On **August 23, 1939**, the Soviet Union signed a nonaggression treaty with Hitler.  The **Hitler-Stalin pact** meant that Germany could make war on Poland and the Western democracies without fear of retaliation from the Soviet Union.

Hitler demanded from **Poland** a return of the areas taken from Germany after WWI.  After Poland failed to meet his demands, Hitler militarily invaded Poland on **September 1, 1939**.  Britain and France, honoring their commitments to Poland, declared war on Germany; **World War II** had started.

Although Americans were strongly anti-Nazi, they were desperately determined to stay out of the war.

The **Neutrality Act of 1937**placed a arms trade embargo on Spain and extended the current embargo on Britain and France.

Heeding to the need of France and Britain of war materials from America, Congress passed the **Neutrality Act of 1939**.  It stated that the European democracies could buy American war materials as long as they would transport the munitions on their own ships after paying for them in cash.  America thus avoided loans, war debts, and the torpedoing of American arms-carriers.

Overseas demand for war goods brought a sharp upswing from the recession of 1937-1938 and ultimately solved the decade-long unemployment crisis.

**The Fall of France**

The months following the collapse of Poland were known as the "**phony** **war**."

The Soviet Union took over **Finland** despite Congress loaning $30 million to Finland.

Hitler overran **Denmark** and **Norway** in **April 1940**, ending the "phony war."  Hitler then moved on to the **Netherlands** and **Belgium**.  By late **June 1940**, **France** was forced to **surrender**.

When France surrendered, Americans realized that England was all that stood between Hitler controlling all of Europe.  Roosevelt moved with tremendous speed to call upon the nation to build huge airfleets and a two-ocean navy.  Congress approved a spending of $37 billion.  On **September 6, 1940**, Congress passed a **conscription law**; under this measure, America's first peacetime draft was initiated-provision was made for training 1.2 million troops and 800,000 reserves each year.

With the Netherlands, Denmark, and France all fallen to German control, it was unsure what would happen to the colonies of Latin America (the New World).  At the **Havana Conference of 1940**, the United States agreed to share with its 20 New World neighbors the responsibility of upholding the Monroe Doctrine.

**Bolstering Britain with the Destroyer Deal (1940)**

After France fell to Germany in the Battle of France (June), Hitler launched a series of air attacks against Britain in **August 1940**.  The **Battle of Britain**raged in the air over the British Isles for months.  During the Battle of Britain, radio broadcasts brought the drama from London air raids directly to America homes.  Sympathy for Britain grew, but it was not yet sufficient to push the United States into war.

**President Roosevelt faced a historic decision**:  whether to hunker down in the Western Hemisphere and let the rest of the world go it alone; or to bolster Britain by all means short of war itself.

The most powerful group of those who supported aid for Britain was the **Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies**.  Isolationists organized the **America First Committee**, contending that America should concentrate what strength it had to defend its own shores.

On **September 2, 1940**, President Roosevelt agreed to transfer to 50 destroyers left over from WWI to Britain.  In return, Britain agreed to hand over to the United States 8 valuable defensive base sites.  Shifting warships from a neutral United States to Britain was a flagrant violation of the neutrality obligations.

**FDR Shatters the Two-Term Tradition (1940)**

The Republicans chose Wendell L. Willkie to run against President Roosevelt.  Willkie's great appeal lay in his personality.  The Republican platform condemned FDR's alleged dictatorship, as well as the New Deal.  Willkie was opposed not so much to the New Deal as to its extravagances and inefficiencies.

Roosevelt challenged the sacred two-term tradition when he decided that in such a grave crisis he owed his experienced hand to the service of his country.

Both presidential nominees promised to stay out of the war, and both promised to strengthen the nation's defenses.

FDR won the **election of 1940**; voters generally felt that should war come, the experience of FDR was needed.

**Congress Passes the Landmark Lend-Lease Law**

Fearing the collapse of Britain, Congress passed the **Lend-Lease Bill** in **1941**.  Nicknamed "An Act Further to Promote the Defense of the United States," it allowed for American arms to be lent or leased to the democracies of the world that needed them.  When the war was over, the guns and tanks could be returned.  Key opponents of the bill, such as Senator Taft, criticized it, reporting that the arms would be destroyed and unable to be returned after the war.  It was praised by the FDR administration as a device that would keep the nation out of the war rather than dragging it in.  America would send a limitless supply of arms to victims of aggression, who would in turn finish the war and keep it on their side of the Atlantic.

Lend-lease was a challenge thrown at the Axis dictators; America pledged itself to bolster those nations that were indirectly fighting it by fighting aggression.  The bill marked the abandonment of any pretense of neutrality.

Hitler recognized the Lend-Lease Bill as an unofficial declaration of war.  Until then, Germany had avoided attacking U.S. ships.  On **May 21, 1941**, the***Robin Moor***, an unarmed American merchantman, was destroyed by a German submarine in the South Atlantic, outside the war zone.

**Hitler's Assault on the Soviet Union Spawns the Atlantic Charter**

Two events marked the course of WWII before the assault on Pearl Harbor:  **the fall of France in June 1940**, and **Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941**.

Even though the two nations were bound to peace under the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939, neither Hitler nor Stalin trusted one another.  Hitler decided to crush the Soviet Union, seize the oil and other resources of the Soviet Union, and then have two free hands to battle Britain.

On **June 22, 1941**, Hitler launched an **attack** on the **Soviet Union**.  President Roosevelt immediately promised assistance and backed up his words by making some military supplies available.

With the surrender of the Soviet Union a very real possibility, the**Atlantic Conference** was held in **August 1941**.  Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met and discussed common problems of the world.  The two men came up with the **eight-point Atlantic Charter**, outlining the aspirations of the democracies for a better world at the war's end.  The **Atlantic Charter** promised that there would be no territorial changes contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants; it affirmed the right of a people to choose their own form of government and to regain the governments abolished by the dictators; and it declared for disarmament and a peace of security, pending a new League of Nations.

**U.S. Destroyers and Hitler's U-boats Clash**

FDR made the decision to escort the shipments of arms to Britain by U.S. warships in July 1941.  In September 1941, the U.S. destroyer ***Greer*** was attacked by a U-boat, without suffering damage.  Roosevelt then proclaimed a **shoot-on-sight policy**.  On October 17 the destroyer ***Kearny*** was crippled by a U-boat.  Two weeks later, the destroyer ***Reuben James*** was sunk off southwestern Iceland.

Congress voted in **November 1941** to **repeal** the **Neutrality Act of 1939**, enabling merchant ships to be legally armed and enter the combat zones with munitions for Britain.

**Surprise Assault of Pearl Harbor**

Since September 1940, Japan had been allied with Germany.  In late 1940, Washington imposed the first of its embargoes on Japan-bound supplies.  The State Department insisted that the Japanese clear out of China, offering to renew trade relations on a limited basis.  Forced with the choice of succumbing to the Americans or continued conquest, the Japanese chose to fight.

On "Black Sunday" **December 7, 1941**, Japanese bombers attacked **Pearl Harbor**, killing 2,348 people.  ([List of those who died](http://www.usswestvirginia.org/ph/phlist.php))

On **December 11, 1941**, Congress declared war.

**America's Transformation from Bystander to Belligerent**

Pearl Harbor was not the full answer to the question of why the United States went to war.  Following the fall of France, Americans were confronted with a devil's dilemma.  They desired to stay out of the conflict, yet they did not want Britain to be knocked out.  To keep Britain from collapsing, the Roosevelt administration felt compelled to extend the unneutral aid that invited attacks from German submarines.  Americans wished to stop Japan's conquests in the Far East.  To keep Japan from expanding, Washington undertook to cut off vital Japanese supplies with embargoes that invited possible retaliation.

Rather than let democracy die and dictatorship rule, most Americans were determined to support a policy that might lead to war.

Chapter 36

America in World War II

1941-1945

After the bombing at Pearl Harbor, politicians in Washington D.C. adopted the strategy of "getting Germany first"; if America diverted its main strength to the Pacific, Hitler might crush both the Soviet Union and Britain.  The politicians' idea was that if Germany was knocked out first (before the Pacific engagements began), then Allied forces could be concentrated on Japan.

**The Allies Trade Space for Time**

America's task of WWII was far more complex and hard than during WWI.  It had to feed, clothe, and transport its forces to far away regions.  It also had to send a vast amount of food and munitions to its allies, who stretched all the way from Australia to the USSR.

**The Shock of War**

American Communists had denounced the Anglo-French war before Hitler attacked Stalin in 1941, but after Pearl Harbor, they clamored for war against the axis powers.

Unlike WWI, when the patriotism of millions of immigrants was questioned, WWII actually sped the assimilation of many ethnic groups into American society.  There was **almost** no government witch-hunting of minority groups.  The exception to this was the 110,000 **Japanese-Americans** on the Pacific Coast who were herded into **concentration camps**.  Washington feared that they might act as saboteurs for Japan in case of invasion.  The camps deprived the Japanese-Americans of basic rights, and the internees lost hundreds of millions of dollars in property.  In the Supreme Court ruling in***Korematsu* v. *U.S*.**(**1944**), the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the concentration camps.

Many programs of the once-popular New Deal were wiped out-including the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Works Progress Administration, and the National Youth Administration.  President Roosevelt declared in **1943** that the New Deal reform era was over.

**Building the War Machine**

The lingering Great Depression was brought to an end with the massive military orders.  Orchestrated by the **War Production Board** **(WPB)**, American factories produced an enormous amount of weaponry, such as guns and planes.  The War Production Board halted the manufacture of nonessential items such as passenger cars.  It assigned priorities for transportation and access to raw materials.

The government imposed a national speed limit and gasoline rationing as America's lifeline of natural **rubber** from British Malaysia and the Dutch East Indies was broken.

In **1942**, a sharp **inflationary** **surge** occurred as a result of full employment and scarce consumer goods.  The **Office of Price Administration** (**OPA**) eventually brought the ascending prices down.

The **War Labor Board** (**WLB**) imposed ceilings on wage increases.  Unhappy with the wage ceilings, labor unions called their members to go on strike.  Threats of lost production through strikes became so worrisome that Congress, in June **1943**, passed the **Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act**.  It authorized the federal government to seize and operate tied-up businesses.  Washington took control of the coal mines and, for a brief period, the railroads.  Though, the vast majority of American workers were committed to the war effort.

**Manpower and Womanpower**

Even with certain key categories of industrial and agricultural workers being exempt from the draft, the draft left the nation's farms and factories short of personnel.  In **1942**, an agreement with Mexico brought thousands of Mexican agricultural workers, called ***braceros***, to America to harvest the fruit and grain crops of the West.

The armed services enlisted nearly 216,000 **women** in WWII.  Most commonly known were the **WAACs** (army), **WAVES** (navy), and **SPARs** (Coast Guard).  Millions of women also took jobs outside the house, working in the war industry.  WWII foreshadowed an eventual revolution in the roles of women in American society.

The immediate post-war period witnessed not a permanent widening of women's employment opportunities, but a widespread rush into suburban domesticity and the mothering of the "baby boomers."

**Wartime Migrations**

The war churned and shifted the American population.  1.6 million blacks left the South to seek jobs in the war plants of the West and North.  Black leader A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, threatened a massive "Negro March on Washington" in **1941** to demand equal opportunities for blacks in war jobs and in the armed forces.  As a result, Roosevelt established the **Fair Employment Practices Commission**(**FEPC**) to monitor compliance with his executive order forbidding discrimination in defense industries.

During WWII, FDR gave the South a disproportionate share of defense contracts in order to fix the economic crisis of the South.

In **1944**, the advent of the **mechanical cotton picker** made the Cotton South's need for cheap labor disappear.  Following the invention, millions of black tenant farmers and sharecroppers headed north.

Some 25,000 **Native Americans** served in the armed forces.  Comanches in Europe and Navajos in the Pacific made such valuable contributions as "**code talkers**."

**Holding the Home Front**

Americans on the home front suffered little from the war, compared to the people of the other fighting nations.  By war's end, much of the world was in ruins, but in America, the war-stimulated economy was booming.

The hand of government touched more American lives more intimately during the war than every before; every household felt the constraints of the rationing system.

Following the war, the **national** **debt** rose from $49 billion in 1941 to $259 billion in 1945.  Most of the war costs were borrowed.

**The Rising Sun in the Pacific**

Simultaneously with the assault on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese launched attacks on various Far Eastern strongholds, including the American outposts of**Guam**, **Wake**, and the Philippines.

In the **Philippines**, American forces, led by General MacArthur, held out against the invading Japanese force for 5 months.  The America troops surrendered on **April 9, 1942**.  They were treated with vicious cruelty in the 80-mile Bataan Death March to prisoner-of-war camps.

The island fortress of **Corregidor** held out until it surrendered on **May 6, 1942**, giving the Japanese complete control of the Philippines.

**Japan's High Tide at Midway**

In **May** **1942**, a crucial naval battle was fought in the **Coral Sea**.  An American carrier task force, with Australian support, engaged in the first battle in which all the fighting was done by carrier-based aircraft.

On **June 3-6**, **1942**, a naval battle of extreme importance to both the Japanese and the Americans was fought near **Midway**.  Admiral Chester W. Nimitzdirected a smaller but skillfully maneuvered carrier force, under Admiral Raymond A. Spruance, against the powerful invading Japanese fleet.  The Japanese retreated after losing 4 carriers.  Midway was a **turning point** in the Pacific war.  Combined with the Battle of Coral Sea, the U.S. success at Midway halted the powerful Japanese.

**American Leapfrogging Toward Tokyo**

In August 1942, American forces gained a foothold on **Guadalcanal Island**, the Solomon Islands, in an attempt to protect the lifeline from America to Australia through the Southwest Pacific.  After several desperate sea battles for naval control, the Japanese troops evacuated Guadalcanal in **February 1943**.  The casualty ratio of more than 10 to 1, Japanese to American, subsisted after the battle.

The U.S. Navy had been "**leapfrogging**" the Japanese-held islands in the Pacific.  The strategy dictated that the American forces, as they drove towards Tokyo, would reduce the fortified Japanese outposts on their flank.  The new strategy of island hopping called for bypassing some of the most heavily fortified Japanese posts, capturing nearby islands, setting up airfields on them, and then neutralizing the enemy bases through heavy bombing.  The outposts would then wither and die due to deprivation of essential supplies from the homeland.  Success came to the United States as Admiral Chester Nimitz coordinated the efforts of naval, air, and ground units.

**Saipan Island**, **Tinian Island**, and the major islands of the **Marianas** fell to U.S. attackers in July and August 1944.  From the Marianas, the United States' new B-29 superbombers were able to carryout round-trip bombing raids on Japan's home islands.

**The Allied Halting of Hitler**

Hitler had entered the war with a strong, ultramodern fleet of submarine **U-Boats**.  To combat these submarines, Allies used old techniques, such as escorting convoys of merchant vessels and dropping depth bombs from destroyers, which were strengthened by air patrol and the advent of radar.

The turning point in the land-air war against Hitler came in late 1942.  In October 1942, British general Bernard Montgomery delivered a withering attack on **El Alamein**.  He drove the Germans, who were led by Marshal Erwin Rommel, all the way back to Tunisia.

In September 1942, the Soviets repelled Hitler's attack on **Stalingrad**, capturing thousands of German soldiers.  (The turning point in the war in the Soviet Union.)

**A Second Front from North Africa to Rome**

Many Americans, including President Roosevelt, wanted to begin a diversionary invasion of France in 1942 or 1943.  They feared that the Soviets, unable to hold out forever against Germany, might make a separate peace as they had in 1918 and leave the Western Allies to face Germany alone.

British military planners, fearing a possible disaster, preferred to attack Hitler through the "soft underbelly" of the Mediterranean.  The Americans eventually agreed.

Led by American general, Dwight D. Eisenhower, an assault on French-held North Africa was launched in November 1942.  The invasion was the mightiest waterborne effort up to that time in history.  The German-Italy army was trapped in **Tunisia** in May 1943.

At **Casablanca**, President Roosevelt met with Winston Churchill in **January** **1943**.  The two agreed to step up the war in the Pacific, invade Sicily, increase pressure on Italy, and insist upon "unconditional surrender" of the enemy.

After the success of Africa, Allied forces captured **Sicily** in August 1943.  In **September** **1943**, **Italy** **surrendered** unconditionally and Mussolini was overthrown.  Although Italy surrendered, the Germans would not let the Allies take control of Italy.  The Germans fiercely fought the Allies and killed the Italian civilians who had surrendered.  **Rome** was taken on June 4, 1944.  On **May 2, 1945**, thousands of axis troops in Italy surrendered and became prisoners of war.  The Italian second front opened the Mediterranean and diverted some German divisions away from the Soviet and French battle lines.

**D-Day:  June 6, 1944**

President Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Stalin met in **Teheran**, Iran from **November 28th to December 1st** to coordinate a second front.  One of the most important achievements of the conference was the agreement on broad plans, especially those for launching Soviet attacks on Germany from the east simultaneously with the Allied assault from the west.

Because the United States was to provide the most Allied troops for the invasion of Europe, American General Eisenhower was given command.

French Normandy was chosen for the point for invasion due to the fact that it was less heavily defended than other parts of the European cost.  On **D-Day**, **June 6, 1944**, the enormous operation took place.  After desperate fighting, the Allies finally broke out of the German ring that enclosed the beach. General George S. Patton led armored divisions across France extremely fast and efficiently.  **Paris** was **liberated** in **August** **1944**.

The first important German city to fall to the Allies was **Aachen** in October 1944.

**FDR:  The Fourth-Termite of 1944**

For the **election of 1944**, the Republicans nominated Thomas E. Dewey for the presidency and isolationist Senator, John W. Bricker for the vice presidency.

The Democrats nominated Roosevelt for the presidency and, after dispute of trust with current vice president Henry A. Wallace, Senator Harry S Trumanwas chosen for the vice presidency.

**Roosevelt Defeats Dewey**

Roosevelt won a sweeping majority of the votes in the Electoral College and was **reelected**.  He won primarily because the war was going well.  Foreign policy was a decisive factor with many voters, who concluded that Roosevelt's experience was needed for making a future organization for world peace.

**The Last Days of Hitler**

On **December 16, 1944**, Hitler threw all of his forces against the thinly held American lines in the **Ardennes Forest**.  His objective was the Belgian port of Antwerp, key to the Allied supply operation.  The Americans were driven back, creating a deep "bulge" in the Allied line.  The 10-day penetration was halted after the 101st Airborne Division had stood firm.  Brigadier General A. C. McAuliffe led the **Battle of the Bulge**.

In **April** **1945**, General Eisenhower's troops reached the Elbe River, finding the **concentration** **camps** where the Nazis had murdered over 6 million Jews.  Not until the war's end did all of the atrocities of the "Holocaust" appear.

The Soviets reached and captured **Berlin** in **April 1945**.  **Hitler** **committed** **suicide** on **April 30, 1945**.

On **April 12, 1945**, President Roosevelt died suddenly from a brain hemorrhage.  Harry S Truman took over the presidency.

On **May 7, 1945**, the German government surrendered unconditionally.

**Japan Dies Hard**

Submarines and bombers inflicted severe damage upon Japan.

After the conquest of New Guinea, General MacArthur returned to the **Philippines**, en route to Japan, with 600 ships and 250,000 troops.  In **Leyte Gulf**, a series of 3 battles took place from **October 23-26, 1944**, knocking out Japan's massive and powerful navy.  MacArthur then landed on the main Philippine island of Luzon in January 1945, capturing **Manila** in March 1945.  **Iwo Jima**, needed as a haven for damaged American bombers returning from Japan, was captured in March 1945.  The island of Okinawa was needed for closer bases from which to blast and burn enemy cities and industries.  The Americans finally captured the island after fighting from April to June of 1945.  The American navy suffered heavy damage from the "**kamikaze**" Japanese pilots.

**The Atomic Bombs**

The **Potsdam conference** near Berlin in **1945** sounded the death of the Japanese.  At the conference, President Truman met with Stalin and the British leaders.  They issued an ultimatum to Japan:  surrender or be destroyed.

On July 16, 1945, the first atomic bomb was detonated.  With the Japanese still refusing to surrender, the **first** of 2 **atomic** **bombs** was dropped on**Hiroshima** on **August 6, 1945**.  On August 8, Stalin invaded the Japanese defenses of Manchuria and Korea.  After the Japanese still refused to surrender, the **second** **atomic** **bomb** was dropped on **Nagasaki** on **August 9**.

On August 10, 1945, Tokyo surrendered under the condition that Hirohito be allowed to remain the emperor.  The Allies accepted this condition on**August 14, 1945**.  The formal end to the war came on **September 2, 1945**.

**The Allies Triumphant**

American forces suffered some 1 million casualties in WWII, while the **Soviet** **Union** suffered nearly **20 million**.

After the war, much of the world was destroyed while America was virtually left untouched.

The nation was better prepared for the war than any other nation because it had begun to prepare about a year and a half before the war officially began.

Chapter 37

The Cold War Begins

1945-1952

**Postwar Economic Anxieties**

During the 1930s, unemployment and insecurity had pushed up the suicide rate and decreased the marriage rate.  The population growth was also declining as couples had economic troubles.

In the initial postwar years, the economy struggled; prices elevated 33% from 1946-1947 after the wartime price controls were removed.  An epidemic of**strikes** swept over the country in 1946.

In **1947**, the Republican Congress passed the **Taft-Hartley Act** over President Truman's veto.  It outlawed the "closed" (all-union) shop, made unions liable for damages that resulted from jurisdictional disputes among themselves, and required union leaders to take a noncommunist oath.  Taft-Hartley was just one of several obstacles that slowed the growth of organized labor in the years following WWII.

The CIO's "**Operation Dixie**," aimed at unionizing southern textile workers and steelworkers, failed in 1948 to overcome lingering fears of racial mixing.

Congress passed the **Employment Act** in **1946** to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power.  It also created a 3-member**Council of Economic Advisers** to provide the president with the data and the recommendations to make that policy a reality.

The **Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944**, better known as the **GI Bill of Rights** or the**GI Bill**, made generous provisions for sending the former soldiers to school.  By raising educational levels and stimulating the construction industry, the GI Bill powerfully nurtured the long-lived economic expansion that took hold in the late 1940s.

**The Long Economic Boom, 1950-1970**

In the 1950s, the American **economy** entered a twenty-year period of tremendous **growth**.  During the 1950s and 1960s, national income nearly doubled, giving Americans about 40% of the planet's wealth.  The post-World War II era transformed the lives of a majority of citizens and molded the agenda of politics and society for at least two generations.  Prosperity underwrote social mobility; it paved the war for the success of the civil rights movement; it funded new welfare programs; and it gave Americans the confidence to exercise unprecedented international leadership in the Cold War era.

The size of the **middle class** doubled from pre-Great Depression days, including 60% of the population by the mid 1950s.

The majority of new jobs created in the postwar era went to **women**, as the service sector of the economy dramatically outgrew the old industrial and manufacturing sectors.

**The Roots of Postwar Economy**

The economic upturn of 1950 was fueled by massive appropriations for the Korean War and defense spending.  The **military budget** helped jumpstart high-technology industries such as aerospace, plastics, and electronics.  **Cheap energy** also fueled the economic boom.  American and European companies controlled the flow of abundant **petroleum** from the expanses of the Middle East, and they kept prices low.

**Gains in productivity** were enhanced the rising educational level for the work force.  By 1970, nearly 90% of the school-age population was enrolled in educational institutions.

The work force shifted out of agriculture, which was achieving higher productivity gains as a result of new, more efficient farming equipment.

**The Smiling Sunbelt**

In the 30 years after WWII, an average of 30 million people changed residence every year.  Families especially felt the strain, as distance divided them.

The "**Sunbelt**", a 15-state area stretching from Virginia through Florida and Texas to Arizona and California, increased it population at a rate nearly double than that of the old industrial zones of the Northeast (the "**Frostbelt**").  In the 1950s, California alone accounted for 1/5 of the nation's population.  The modern pioneers came in search of jobs, better climate, and lower taxes.  The large amount of federal dollars being given to the Sunbelt states accounted for much of the Sunbelt's prosperity.  The industry region of the Ohio Valley (the "**Rustbelt**") was especially hit hard as a result of the loss in funds and population.

**The Rush to the Suburbs**

In all regions, America's modern white migrants moved from the city to the new suburbs.  The **Federal Housing Administration** (**FHA**) and **Veterans Administration** (**VA**) made home-loan guarantees, making it more economically attractive to own a home in the suburbs rather than to rent an apartment in the city.

"**White flight**" to the suburbs and the migration of blacks from the South left the inner cities, especially those in the Northeast and Midwest, to become**poverty**-stricken.  The FHA often refused blacks home mortgages for private home purchases, thus limiting black mobility out of the inner cities.

**The Postwar Baby Boom**

In the decade and a half after 1945, the **birth rate** in the United States exploded as the "**baby boom**" took place.  More than 50 million babies were born by the end of the 1950s.  By 1973, the birth rates had dropped below the point necessary to maintain existing population figures.

**Truman:  The "Gutty" Man from Missouri**

The first president without a college education in many years, President Harry S Truman was known as "average man's average man."  He had down-home authenticity, few pretensions, rock-solid probity, and the political ability called "moxie" - the ability to face difficulty with courage.

**Yalta:  Bargain or Betrayal?**

**February 1945**, the **Big Three** (Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin) met in **Yalta** to discuss the war's end.  Final plans were laid for smashing the German lines and shackling the beaten Axis enemy.  Stalin agreed that **Poland**, with revised boundaries, should have a representative government based on free elections-a pledge he soon broke.  **Bulgaria** and **Romania** were likewise to have free elections-a pledge also broken.  The Big Three also announced plans for fashioning a new international peacekeeping organization-the **United Nations**.

The most controversial decision concerned the **Far East**.  With the atomic bomb not yet tested, Washington analysts expected high American casualties in the assault on **Japan**.  Roosevelt felt that Stalin should enter the Asian war, pin down Japanese troops in Manchuria and Korea, and lighten American losses.  But with Soviet casualties already extremely high, Stalin needed incentive to join in the Far East.  Stalin agreed to attack Japan within 3 months after the collapse of Germany.  In return, the Soviets were promised the southern half of Sakhalin Island, lost by Russia to Japan in 1905, and Japan's Kurile Islands.  The Soviet Union was also granted control over the railroads of China's Manchuria and special privileges in the two key seaports of that area, **Dairen** and **Port Arthur**.  These concessions gave Stalin control over vital industrial centers of America's weakening Chinese ally.

**The United States and the Soviet Union**

The United States terminated vital lend lease aid to a battered USSR in 1945 and ignored Moscow's plea for a $6 billion reconstruction loan-while approving a similar loan of $3.75 billion to Britain in 1946.

Different visions of the postwar world separated the two superpowers.  Stalin aimed above all to guarantee the security of the Soviet Union.  He made it clear from the outset of the war that he was determined to have friendly governments along the Soviet western border.  By maintaining a **Soviet sphere of influence**in Eastern and Central Europe, the USSR could protect itself and consolidate its revolutionary base as the world's leading communist country.

These spheres of influence contradicted President FDR's Wilsonian dream of an "**open world**," decolonized, demilitarized, and democratized.

Unaccustomed to their great-power roles, the Soviet Union and the United States provoked each other into a tense, 40-year standoff known as the **Cold War**.

**Shaping the Postwar World**

In **1944**, the **Western Allies** met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire and established the **International Monetary Fund** (**IMF**) to encourage world trade by regulating currency exchange rates.  They also founded the **International Bank for Reconstruction and Development** (**World Bank**) to promote economic growth in war-ravaged and underdeveloped areas.  Unlike after WWI, the United States took the lead in creating the important international bodies and supplied most of their funding after WWII.  The Soviets declined to participate.

The **United Nations Conference** opened on **April 25, 1945**.  Meeting at the San Francisco War Memorial Opera House, representatives from 50 nations made the **United Nations charter**.  It included the **Security Council**, dominated by the **Big** **Five** **powers** (the **United States**, **Britain**, the **USSR**,**France**, and **China**), each of whom had the right of veto, and the **Assembly**, which could be controlled by smaller countries.  The Senate overwhelmingly passed the document on July 28, 1945.

Through such arms as the **UNESCO** (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization), **FAO** (Food and Agricultural Organization), and**WHO** (World Health Organization), the U.N. brought benefits to people around the world.

In **1946**, Bernard Baruch called for a U.N. **agency**, free from the great-power veto, with **worldwide authority** over **atomic energy**, weapons, and research.  The plan quickly fell apart as neither the United States nor the Soviet Union wanted to give up their nuclear weapons.

**The Problem of Germany**

At **Nuremberg**, **Germany** from **1945-1946**, **Nazi** **leaders** were tried and punished for **war** **crimes**.  Punishments included hangings and long jail times.

Beyond the **Nuremberg Trials**, the Allies could agree little about postwar Germany.  At first, Americans wanted to dismantle German factories and reduce the country to nothing.  The Soviets, denied of American economic assistance, were determined to rebuild their nation through reparations from Germany.  Eventually, Americans realized that a flourishing German economy was indispensable to the recovery of Europe.  The Soviets refused to realize this.

At the end of the war, **Austria** and **Germany** had been divided into **4** **military** **occupation** **zones**, each assigned to one of the Big Four powers (**France**, **Britain**, **America**, and the **USSR**).

As the USSR spread communism to its Eastern zone in Germany and the Western Allies promoted the idea of a reunited Germany, Germany became divided.  **West Germany** eventually became an independent country, and **East Germany** became bound the Soviet Union as an independent "satellite" state, shutoff from the Western world by the "**iron curtain**" of the Soviet Union.

Berlin, still occupied by the Four Big powers, was completely surrounded by the Soviet Occupation Zone.  In **1948**, following controversies over German currency reform and four-power control, the Soviet Union attempted to starve the Allies out of Berlin by cutting off all rail and highway access to the city.  In **May 1949**, after America had flown in many supplies, the **blockade** was lifted.

In **1949**, the **governments** of **East** and **West** **Germany** were established.

**Crystallizing the War**

In **1946**, Stalin, seeking oil concessions, broke an agreement to remove his troops from **Iran's** northernmost province.  He used the troops to aid a rebel movement.  When Truman protested, Stalin backed down.

In **1947**, George F. Kennan formulated the "**containment doctrine**."  This concept stated that Russia, whether tsarist or communist, was relentlessly expansionary.  Kennan argued that the Soviet Union was also cautious, and the flow of Soviet power could be stemmed by firm and vigilant**containment**.

President Truman embraced the policy in 1947 when he stated that Britain could no longer bear the financial and military burden of defending Greece against communist pressures.  If Greece fell, Turkey and the rest of the eastern Mediterranean would collapse to the Soviet Union.

On **March 12, 1947**, President Truman came before Congress and requested support for the **Truman Doctrine**.  He declared that it must be the policy of the United States to aid any country that was resisting communist aggression.

In **1947**, France, Italy, and Germany were all suffering from the hunger and economic chaos caused in that year.  Secretary of State George C. Marshallinvited the Europeans to get together and work out a **joint plan** for their economic recovery.  If they did so, then the United States would provide substantial financial assistance.  Marshall offered the same aid to the Soviet Union and its allies, but the Soviets refused it.  Although quite expensive, legislators passed the plan after realizing that the United States had to get Europe back on its feet.  Within a few years, Europe's economy was flourishing.  The **Marshall Plan** led to the eventual creation of the **European Community**(**EC**).

Access to **Middle** **Eastern** **oil** was crucial to the European recovery program and to the health of the U.S. economy.  Despite threats from the Arab nations to cut off the supply of oil, President Truman officially recognized the state of **Israel** on **May 14, 1948**.

**America Begins to Rearm**

The **Cold War**, the struggle to contain Soviet communism, was not a war, yet it was not a peace.

In **1947**, Congress passed the **National Security Act**, creating the **Department of Defense**.  The department was headed by a new cabinet officer, the**secretary of defense**.  Under the secretary were the civilian secretaries of the navy, the army, and the **air force**.  The uniformed heads of each service were brought together as the **Joint Chiefs of Staff**.

The National Security Act also established 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.

In **1948**, the United States joined the European pact, called the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (**NATO**).  American participation strengthened the policy of containing the Soviet Union and provided a framework for the reintegration of Germany into the European family.  The pact pledged each signed nation to regard an attack on one as an attack on all.  The Senate passed the treaty on July 21, 1949.

The NATO pact marked a dramatic departure from American diplomatic convention, a gigantic boost for European unification, and a significant step in the militarization of the Cold War.

**Reconstruction and Revolution in Asia**

General Douglas MacArthur took control of the democratization of Japan.  The Japanese people cooperated to an astonishing degree; they saw that good behavior and the adoption of democracy would speed the end of the occupation.  In **1946**, a **MacArthur-dictated constitution** was adopted.  It renounced militarism and introduced western-style democratic government.

From 1946-1948, top Japanese "war criminals" were tried in Tokyo.

Although there was much success in Japan, China was another story.  In late **1949**, the Chinese **Nationalist** government of Generalissimo Jiang Jieshiwas forced to flee the country to the island of **Formosa** (**Taiwan**) when the **communists**, led by Mao Zedong, swept over the country.  The collapse of Nationalist China was a depressing loss for America and its allies in the Cold War as ¼ of the world's population fell to communism.

In **September** **1949**, the **Soviet** **Union** exploded its first **atomic** **bomb**, 3 years before experts thought possible.  To stay one step ahead, Truman ordered the development of the **H-bomb** (**Hydrogen Bomb**).  The first H-bomb was exploded in **1952**.  The Soviets exploded their first H-bomb in **1953**, and the nuclear arms race entered a dangerously competitive cycle.

**Feeling Out Alleged Communists**

In **1947**, President Truman launched the **Loyalty Review Board** to investigate the possibility of communist spies in the government.

In **1949**, 11 communists were sent to prison for violating the **Smith Act of 1940** (first peacetime antisedition law since 1798) in advocating the overthrow of the American government.  The ruling was upheld in ***Dennis v. United States*** (**1951**).

In **1938**, the House of Representatives established the **Committee on Un-American Activities** (**HUAC**) to investigate "subversion."  In **1948**, Congressman Richard M. Nixon led the hunt for and eventual conviction of Alger Hiss, a prominent ex-New Dealer and a distinguished member of the "eastern establishment."  Americans began to join in on the hunt for communist spies of who were thought to riddle America.

In **1950**, Truman vetoed the **McCarran Internal Security Bill**, which authorized the president to arrest and detain suspicious people during an "internal security emergency."  Congress overrode Truman's veto and passed the bill.

In **1951**, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were convicted and sentenced to death for stealing American atomic bomb plans and selling them to the Soviet Union.  They were the only people in history to be sentenced to death for espionage.

**Democratic Divisions in 1948**

In **1948**, the **Republicans** chose Thomas E. Dewey to run for president.  After war hero Dwight D. Eisenhower chose not to run for the presidency, the**Democrats** chose Truman.   Truman's nomination split the Democratic Party.  **Southern** **Democrats** met and nominated Governor J. Strom Thurmond.  The new Progressive party nominated Henry A. Wallace.  Expected to lose, but not ready to give up, Truman traveled the country, giving energetic speeches.  On Election Day, **Truman**, although not winning the popular vote, beat Dewey and was **reelected** **as president**.  Truman's victory came from the votes of farmers, workers, and blacks.

President Truman called for a "**bold new program**" ("**Point Four**").  The plan was to lend U.S. money and technical aid to underdeveloped lands to help them help themselves.  He wanted to spend millions to keep underprivileged people from becoming communists.

At home, Truman outlined a "**Fair Deal**" program in **1949**.  It called for improved housing, full employment, a higher minimum wage, better farm price supports, new TVAs, and an extension of Social Security.  The only major successes came in raising the minimum wage, providing for public housing in the **Housing Act of 1949**, and extending old-age insurance to many more beneficiaries in the **Social Security Act of 1950**.

**The Korean Volcano Erupts (1950)**

When Japan collapsed in 1945, **Korea** had been divided up into two sections:  the Soviets controlled the north above the **38th parallel** and the United States controlled south of that line.

On **June 25, 1950**, the North Korean army invaded South Korea.  President Truman's National Security Council had recommended **NSC-68**, calling for the quadrupling of the United States' defense spending.  Truman ordered a massive military buildup, well beyond what was necessary for the **Korean War**.

**NSC-68** was a **key** **document** of the Cold War because it not only marked a major step in the militarization of American foreign policy, but it reflected the sense of almost limitless possibility that encompassed postwar American society.

On **June 25, 1950**, President Truman obtained from the **United Nations Security Council** a unanimous condemnation of **North Korea**as an**aggressor**.  (The Soviet Union was not present at the meeting.)  Without Congress's approval, Truman ordered American air and naval units to be sent to support South Korea.

**The Military Seesaw in Korea**

On September 15, 1950, General MacArthur succeeded in pushing the North Koreans past the **38th parallel**.  On **November** **1950**, though, hordes of**communist** **Chinese** "**volunteers**" attacked the U.N. forces, pushing them back to the 38th parallel.

Due to General MacArthur's insubordination and disagreement with the Joint Chiefs of Staff about increasing the size of the war, President Truman was forced to remove MacArthur from command on **April 11, 1951**.

In July 1951, truce discussions dragged out over the issue of prisoner exchange.

Chapter 38

The Eisenhower Era

1952-1960

**The Advent of Eisenhower**

Lacking public support for Truman, Democrats nominated Adlai E. Stevenson to run for the presidency in the **election of 1952**.  Republicans choseGeneral Dwight D. Eisenhower.  Richard M. Nixon was chosen for vice-president to satisfy the anticommunist wing of the Republican Party.

During the presidential campaign, reports of Nixon secretly tapping government funds arose.  After Eisenhower considered dropping Nixon from the ballot, Nixon went on television and stated his apologies in the "**Checkers speech**"-this saved his place on the ballot.

The new technology of black-and-white television changed political campaigning.  Television often over-simplified the complicated issues of the time.

Dwight Eisenhower **won** the election of 1952 by a large majority.

**"Ike" Takes Command**

True to his campaign promise, President Eisenhower attempted to end the Korean War.  In **July 1953**, after Eisenhower threatened to use nuclear weapons, an **armistice** was signed, ending the Korean War.  Despite the Korean War, Korea remained divided at the 38th Parallel.

Eisenhower's leadership style of sincerity, fairness, and optimism helped to comfort the nation after the war.

**The Rise and Fall of Joseph McCarthy**

In February 1950, Republican Senator Joseph R. McCarthy made a speech accusing Secretary of State Dean Acheson of knowingly employing 205 Communist party members.  Even though the accusations later proved to be false, McCarthy gained the support of the public.  With the Republican victory in the election of 1952, his rhetoric became bolder as his accusations of communism grew.

Though McCarthy was not the first red-hunter, he was the most ruthless, doing the most damage to American traditions of fair play and free speech.

In **1954**, McCarthy went too far and attacked the U.S. Army.  Just a few months later, he was condemned by the Senate for "conduct unbecoming a member."

**Desegregating the South**

All aspects of life of African Americans in the South were governed by the Jim Crow laws.  Blacks dealt with an array of separate social arrangements that kept them insulated from whites, economically inferior, and politically powerless.  Gunnar Myrdal exposed the contradiction between America's professed belief that all men are created equal and its terrible treatment of black citizens in his book ***An American Dilemma*** (**1944**).

World War II had generated a new militancy and restlessness among many members of the black community.  In 1944, the Supreme Court ruled the "white primary" unconstitutional, undermining the status of the Democratic Party in the South as a white person's club.

In the Supreme Court case of ***Sweatt v. Painter***(**1950**), the Court ruled that separate professional schools for blacks failed to meet the test of equality.

In **December 1955**, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white person on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama.  Her arrest sparked a yearlong black boycott of the city busses and served notice throughout the South that blacks would no longer submit meekly to the absurdities and indignities of segregation.

**Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution**

Hearing of the lynching of black war veterans in **1946**, President Harry S Truman commissioned a report titled "**To Secure These Rights**."  Truman**ended segregation** in **federal civil service** and order "equality of treatment and opportunity" in the **armed forces** in **1948**.

When Congress and new President Eisenhower ignored the racial issues, Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren stepped up to confront important social issues-especially civil rights for African Americans.

In the case ***Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*** (**1954**), the Supreme Court ruled that segregation in public schools was unequal and thus unconstitutional.  The decision reversed the previous ruling in ***Plessy v. Ferguson***(**1896**).

States in the Deep South resisted the ruling, and more than 100 senators and congressman signed the "**Declaration of Constitutional Principles**" in**1956**, pledging their unyielding resistance to desegregation.

**Crisis at Little Rock**

President Eisenhower was little inclined toward promoting integration.  He shied away from upsetting "the customs and convictions of at least two generations of Americans."  In **September 1957**, Orval Faubus, the governor of Arkansas mobilized the National Guard to prevent nine black students from enrolling in Little Rock's Central High School.  Confronted with a direct challenge to federal authority, Eisenhower sent troops to escort the children to their classes.

In **1957**, Congress passed the first **Civil Rights Act** since Reconstruction Days.  It set up a permanent **Civil Rights Commission** to investigate violations of civil rights and authorized federal injunctions to protect voting rights.

Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. formed the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** (**SCLC**) in **1957**.  It aimed to mobilize the vast power of the black churches on behalf of black rights.

On **February 1, 1960**, 4 black college students in **Greensboro, North Carolina** demanded service at a whites-only lunch counter.  Within a week, the sit-in reached 1,000 students, spreading a wave of wade-ins, lie-ins, and pray-ins across the South demanding equal rights.  In April 1960, southern black students formed the **Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee** (**SNCC**) to give more focus and force to their efforts.

**Eisenhower Republicanism at Home**

When dealing with people, President Eisenhower was liberal, but when dealing with the economy and the government, he was conservative.  He strived to balance the federal budget and to guard America from socialism.  True to his small government philosophy, Eisenhower supported the transfer of control over offshore oil fields from the federal government to the states.

In **1954**, giving in to the Mexican government's worries that **illegal Mexican immigration** to the United States would undercut the bracero program of legally imported farmworkers, President Eisenhower rounded up a million illegal immigrants in **Operation Wetback**.

Eisenhower sought to cancel the tribal preservation policies of the "Indian New Deal," in place since 1934.  He wanted to terminate the tribes as legal entities and to revert to the assimilationist goals of the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887.  The plan was dropped in **1961** after most tribes refused to be terminated.

Eisenhower knew that he could not cancel all of the programs created in the New Deal and Fair Deal, because of the lack of public support.  He actually supported the **Interstate Highway Act of 1956**, which created countless jobs and sped the suburbanization of America as 42,000 miles of highways were built.

Eisenhower only managed to balance the budget 3 times while in office, and in **1959**, he incurred the biggest **peacetime** **deficit** in the history of the United States.

**A New Look in Foreign Policy**

In **1954**, secretary of state John Foster Dulles proposed a plan in which Eisenhower would set aside the army and the navy to build up an air fleet of superbombers (called the **Strategic Air Command**, or **SAC**) equipped with nuclear bombs.  This would allow President Eisenhower to threaten countries such as the Soviet Union and China with nuclear weapons.

At the **Geneva summit conference in 1955**, President Eisenhower attempted to make peace with the new Soviet Union dictator, Nikita Khrushchev, following Stalin's death.  Peace negotiations were rejected.

**The Vietnam Nightmare**

In the early 1950s, nationalist movements had sought to throw the French out of Indochina.  The leaders of the Indochina countries, including Vietnam leader Ho Chi Minh, became increasingly communist as America became increasingly anticommunist.  In May **1954**, a French garrison was trapped in the fortress of **Dienbienphu** in northwestern Vietnam.  President Eisenhower decided not to intervene, wary of another war right after Korea.  Dienbienphu fell to the nationalists and the conference at Geneva halted Vietnam at the **17th parallel**.  The pro-Western government in the south, led byNgo Dinh Diem, was entrenched at **Saigon** as Vietnam-wide elections, which were promised by Ho Chi Minh, were never held.  President Eisenhower promised economic and military aid to the Diem regime of the south.

**A False Lull in Europe**

In **1955**, **West Germany** was let into **NATO**.  Also in **1955**, the Eastern European countries and the Soviets signed the **Warsaw Pact**, creating a red military counterweight to the newly-bolstered NATO forces in the West.  In May 1955, the Soviets ended the occupation of Austria.  In 1956, Hungary rose up against the Soviets attempting to win their independence.  When their request for aid from the United States was denied, they were slaughtered by the Soviet forces.  America's nuclear weapon was too big of a weapon to use on such a relatively small crisis.

**Menaces in the Middle East**

In **1953**, in an effort to secure Iranian oil for Western countries, the CIA engineered a coup that installed Mohammed Reza Pahlevi as the dictator of **Iran**.

President Nasser of **Egypt** was seeking funds to build a dam on the Nile River.  After associating with the communists, secretary of state Dulles pulled back U.S. monetary aid for Egypt.  As a result, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, which was owned by the French and British.  In October of **1956**, the **Suez Crisis** ensued as the French and British launched an assault on Egypt.  The two countries were forced to withdraw their troops as America refused to release emergency supplies of oil to them.

In **1957**, Congress proclaimed the **Eisenhower Doctrine**, pledging U.S. military and economic aid to Middle Eastern nations threatened by communist aggression.

In **1960**, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran, and Venezuela joined together to form the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries** (**OPEC**).

**Round Two for Ike**

President Eisenhower was reelected in the **election of 1956** as he beat his Democratic opponent, Adlai Stevenson.

In **1959**, a **drastic labor-reform bill** grew out of recurrent strikes in important industries and corruption in unions.  The **Teamsters Union** leader, "Dave" Beck was sentenced to prison for embezzlement.  When his union replaced him with James R. Hoffa, the AF of L-CIO expelled the Teamsters.  Hoffa was later jailed for jury tampering.

In **1959**, President Eisenhower passed the **Landrum-Griffin Act**.  It was designed to bring labor leaders to book for financial shenanigans and to prevent bullying tactics.

**The Race with the Soviets into Space**

On **October 4, 1957**, the Soviets launched the ***Sputnik I***satellite into space.  In November, they launched the satellite ***Sputnik II***, carrying a dog.  The two satellites gave credibility to the Soviet claims that superior industrial production lay through communism.

In response, President Eisenhower established the **National Aeronautics and Space Administration** (**NASA**).

As a result of the new technological advances in the Soviet Union, it was thought that the educational system of the Soviet Union was better than the United States'; a move to improve the American education system was taken.  In **1958**, the **National Defense and Education Act** (**NDEA**) authorized $887 million in loans to needy college students and in grants for the improvement of teaching sciences and languages.

**The Continuing Cold War**

In March and October 1958, the Soviet Union and the United States, respectively, proclaimed a suspension of nuclear testing.  In **July** **1958**, **Lebanon**called for aid under the Eisenhower Doctrine as communism threatened to engulf the country.  In **1959**, Soviet dictator Khrushchev appeared before the U.N. General Assembly and called for complete disarmament.  In **1960**, an American **U-2 spy** **plane** was shot down in Russia, causing feelings of a possibly peaceful resolution to subside.

**Cuba's Castroism Spells Communism**

Latin Americans began to show dissent towards America as the United States seemed to neglect Latin America's economic needs for favor of Europe's.  They also despised constant American intervention - the CIA directed a coup in 1954 that overthrew a leftist government in Guatemala.

Fidel Castro led a coup that overthrew the America-supported government of **Cuba** in **1959**.  Annoyed with Castro's anti-American attitude and Castro seizing valuable American properties in Cuba, the United States cut off the heavy U.S. imports of Cuban sugar.

Cuba's left-wing dictatorship quickly had the possibility to become a **military satellite** for the Soviet Union.  In August **1960**, Congress authorized $500 million to prevent communism from spreading in Latin America.

**Kennedy Challenges Nixon for the Presidency**

The Republicans nominated Richard Nixon to run for president and Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. for vice president in the election of **1960**.  The Democrats nominated John F. Kennedy to run for president and Lyndon B. Johnson for vice president.

**The Presidential Issues of 1960**

John F. Kennedy's **Catholicism** aroused misgivings in the Protestant, Bible Belt South.

Kennedy charged that the Soviets, with their nuclear bombs and the *Sputniks*, had gained on America in prestige and power.  Nixon was forced to defend the dying administration and claim that America's prestige had not slipped.

Television played a key role in the presidential election as Kennedy's personal appeal attracted many.  **Kennedy** **won** the election of 1961, gaining support in the large industrial centers where he had strong support from workers, Catholics, and African Americans.

**An Old General Fades Away**

America was prosperous during the Eisenhower years.  **Alaska** and **Hawaii** became states in **1959**.  As a Republican president, Eisenhower had further woven the reforms of the Democratic New Deal and Fair Deal into the fabric of national life.

**Changing Economic Patterns**

The invention of the transistor in 1948 sparked a revolution in electronics, especially **computers**.  Computer giant International Business Machines (**IBM**) grew tremendously.

**Aerospace industries** also grew in the 1950s, thanks to Eisenhower's SAC and to an expanding passenger airline business.

In **1956**, the number of "**white-collar**" (no manual labor) workers exceeded the number of "**blue-collar**" (manual labor) workers.  Following suit, union memberships began to steadily decline.

The new white-collar employment opened special opportunities for women.  The baby boom during the years after World War II caused the role of women to revert to the typical role of a mother and wife.  But the majority of the clerical and service work jobs created after 1950 were filled by women.  Women's new dual role as both workers and homemakers raised urgent questions about family life and about traditional definitions of gender differences.

Feminist Betty Friedan published in **1963** ***The Feminine Mystique***, helping to launch the modern women's movement.  Friedan spoke to many educated women who supported her indictment of the boredom of a housewife.

**Consumer Culture in the Fifties**

The innovations of the credit card, fast-food, and new forms of recreation were forerunners of an emerging lifestyle of leisure and affluence.  In 1946, only 6 TV stations were broadcasting; by 1956, there were 146.  "**Televangelists**" like Baptist Billy Graham, and Pentecostal Holiness speaker Oral Roberts, and Roman Catholic Fulton J. Sheen took to the television airwaves to spread Christianity.

As the population moved west, **sports** teams also moved west.  Popular **music** was transformed during the 1950s.  Elvis Pressley created the new style known as **rock and roll**.

Traditionalists were repelled by Presley as well as many of the new social movements during the 1950s.  Many critics blamed the implications of "societal deterioration" to the consumerist lifestyle.

**The Life of the Mind in Postwar America**

Prewar realist, Ernest Hemingway continued to write as he authored ***The Old Man and the Sea*** (**1952**).  John Steinbeck, another prewar writer, persisted in graphic portrayals of American society.  Over time, realistic writing fell from favor and authors tended to write about the war in fantastic prose.  Joseph Heller's ***Catch-22*** (**1961**) dealt with the improbably antics and anguish of American airmen in the wartime Mediterranean.

The dilemmas created by the new mobility and affluence of American life were explored by John Updike and John Cheever.  Louis Auchincloss wrote about upper-class New-Yorkers.  Gore Vidal wrote a series of intriguing historical novels.

**Poetry** and **playwrights** also flourished during the postwar era.  Books by **black** **authors** made the best-seller lists.  Led by William Faulkner, the South boasted a literary renaissance.  Especially bountiful was the harvest of books by Jewish novelists.

Chapter 39

The Stormy Sixties

1960-1968

**Kennedy's "New Frontier" Spirit**President Kennedy, the youngest president to take office, assembled one of the youngest cabinets, including his brother Robert Kennedy, the Attorney General, who planned to reform the priorities of the FBI.  Kennedy's new challenge of a "**New Frontier**" quickened patriotic pulses.  He proposed the**Peace Corps**, an army of idealistic and mostly youthful volunteers to bring American skills to underdeveloped countries.

**The New Frontier at Home**

Southern Democrats and Republicans despised the president's New Frontier plan.  Kennedy had campaigned on the theme of **revitalizing the economy** after the recessions of the Eisenhower years.  To do this, the president tried to curb **inflation**.  In **1962**, he negotiated a noninflationary wage agreement with the **steel industry**.  When the steel industry announced significant price increases, promoting inflation, President Kennedy erupted in wrath, causing the industry to lower its prices.  Kennedy rejected the advice of those who wished greater government spending and instead chose to stimulate the economy by **cutting taxes** and putting **more** **money** directly into **private hands**.  Kennedy also proposed a multibillion-dollar plan to land an American on the moon.

**Rumblings in Europe**

President Kennedy met with Soviet leader Khrushchev at **Vienna** in **June 1961**.  After making numerous threats, the Soviets finally acted.  In **August 1961**, the Soviets began to construct the **Berlin Wall**, which was designed to stop the large population drain from East Germany to West Germany through Berlin.

**Western Europe** was prospering after the Marshall Plan aid and the growth of the **Common Market**, the free-trade area later called the European Union.  Focusing on Western Europe, Kennedy secured passage of the **Trade Expansion Act** in **1962**, authorizing tariff cuts of up to 50% to promote trade with Common Market countries.

American policymakers were dedicated to an economically and militarily united "Atlantic Community" with the United States the dominant partner.

President of **France**, Charles de Gaulle, was suspicious of American intentions in Europe and in 1963, vetoed British application for Common Market membership, fearing that the British "special relationship" with the United States would allow the U.S. to indirectly control European affairs.

**Foreign Flare-ups and "Flexible Response"**

In **1960**, the African **Congo** received its independence from Belgium and immediately exploded in violence.  The U.N. sent in troops while the United States paid for it.

In **1954**, **Laos** gained its independence from France and it, too erupted in violence.  Kennedy, avoiding sending troops, sought diplomatic means in the Geneva conference in **1962**, which imposed a **peace** on Laos.

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara pushed the strategy of "**flexible response**" - that is, developing an array of military options that could be precisely matched to the necessities of the crisis at hand.  President Kennedy increased spending on conventional military forces.

**Stepping into the Vietnam Quagmire**

The doctrine of "flexible response" provided a mechanism for a progressive, and possibly endless, stepping-up of the use of force (Vietnam).

In **1961**, Kennedy increased the number of "**military advisors**" in **South Vietnam** in order to help protect Diem from the communists long enough to allow him to enact basic social reforms favored by the Americans.

In **November 1963**, after being fed up with U.S. economic aid being embezzled by Diem, the Kennedy encouraged a successful coup and killed Diem.

**Cuban Confrontations**

In **1961**, President Kennedy extended the American hand of friendship to Latin America with the **Alliance for Progress**, called the Marshall Plan for Latin America.  A primary goal was to help the Latin American countries close the gap between the rich and the poor, and thus quiet communist agitation.  Results were disappointing as America had few positive impacts on Latin America's immense social problems.

On **April 17, 1961**, 1,200 exiles landed at**Cuba's Bay of Pigs**.  President Kennedy was against the *direct* intervention of the overthrow of Fidel Castro in Cuba, failing to provide air support for the exiles.  The invasion therefore failed as the exiles were forced to surrender.

The **Bay of Pigs blunder** pushed the Cuban leader further into the Soviet embrace.  In **October 1962**, it was discovered that the **Soviets** were secretly installing **nuclear** **missiles** in **Cuba**.  Kennedy rejected air force proposals for a bombing strike against the missile sites.  Instead, on **October 22, 1962**, he ordered a naval "**quarantine**" of Cuba and demanded immediate removal of the weapons.  For a **week**, Americans waited while Soviet ships approached the patrol line established by the U.S. Navy off the island of Cuba.  On **October 28**, Khrushchev agreed to a compromise in which he would pull the missiles out of Cuba.  The American government also agreed to end the quarantine and not invade the island.

In late **1963**, a **pact** **prohibiting trial nuclear explosions** in the atmosphere was signed.

In **June 1963**, President Kennedy gave a speech at American University, Washington, D.C. encouraging Americans to **abandon** the **negative** **views** of the Soviet Union.  He tried to lay the foundations for a realistic policy of **peaceful** **coexistence** with the Soviet Union.

**The Struggle for Civil Rights**

During his campaign, JFK had gained the black vote by stating that he would pass civil rights legislation.

In **1960**, groups of **Freedom Riders** spread out across the South to end segregation in facilities serving interstate bus passengers.  A white mob torched a Freedom Ride bus near Anniston, Alabama in May 1961.  When southern officials proved unwilling to stop the violence, federal marshals were dispatched to protect the freedom riders.

For the most part, the **Kennedy** **family** and the **King** **family** (Martin Luther King, Jr.) had a good relationship.

SNCC and other civil rights groups inaugurated a **Voter Education Project** to register the South's historically disfranchised blacks.

In the spring of **1963**, Martin Luther King, Jr. launched a campaign against discrimination in **Birmingham**, Alabama, the most segregated big city in America.  Civil rights marchers were repelled by police with attack dogs and high-pressure water hoses.  In shock, President Kennedy delivered a speech to the nation on June 11, 1963 in which he dedicated himself to finding a solution to the racial problems.

In **August 1963**, Martin Luther King, Jr. led 200,000 black and white demonstrators on a peaceful "**March on Washington**" in support of the proposed new civil rights legislation.

**The Killing of Kennedy**

On **November 22, 1963**, President Kennedy was shot and **killed** as he was riding in an open limousine in Dallas, Texas.  The alleged gunman was Lee Harvey Oswald.  Oswald was shot and killed by self-appointed avenger, Jack Ruby.  Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson was sworn into office, retaining most of Kennedy's cabinet.  Kennedy was acclaimed more for the ideals he had spoken and the spirit he had kindled for the goals he had achieved.

**The LBJ Brand on the Presidency**

After prodding from President Johnson, Congress passed the landmark **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, banning racial discrimination in most private facilities open to the public.  It strengthened the federal government's power to end segregation in schools and other public places.  It also created the federal**Equal Employment Opportunity Commission** (**EEOC**) to eliminate discrimination in hiring.  Part of the act's Title VII passed with sexual clause ensuring some special attention for women.  In **1965**, President Johnson issued an executive order requiring all federal contractors to take "**affirmative action**" against discrimination.

Johnson added proposals of his own to Kennedy's stalled tax bill to allow for a billion-dollar "War on Poverty."  He dubbed his domestic program the "**Great Society"** - a sweeping set of New Dealish economic and welfare measures aimed at transforming the American way of life.

**Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964**

The Democrats nominated Lyndon Johnson to run for president for the **election of 1964**.  The Republicans chose Senator Barry Goldwater.  Goldwater 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.

In **August 1964** in the **Gulf of Tonkin**, U.S. Navy ships had been cooperating with the South Vietnamese in raids along the coast of North Vietnam.  On**August 2th and August 4th**, two U.S. ships were allegedly fired upon.  Johnson called the attack "unprovoked" and moved to make political gains out of the incident.  He ordered a "limited" retaliatory air raid against the North Vietnamese bases.  He also used the event to spur congressional passage of the **Tonkin Gulf Resolution**; lawmakers virtually gave up their war-declaring powers and handed the president a blank check to use further force in Southeast Asia.  Lyndon Johnson overwhelmingly **won** the election of 1964.

**The Great Society Congress**

Congress passed a flood of legislation, comparable to output of the Hundred Days Congress.  Escalating the **War on Poverty**, Congress doubled the funding of the Office of Economic Opportunity to $2 billion.  Congress also created two new cabinet offices:  the **Department of Transportation** and the**Department of Housing and Urban Development** (**HUD**).  The **National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities** was designed to lift the level of American cultural life.

The Big Four legislative achievements that crowned LBJ's Great Society program were:  **aid to education**, **medical care for the elderly and poor**,**immigration reform**, and a **new voting rights bill**.  Johnson gave **educational aid** to **students**, not schools, avoiding the issue of separation of church and state.  In **1965** came **Medicare** for the elderly and **Medicaid** for the poor.  The **Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965** abolished the quota system that had been in place since 1921.  It also doubled the number of immigrants allowed to enter the country annually.  The sources of immigration shifted from Europe to Latin American and Asia.  Conservatives charged that the problem of poverty could not be fixed with money spent by the Great Society programs, yet the poverty rate did decline in the following decade.

**Battling for Black Rights**

The **Civil Rights Act of 1964** gave the federal government more power to enforce school-desegregation orders and to prohibit racial discrimination in all kinds of public accommodations and employment.

President Johnson realized the problem that few blacks were registered to vote.  The **24th Amendment**, passed in **1964**, abolished the poll tax in federal elections, yet blacks were still severely hampered from voting.  Congress passed the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, banning literacy tests and sending federal voter registers into several southern states.

**Black Power**

Days after the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was passed, a bloody riot erupted in **Watts**, a black ghetto in Los Angeles.  Blacks were enraged by police brutality and burned and looted their own neighborhoods for a week.  The **Watts explosion** marked increasing militant confrontation in the black struggle.  Malcolm X deepened the division among black leaders.  He was first inspired by the militant clack nationalists in the Nation of Islam.  He rallied black separatism and disapproved of the "blue-eyed white devils."  In **1965**, he was shot and killed by a rival Nation of Islam.

The violence or threat of violence increased as the **Black Panther** party emerged, openly carrying weapons in the streets of Oakland, California.  Just as the civil rights movement had achieved its greatest legal and political triumphs, more riots erupted.  **Black unemployment** was nearly double than for whites.

 On **April 4, 1968**, Martin Luther King, Jr. was shot and killed by a sniper in Memphis, Tennessee.  Black voter registration eventually increased, and by the late 1960s, several hundred blacks held elected office in the Old South.

**Combating Communism in Two Hemispheres**

In **April 1965**, President Johnson sent 25,000 troops to the **Dominican Republic** to restore order after a revolt against the military government started.  Johnson claimed, with shaky evidence, that the Dominican Republic was the target of a Castrolike coup.  He was widely condemned for his actions.

In **February 1965**, Viet Cong guerrillas attacked an American air base at **Pleiku**, **South Vietnam**, prompting Johnson to send retaliatory bomb raids and, for the first time, order attacking U.S. troops to land.  By the middle of **March 1965**, "**Operation Rolling Thunder**" was in full swing - regular full-scale bombing attacks against North Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese watched as their own war became more **Americanized**.  Corrupt and collapsible governments fell one after another in Saigon, yet American officials continued to talk of defending a faithful democratic ally.  Pro-war hawks argued that if the United Sates were to leave Vietnam, other nations would doubt America's word and crumble to communism.  By 1968, Johnson had put more than 500,000 troops in Southeast Asia, and the annual cost for the war was exceeding $30 billion.

**Vietnam Vexations**

Overcommitment in Southeast Asia tied America's hands elsewhere.
In **June 1967**, after numerous military threats presented by Egypt, **Israel** launched a pre-emptive attack on Egypt's airforce, starting the **Six-Day War**. Following the war, Israel gained the territories of the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank.  Arab Palestinians and their Arab allies complained about Israel's doing, but all to no avail.

**Antiwar demonstrations** increased significantly as more and more American soldiers died in the Vietnam War.  Protesters' sayings included, "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?"  Senator William Fulbright staged a series of televised hearings in 1966 and 1967 in which he convinced the public that it had been deceived about the causes and "winnability" of the war.

When Defense Secretary McNamara expressed discomfort about the war, he was quietly removed from office.

By early 1968, the war had become the longest and most unpopular foreign war in the nation's history.  The government failed to explain to the people what was supposed to be at stake in Vietnam.  Casualties, killed, and wounded had exceeded 100,000, and more bombs had been dropped in Vietnam than in World War II.

In **1967**, Johnson ordered the **CIA** to spy on domestic antiwar activists.  He also encouraged the **FBI** to turn its counterintelligence program, code-named "**Cointelpro**," against the peace movement.

**Vietnam Topples Johnson**

In **January 1968**, the Viet Cong attacked 27 key South Vietnamese cities, including Saigon.  The **Tet Offensive**ended in a military defeat for the VC, but it caused the American public to demand an immediate end to the war.  American military leaders responded to the attacks for a request of 200,000 more troops.  President Johnson himself now began to seriously doubt the wisdom of continuing to raise the stakes.

Eugene McCarthy and Robert F. Kennedy both entered the race for the 1968 Democratic presidential nomination.

On **March 31, 1968**, President Johnson issued an address to the nation stating that he would freeze American troop levels and gradually shift more responsibility to the South Vietnamese themselves.  Bombing would also be scaled down.  He also declared that he would not be a candidate for the presidency in 1968.

**The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968**

On **June 5, 1968**, the night of the California primary, Robert Kennedy was shot and **killed** by an Arab immigrant resentful of the candidate's pro-Israel views.  When the Democrats met in Chicago in August 1968, angry antiwar zealots, protesting outside the convention hall, violently clashed with police.

Hubert H. Humphrey, vice president of Johnson, won the Democratic nomination.

The Republicans nominated Richard Nixon for president and Spiro T. Agnew for vice president.  The Republican platform called for a victory in Vietnam and a strong anticrime policy.

The **American Independent party**, headed by George C. Wallace, entered the race and called for the continuation of segregation of blacks.

**Victory for Nixon**

Richard Nixon won the **election of 1968** as Humphrey was scorched by the LBJ brand.  Nixon did not win a single major city, attesting to the continuing urban strength of the Democrats, who also won about 95% of the black vote.

**The Obituary of Lyndon Johnson**

No president since Lincoln had done more for civil rights than LBJ.  By 1966, the Vietnam War brought dissent to Johnson, and as war costs sucked tax dollars, Great Society programs began to wither.  LBJ was persuaded by his advisors that an easy victory in Vietnam would be achieved by massive aerial bombing and large troop commitments.  His decision to not escalate the fighting offended the "hawks," and his refusal to back off altogether provoked the "doves."

**The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s**

Everywhere in 1960s America, a newly negative attitude toward all kinds of authority took hold.  Disillusioned by the discovery that American society was not free of racism, sexism, imperialism, and oppression, many young people lost their morals.

One of the first organized protests **against** established **authority** took place at the **University of California at Berkeley** in **1964**, in the **Free Speech Movement**.  Leader Mario Savio condemned the impersonal university "machine."  Angered by the war in Vietnam, some middle class sons and daughters became radical political rebels.

The 1960s also witnessed a "**sexual revolution**."  The introduction of the birth control pill made unwanted pregnancies easy to avoid.  By the 1960s, gay men and lesbians were increasingly emerging and demanding sexual tolerance.  The **Mattachine Society**, founded in 1951, was an advocate for**gay rights**.  Worries in the 1980s of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases finally slowed the sexual revolution.

**Students for a Democratic Society** (**SDS**), had, by the end of the 1960s, spawned an underground terrorist group called the **Weathermen**.

The upheavals of the 1960s could be largely attributed to the three *P*s:  the youthful population bulge, protest against racism and the Vietnam War, and the apparent permanence of prosperity.

Chapter 40

The Stalemated Seventies

1968-1980

**The Economy Stagnates in the 1970s**

Following the economic boom in America during the 1950s and 1960s, the economy of the 1970s was declining.  A large part of the decline was caused by more women and teens entering the works force; these groups typically were less skilled and made less money than males.  Deteriorating machinery and new regulations also hindered growth.  Former President Lyndon B. Johnson's lavish spending on the **Vietnam War** and on his **Great Society** also depleted the U.S. Treasury, giving citizens too much money and creating too great a demand for too few products.

As the United States lacked advancement, countries such as Japan and Germany leaped forward in the production of steel, automobiles, and consumer electronics.

**Nixon "Vietnamizes" the War**

President Nixon brought to the White House his broad knowledge and thoughtful expertise in foreign affairs.  He applied himself to putting America's foreign-policy in order.  President Nixon's announced policy, called "**Vietnamization**," was to withdraw the 540,000 U.S. troops in South Vietnam over an extended period.  The South Vietnamese, with American money, weapons, training, and advice, would then gradually take over the war.

The **Nixon Doctrine** proclaimed that the United States would honor its existing defense commitments but in the future, Asians and others would have to fight their own wars without the support of large numbers of American troops.

On November 3, 1969, Nixon delivered a televised speech to the "**silent majority**," who presumably supported the war; he hoped to gain supporters.

**Cambodianizing the Vietnam War**

For several years, the North Vietnamese and the VC had been using Cambodia as a springboard for troops, weapons, and supplies.  On **April 29, 1970**, President Nixon widened the war when he ordered American forces to join with the South Vietnamese in cleaning out the enemy in officially neutral**Cambodia**.  The United States fell into turmoil as protests turned violent.  Nixon withdrew the troops from Cambodia on **June 29, 1970**, although the bitterness between the "**hawks**" and the "**doves**" increased.

In **1971**, the **26th Amendment** was passed, lowering the voting age to 18.

In the spring of 1971, mass rallies and marches erupted again all over the country as antiwar sentiment grew.

**Nixon's Détente with Beijing (Peking) and Moscow**

The two great communist powers, the **Soviet Union**and **China**, were clashing bitterly over their rival interpretations of Marxism.  Nixon perceived that the Chinese-Soviet tension gave the United States an opportunity to play off one antagonist against the other and to enlist the aid of both in pressuring North Vietnam into peace.

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger reinforced Nixon's thinking.  In **1969**, Kissinger had begun meeting secretly with North Vietnamese officials in Paris to negotiate an end to the war in Vietnam.

In 1972, Nixon made a visit to China and paved the way for improved relations between the United States and Beijing.  In May 1972, Nixon traveled to Moscow, which was ready to deal.  Nixon's visits ushered in an era of **détente**, or relaxed tensions between the Soviet Union and China.  The **great grain deal of 1972** was a 3-year arrangement by which the United States agreed to sell the Soviets at least $750 million worth of wheat, corn, and other cereals.

More important steps were taken to stem the dangerous race of nuclear arms.  The first major achievement, an **anti-ballistic missile**(**AMB**) **treaty**, limited the U.S. and the Soviet Union to two clusters of defensive missiles.  The second significant pact, known as **SALT**(**Strategic Arms Limitation Talks**), froze the numbers of long-range nuclear missiles for 5 years.

**A New Team on the Supreme Bench**

Earl Warren was appointed as a Justice to the Supreme Court, making many controversial rulings-

***Griswold v. Connecticut*** (**1965**) struck down a state law that banned the use of contraceptives, even by married couples, creating a "right to privacy."

***Gideon v. Wainwright*** (**1963**) ruled that all criminals were entitled to legal counsel, even if they were unable to afford it.

***Escobedo***(**1964**) and ***Miranda*** (**1966**) ruled that those who were arrested had to the "right to remain silent."

***Engel v. Vitale*** (**1962**) and ***School District of Abington Township vs. Schempp*** (**1963**) led to the Supreme Court ruling against required prayers and having the Bible in public schools, basing the judgment on the First Amendment, which separated church and state.

***Reynolds vs. Sims*** (**1964**) ruled that the state legislatures would be required to be reapportioned according to population.

In an attempt to end the liberal rulings, President Nixon set Warren E. Burger to replace the retiring Earl Warren in **1969**.  With this a success, the Supreme Court had four new Nixon-appointed members by the end of 1971.

**Nixon on the Home Front**

Nixon expanded the Great Society programs by increasing funding for **Medicare**, **Medicaid**, and **Aid to Families with Dependent Children** (AFDC).  He also created the **Supplemental Security Income** (SSI), giving benefits to the poor aged, blind, and disabled.

Nixon's **Philadelphia Plan of 1969** required construction-trade unions working on the federal pay roll to establish "goals and timetables" for black employees.  This plan changed the definition of "**affirmative action**" to include preferable treatment on *groups*, not *individuals*; the Supreme Court's ruling on ***Griggs v. Duke Power Co.*** (**1971**) upheld this.  Whites protested to this decision, calling it "reverse discrimination."

The **Environmental Protection Agency** (**EPA**) and the **Occupational Health and Safety Administration** (**OHSA**) were created.

In **1962**, Rachel Carson boosted the environmental movement with her book ***Silent Spring***, which exposed the disastrous effects of pesticides.  By 1950, Los Angeles had an **Air Pollution Control Office**.

The **Clean Air Act of 1970** and the **Endangered Species Act of 1973** both aimed at protecting and preserving the environment.

Worried about **inflation**, Nixon 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.

**The Nixon Landslide of 1972**

In the spring of 1972, the North Vietnamese burst through the demilitarized zone separating the two Vietnams.  Nixon ordered massive bombing attacks on strategic centers, halting the North Vietnamese offensive.

Senator George McGovern won the 1972 Democratic nomination.  He based his campaign on pulling out of Vietnam in 90 days.  President Nixon, though, **won** the **election of 1972** in a landslide.

**Bombing North Vietnam to the Peace Table**

Nixon launched the heaviest assault of the war when he ordered a two-week bombing of North Vietnam in an attempt to force the North Vietnamese to the conference table.  It worked and on **January 23, 1973**, North Vietnamese negotiators agreed to a **cease-fire agreement**.  The shaky "peace" was in reality little more than a thinly disguised American retreat.

**Watergate Woes**

On **June 17, 1972**, five men working for the **Republican Committee for the Re-election of the President** were caught breaking into the Watergate Hotel and bugging rooms.

Following was a great scandal in which many prominent members of the president's administration resigned.  Lengthy hearings proceeded, headed by Senator Sam Erving.  John Dean III testified of all the corruption, illegal activities, and scandal.

**The Great Tape Controversy**

When conversations involving the Watergate scandal were discovered on **tapes**, President Nixon quickly refused to hand them over to Congress, despite denying any participation in the scandal.  In **1973**, Vice President Spiro Agnew was forced to resign due to tax evasion.  In accordance with the newly-passed **25th Amendment** (1967), Nixon submitted to Congress, for approval as the new vice president, Gerald Ford.

On October 20, 1973 ("**Saturday Night Massacre**"), Archibald Cox, the prosecutor of the Watergate scandal case who had issued a subpoena of the tapes, was fired.  Both the attorney general and deputy general resigned because they, themselves did not want to fire Cox.

**The Secret Bombing of Cambodia and the War Powers Act**

Despite federal assurances to the American public that **Cambodia**'s neutrality was being respected, it was discovered that secret bombing raids on North Vietnamese forces in Cambodia had taken place since March of 1969; this caused the public to question trust of the government.  Nixon ended the bombing in June 1973.

However, Cambodia was soon taken over by the cruel dictator Pol Pot, who later committed genocide of over 2 million people over a span of a few years.

In **November 1973**, Congress passed the **War Powers Act**, requiring the president to report all commitments of U.S. troops to foreign exchanges within 48 hours.  A new feeling of "**New Isolationism**" that discouraged U.S. troops in other countries began to take hold, yet Nixon stood strong.

**The Arab Oil Embargo and the Energy Crisis**

Following U.S. support of Israel during Israel's war against Syria and Egypt to regain territory lost during the **Six-Day War**, the Arab nations imposed an oil embargo, strictly limiting oil in the United States.  A **speed limit** of 55 MPH was imposed, the **oil pipeline** in **Alaska** was approved in **1974** despite environmentalists' cries, and other forms of energy were researched.

**OPEC** (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) lifted the embargo in **1974**, yet it then quadrupled the price of oil.

**The Unmaking of a President**

On **July 24, 1974**, the Supreme Court ruled that President Nixon had to submit all tapes to Congress.  Late in July 1974, the House approved its first article of **impeachment** for **obstruction of justice**.  On **August 5, 1974**, Nixon released the three tapes that held the most damaging information-the same three tapes that had been "missing."  On **August 8** of the same year, **Nixon** **resigned**, realizing that he would be convicted if impeached, and with resignation, he could at least keep the privileges of a president.

**The First Unelected President**

Gerald Ford became the first unelected president; his name had been submitted by Nixon as a vice-presidential candidate.  All other previous vice presidents that had ascended to presidency had at least been supported as running mates of the president that had been elected.

President Ford's popularity and respect sank when he issued a **full pardon of Nixon**, thus setting off accusations of a "buddy deal."

In **July 1975**, Ford signed the **Helsinki accords**, which recognized Soviet boundaries and helped to ease tensions between the two nations.

**Defeat in Vietnam**

Early in **1975**, the **North Vietnamese** made their full **invasion of South Vietnam**.  President Ford request aid for South Vietnam, but was rejected by Congress.  South Vietnam quickly fell.  The last of Americans were evacuated on **April 29, 1975**.

The United States had fought the North Vietnamese to a standstill and had then withdrawn its troops in 1973, leaving the South Vietnamese to fight their own war.  The estimated cost to America was $188 billion, with 56,000 dead and 300,000 wounded.  America had lost more than a war; it had lost face in the eyes of foreigners, lost its own self-esteem, lost confidence in its military power, and lost much of the economic strength that had made possible its global leadership after WWII.

**The Bicentennial Campaign and the Carter Victory**

In the election of **1976**, Democrat Jimmy Carter beat Republican Gerald Ford to win the presidency.  Carter promised to never lie to the American public.

In **1978**, President Carter convinced Congress to pass an $18 billion tax cut.  Despite this, the economy continued to tumble.

Although early in his presidency he was relatively popular, the popularity of President Carter soon dropped as world events took a turn for the worse.

**Carter's Humanitarian Diplomacy**

Carter championed for human rights, and in **Rhodesia** (known today as **Zimbabwe**) and **South Africa**, he championed for black rights.

On **September 17, 1978**, President Anwar Sadat of **Egypt** and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of **Israel** signed **peace accords** at Camp David.  Mediated by Carter after relations had strained, this was a great success.  Israel agreed to withdraw from territory gained in the 1967 war as long as Egypt respected Israel's territories.

In Africa, though, many communist revolutions were taking place; although not all were successful, the revolutions did cause disheartenment and spread fear.

President Carter pledged to return the **Panama Canal** to Panama by the year 2000 and resume full diplomatic relations with China in 1979.

**Carter Tackles the Ailing Economy**

**Inflation** had been steadily rising, and by **1979**, it was at **13%**.  Americans learned that they could no longer hide behind their ocean moats and live happily.

Carter diagnosed America's problems as stemming primarily from the nation's costly dependence on foreign oil.  He called for legislation to improve energy conservation, without much public support.

**Carter's Energy Woes**

In **1979**, **Iran's** shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, who had been installed by America in 1953 and had ruled Iran as a dictator, was overthrown and succeeded by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Iranian fundamentalists were very opposed Western customs, and because of this, Iran stopped exporting oil; OPEC also raised oil prices, thus causing another **oil crisis**.

In **July** **1979**, Carter retreated to Camp David and met with hundreds of advisors to contemplate a solution to America's problems.  On **July 15, 1979**, Carter **chastised** the **American** **people** for their obsession of **material** **woes** ("If it's cold, turn down the thermostat and put on a sweater."), stunning the nation.  A few days later, he fired four cabinet secretaries and tightened the circle around his advisors.

**Foreign Affairs and the Iranian Imbroglio**

In 1979, Carter signed the **SALT II agreements** with Soviet Premier **Leonid Brezhnev**, but the U.S. senate refused to ratify it.

On **November 4, 1979**, a group of anti-American Muslim militants stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took hostages, demanding that the U.S. return the exiled shah who had arrived in the U.S. two weeks earlier for cancer treatments.

On **December 27, 1979**, the Soviet Union invaded **Afghanistan**, which ended up turning into the Soviet Union's own Vietnam.  Because of the invasion of Afghanistan however, the Soviet Union posed a threat to America's precious oil supplies.  President Carter placed an embargo on the Soviet Union and boycotted the Olympic Games in Moscow.  He also proposed a "**Rapid Deployment Force**" that could quickly respond to crises anywhere in the world.

**The Iranian Hostage Humiliation**

During the **Iranian Hostage Crisis**, the American hostages languished in cruel captivity while news reports showed images of Iranian mobs burning the American flag and spitting on effigies of Uncle Sam.  Carter first tried **economic sanctions**to force the release of the hostages, but this failed.  He then tried a **commando** **rescue** **mission**, but that had to be aborted.  When two military aircraft collided, eight of the would-be rescuers were killed.

The stalemate hostage situation dragged on for most of Carter's term, and the hostages were never released until **January 20, 1981**-the inauguration day of Ronald Reagan.

Chapter 41

The Resurgence of Conservatism

1980-2000

**The Triumph of Conservatism**

President Jimmy Carter's administration appeared to be stumped and faltering when it was unable to control the rampant inflation or handle foreign affairs.  It also refused to remove hampering regulatory controls from major industries such as airlines.

Late in 1979, Edward Kennedy("Ted") declared his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for the **election of 1980**.  His popularity sputtered and died when the suspicious 1969 accident in which a young female passenger drowned arose.

As the Democrats ducked out, the Republicans, realizing that the average American was older and more mature than during the stormy sixties and was therefore more likely to favor the right, chose conservative and former actor Ronald Reagan, signaling the return of conservatism.  New groups that later spearheaded the "**new right**" **movement** included **Moral Majority** and other conservative Christian groups.

In **1974**, the Supreme Court ruled in ***Milliken v. Bradley*** that desegregation plans could not require students to move across school-district lines.  This reinforced the "**white flight**" that pitted the poorest whites and blacks against each other, often with explosively violent results.

**Affirmative action** was another burning issue, but some whites used this to argue "reverse discrimination."  In 1978, the Supreme Court ruled in***University of California v. Bakke*** that Allan Bakke had not been admitted into U.C. because the university preferred minority races only; the Court ordered the college to admit Bakke.  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.

**The Election of Ronald Reagan, 1980**

Ronald Reagan backed a political philosophy that condemned federal intervention in local affairs, favoritism for minorities, and the elitism of arrogant bureaucrats.  He drew on the ideas of the "**neoconservatives**"-supporting free-market capitalism, questioning liberal welfare programs and affirmative-action policies, and calling for reassertion of traditional values of individualism and the centrality of family.

Ronald Reagan won the **election of 1980**, beating Democratic president Jimmy Carter.

**The Regan Revolution**

The **Iranian's** released the **hostages** on Reagan's Inauguration Day, January 20, 1981, after 444 days of captivity.

Reagan assembled a conservative cabinet when he took office.  Much to the dismay of environmentalists, James Watt became the secretary of the interior.

A major goal of Reagan was to **reduce the size of the government** by **shrinking** the **federal budget** and **cutting taxes**.  He proposed a new federal budget that called for cuts of $35 billion, mostly in social programs like food stamps and federally-funded job-training centers.  On **March 6, 1981**, Reagan was **shot**.  12 days later, Reagan recovered and returned to work.

**The Battle of the Budget**

The second part of Reagan's economic program called for tremendous **tax cuts**, amounting to 25% across-the-board reductions over a period of 3 years.  In August 1981, Congress approved a set of tax reforms that lowered individual tax rates, reduced federal estate taxes, and created new tax-free saving plans for small investors.  With the combination of budgetary discipline and tax reduction, the "**supply-side**"**economics** would stimulate new investment, boost productivity, promote dramatic economic growth, and reduce the federal deficit.
The economy slipped into its deepest recession since the 1930s as unemployment rose and banks closed.  The anti-inflationary polices that caused the**recession of 1982** had actually been initiated by the Federal Reserve Board in 1979, during Carter's presidency.

For the first time in the 20th century, **income gaps** **widened** between the rich and the poor.  Some economists located the sources of the economic upturn in the massive **military expenditures**.  Reagan gave the Pentagon nearly $2 trillion in the 1980s.  He plunged the government into major deficit that made the New Deal look cheap.

**Reagan Renews the Cold War**

Reagan's **strategy** for dealing with **the Soviet Union** was simple:  by enormously expanding U.S. military capabilities, he could threaten the Soviets with an expensive new round in the arms race.  The American economy could better bear this new financial burden than could the Soviet system.  In March 1983, Reagan announced his intention to pursue a high-technology missile-defense system called the **Strategic Defense Initiative**(**SDI**), also known as **Star Wars**.  The plan called for orbiting battle satellites in space that could fire laser beams to vaporize intercontinental missile on liftoff.

In **1983**, a Korean passenger **airliner** was shot down when it flew into Soviet airspace.  By the end of 1983, all arms-control negotiations were broken, and the Cold War was intensified.

**Troubles Abroad**

In June **1982**, **Israel** invaded **Lebanon**, seeking to destroy the guerrilla bases from which Palestinian fighters attacked Israel.  Reagan sent peacekeeping troops, but after a suicide bomber killed 200 marines, he withdrew the force.  In **1979**, Reagan sent "military advisors" to **El Salvador** to prop up the pro-American government.  In **October 1983**, he dispatched a heavy-fire-power invasion force to the island of **Grenada**, where a military coup had killed the prime minister and brought Marxists to power.  Overrunning the island and ousting the insurgents, American troops demonstrated Reagan's determination to assert the dominance of the United States in the Caribbean.

**Round Two for Reagan**

Ronald Reagan overwhelmingly won the **election of 1984**, beating Democrat Walter Mondale and his woman vice presidential nominee, Geraldine Ferraro.

Foreign policy issues dominated Reagan's second term.  Mikhail Gorbachev became the chairman of the Soviet Communist party in March 1985.  Committed to radical reforms in the Soviet Union, he announced two policies, ***Glasnost*** and ***Perestroika***, aimed at ventilating the Soviet society by introducing free speech and a measure of liberty, and reviving the Soviet economy by adopting many of the free-market practices, respectively.  The two policies required the Soviet Union to reduce the size of its military and concentrate aid on the citizens.  This necessitated an end to the Cold War.  In**December 1985**, Reagan and Gorbachev signed the **IFN treaty**, banning all intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe.  The two leaders capped their friendship in May 1988 at a final summit in Moscow.

**The Iran-Contra Imbroglio**

Two foreign policy problems arose to Reagan:  the continuing captivity of a number of American hostages seized by Muslim extremist groups in battered Lebanon; and the continuing grip on power of the left-wing Sandinista government in Nicaragua.  **Money** from the payment for arms to the Iranians was**secretly diverted** to the **contras**, who fought the Sandinista government, although it violated a congressional ban on military aid to the Nicaraguan rebels.  In **November 1986**, news of the **secret dealings** broke and ignited a firestorm of controversy.  Reagan claimed he had no idea of the illicit activities.  **Criminal indictments** were brought against Oliver North, Admiral John Poindexter, and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger.  The **Iran-contra affair** cast a shadow over the Reagan record in foreign policy, tending to obscure the president's achievements in establishing a new relationship with the Soviets.

**Reagan's Economic Legacy**

Ronald Reagan had taken office vowing to stimulate the American economy by rolling back government regulations, lowering taxes, and balancing the budget.  Supply-side economic theory had promised that lower taxes would actually increase government revenue because they would stimulate the economy as a whole.  The combination of tax reduction and huge increases in military spending caused **$200 billion in annual deficits**.  The large deficits of the Reagan years assuredly constituted a great economic failure.  By appearing to make new social spending both practically and politically impossible for the foreseeable future, though, the **economic deficits** served their purpose.  They achieved Reagan's highest political objective:  the containment of the welfare state.

In the early 1990s, **median household income** actually declined.

**The Religious Right**

In **1979**, Reverend Jerry Falwell founded a political organization called the **Moral Majority**.  He preached with great success against sexual permissiveness, abortion, feminism, and the spread of gay rights.  Collecting millions of dollars and members, the organization became an aggressive political advocate of conservative causes.

**Conservatism in the Courts**

The Supreme Court had become Reagan's principal instrument in the "cultural wars."  By the time he had left office, Reagan had appointed **3 conservative-minded judges**, including Sandra Day O'Connor, the first women to become a Supreme Court Justice.  Reaganism rejected two icons of the liberal political culture:  **affirmative action** and **abortion**.

**Affirmative Action** - In two cases in **1989** (***Ward's Cove Packing v. Antonia*** and ***Martin v. Wilks***), the Court made it more difficult to prove that an employer practiced racial discrimination in hiring.

**Abortion** - In ***Roe v. Wade*** (**1973**), the Court had prohibited states from making laws that interfered with a woman's right to an abortion during the early months of pregnancy.  In ***Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*** (**1989**), the Supreme Court approved a Missouri law that imposed certain restrictions on abortion, signaling that a state could legislate in an area in which *Roe* had previously forbidden them to legislate.  In ***Planned Parenthood v. Casey*** (**1992**), the Court ruled that states could restrict access to abortion as long they did not place an "undue burden" on the woman.

**Referendum on Reagansim in 1988**

**Corruption** in the government gave Democrats political opportunities.  Signs of **economic trouble** seemed to open more political opportunities for Democrats as the "twin towers" of deficits-the federal budget deficit and international trade deficit-continued to mount.  On "**Black Monday**," **October 19, 1987**, the stock market plunged 508 points-the largest one-day decline in history.

The Republicans nominated George Bush for the **election of 1988**.  Black candidate Jesse Jackson, a rousing speech-maker who hoped to forge a "rainbow collation" of minorities and the disadvantaged, campaigned energetically, but the Democrats chose Michael Dukakis.  Despite Reagan's recent problems in office, **George Bush** **won** the election.

**George Bush and the End of the Cold War**

After receiving an education at Yale and serving in World War II, George Bush had gained a fortune in the oil business in Texas.  He left the business, though, to serve in public service.  He served as a congressman and then held various posts in several Republican administrations, including ambassador to China, ambassador to the United Nations, director of the CIA, and vice president.

In **1989**, thousands of **prodemocracy demonstrators** protested in **Tiananmen Square** in **China**.  In June of that year, China's autocratic rulers grew angry and brutally crushed the movement.  Tanks and machine gunners killed hundreds of protestors.  World opinion condemned the bloody suppression of the prodemocracy demonstrators.

In early 1989, the **Solidarity movement** in **Poland** toppled the communist regime.  **Communist regimes** also collapsed in **Hungary**,**Czechoslovakia**, **East Germany**, and **Romania**.  In **December 1989**, the **Berlin Wall** came down, and the two Germanies were reunited in **October 1990**.

In **August 1991**, a **military** **coup** attempted to preserve the communist system by trying to dislodge Gorbachev from power.  With support of Boris Yelstin, the president of the Russian Republic (one of the several republics that composed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or USSR), Gorbachev foiled the plotters.  In December 1991, **Gorbachev** **resigned** as Soviet president.  He had become a leader without a country as the Soviet Union dissolved into its component parts, 15 republics loosely confederated in the **Commonwealth of Independent States** (**CIS**), with Russia the most powerful state and Yelstin the dominant leader.  The demise of the Soviet Union finished to the Cold War.

Throughout the former Soviet Union, waves of nationalistic fervor and long-suppressed ethnic and racial hatreds were exposed.  In **1991**, the **Chechnyan minority** tried to declare its independence from **Russia**.  Boris Yelstin was forced to send in Russian troops.  **Ethnic warfare** in other communist countries was took place as vicious "**ethnic cleaning**" campaigns against minorities arose.  **Western Europe** was now threatened by the social and economic weakness of the former communist lands.

Now that the Soviet Union had dissolved and there was no longer a Cold War, **America's** **economy** **suffered**.  During the Cold War, the U.S. economy had been dependent upon defense spending.

In **1990**, the white regime in **South Africa** freed African leader Nelson Mandela, who had served 27 years in prison for conspiring for overthrow the government.  Four years later, he was elected as South Africa's president.  In **1990**, free elections removed the **leftist** **Sandinistas** in **Nicaragua** from power.  In 1992, peace came to **El Salvador**.

**The Persian Gulf Crisis**

On August 2, 1990, **Iraqi** leader Saddam Hussein **invaded** **Kuwait**, seeking oil.  The United Nations Security Council condemned the invasion and on August 3, demanded the immediate withdrawal of Iraq's troops.  After Hussein refused to comply by the mandatory date of **January 15, 1991**, the United States spearheaded a massive international military deployment, sending 539,000 troops to the Persian Gulf region.

**Fighting "Operation Desert Storm"**

On **January 16, 1991**, the U.S. and the U.N. launched a 37-day air war against Iraq.  Allied commander, American general Norman Schwarzkopf, planned to soften the Iraqis with relentless bombing and then send in waves of ground troops and armor.  On **February 23**, the land war, "**Operation Desert Storm**," began.  Lasting only 4 days, Saddam Hussein was forced to sign a cease-fire on **February 27**.  The war had failed to dislodge Saddam Hussein from power.

**Bush on the Home Front**

President Bush signed the **Americans with Disabilities Act** (**ADA**) in **1990**, prohibiting discrimination against citizens with physical or mental disabilities.  In **1992**, he signed a major **water projects bill** that reformed the distribution of subsidized federal water in the West.  In 1990, Bush's Department of Education challenged the legality of college scholarships targeted for racial minorities.

In **1991**, Bush nominated conservative African American Clarence Thomas to the **Supreme Court**.  Thomas's nomination was approved by the Senate despite accusations from Anita Hill that Thomas had sexually harassed her.

By 1992, the unemployment rate had exceeded 7%, and the federal budget deficit continued to grow.

**Bill Clinton:  The First Baby-Boomer President**

For the **election of 1992**, the Democrats chose Bill Clinton as their candidate (despite accusations of womanizing and draft evasion) and Albert Gore, Jr.as his running mate.  The Democrats tried a new approach, promoting growth, strong defense, and anticrime policies, while campaigning to stimulate the economy.

The Republicans dwelled on "family values" and selected Bush for the presidency and J. Danforth Quayle for the vice presidency.

Third party candidate, Ross Perot entered the race and ended up winning 19,237,247 votes, although he won no Electoral votes.

**Clinton** **won** the election of 1992, by a count of 370 to 168 in the Electoral College.  Along with the presidency, Democrats also gained control of both the House and the Senate.

Presidency Clinton placed in Congress and his presidential cabinet **minorities** and more **women**, including the first female attorney general, Janet Reno, Secretary of Health and Human Services, Donna Shalala, and Ruth Bader Ginsburg in the Supreme Court

**A False Start for Reform**

Upon entering office, Clinton called for accepting homosexuals in the armed forces, but he had to settle for a "don't ask, don't tell" policy that unofficially accepted gays and lesbians.

Clinton appointed his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, to revamp the nation's health and medical care system.  When the plan was revealed in October 1993, critics blasted it as cumbersome, confusing, and stupid.  The previous image of Hillary as an equal political partner of her husband changed to a liability.

In **1993**, Clinton passed the **Brady Bill**, a gun-control law named after presidential aide James Brady, who had been wounded in President Reagan's attempted assassination.

By **1996**, Clinton had **shrunk** the **federal** **deficit** to its lowest levels in ten years.

In July 1994, Clinton convinced Congress to pass a $30 billion anticrime bill.

On February 26, 1993, a radical Muslim group bombed the **World Trade Center** in New York, killing six people.  On April 19, 1993, a fiery standoff at**Waco, Texas** between the government and the **Branch Davidian cult**took place; it ended in a huge fire that killed 82 people.  On April 19, 1995,Timothy McVeigh bombed a federal building in Oklahoma, killing 169 people.  By the time all these events had taken place, few Americans trusted the government.

**The Politics of Distrust**

In 1994, Newt Gingrich led Republicans on a sweeping attack of Clinton's liberal failures with a conservative "**Contract with America**."  That year, Republicans won eight more seats in the Senate and 53 more seats in the House, where Gingrich became the new Speaker of the House.

The Republicans, however, went too far, imposing federal laws that put new obligations on state and local governments without providing new revenues.

Clinton tried to fight back, but the American public gradually grew tired of Republican conservatism; Gingrich's suggestion of sending children of welfare families to orphanages, and the 1995 shut down of Congress due to a lack of a sufficient budget package aided to this public disliking.

In the **election of 1996**, Clinton beat Republican Bob Dole.  Ross Perot, the third party candidate, again finished third.

**Problems Abroad**

Clinton sent troops to Somalia, but eventually withdrew them.  He also got involved with the conflicts in Northern Ireland, but to no positive effect.  Before serving as presidency, Clinton denounced China's abuses of human rights and threatened to punish China.  However, as president, Clinton discovered that trade with China was far too important to "waste" over human rights.

Clinton committed American troops to NATO to keep the peace in the former **Yugoslavia** and sent 20,000 troops to return Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power in **Haiti**.  He fully supported the **North American Free Trade Agreement** (NAFTA) that made a free-trade zone surrounding Mexico, Canada, and the U.S.  He then helped to form the **World Trade Organization**, the successor to the **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade** (GATT).  He also provided $20 billion to Mexico in 1995 to help its faltering economy.

Clinton presided over the 1993 reconciliation meeting between Israel's Yitzhak Rabin and Palestinian Yasir Arafat at the White House.  Two years later, though, Rabin was assassinated, ending hopes for peace in the Middle East.

**A Sea of Troubles**

The end of the Cold War left the U.S. probing for a diplomatic formula to replace anti-Communism, revealing misconduct by the CIA and the FBI.

Political reporter Joe Klein wrote ***Primary Colors***, mirroring some of Clinton's personal life/womanizing.  Clinton ran into trouble with his failed real estate investment in the **Whitewater Land Corporation**.

In 1993, White House councilman, Vincent Foster, Jr. apparently committed suicide, perhaps overstressed at having to (possibly immorally) manage Clinton's legal and financial affairs.

As Clinton began his second term, the first by a Democratic president since FDR, there were Republican majorities in both houses of Congress.

Chapter 42

The American People Face a New Century

**Economic Revolutions**

The "**information age**" followed World War II and was marked by an industry of storing, organizing, and processing data. The advent of new communication tools threatened various industries including post delivery people, store clerks, and teachers.
New scientific knowledge introduced social and moral dilemmas such as, “Should the human gene pool be engineered?”

**Affluence and Inequality**
Although Americans’ salaries increased during the 1990s, they were not the world’s wealthiest people during that decade. Also during this decade, the**economic disparity between the rich and the poor** increased as the richest 20 percent of Americans made half of the nation’s income. This was caused by:

      • Decrease in number of high-paying manufacturing jobs for skilled workers
      • Higher pay for educated workers in high-tech industry
      • Decline of unions
      • Growth of part-time work
      • Increase in number of immigrants
      • Increasing tendency for highly paid men and women to marry and pool their income

**The Feminist Revolution**
Half of all workers were women by the 1990s. Women began to enter male-dominated fields including airline pilots, lawyers, etc. Despite these gains, women still made less money than men in equivalent positions. Women were still minorities in traditionally male-dominated fields. The **gender gap** was caused by discrimination and the greater burdens that families placed on women.
In **1993**, Congress passed a **Family Leave Bill** to provide**job protection** for working fathers and mothers who needed to take time off work for their family.

**The Fading Family**
50 percent of marriages ended in **divorce** during the 1990s.
The relative number of adults living alone tripled by the 1990s.
By the 1990s, 1/4 children grew up in a household without two parents.

**The Aging of America**
The **lifespan** of Americans **increased** by the 1990s due in large part to **advances in medicine**; males and females had life expectancies of 76 and 83, respectively.
Because of the increased lifespan, the relative number of old people increased. Consequently, the percentage of the GNP spent on **healthcare** for older people doubled after the creation of **Medicare** in **1965**.
The **Social Security system was strained** because ratio of active workers (contributors) to retirees (benefactors) had decreased dramatically (i.e. more money was being taken out than was being put in). These fiscal problems were compounded when Medicare was made available to the elderly. These problems led to**increased taxes** on workers.

**The New Immigration**
Immigration from **Asia** and**Latin America**increased rapidly during the 1980s and 1990s. Immigrants came to America in search of jobs and opportunity, leaving countries where populations were growing rapidly.
The**Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986**made it illegal for employers to hire undocumented immigrants and it granted amnesty to many illegal immigrants already in the U.S.
Anti-immigration sentiment swept over America as people were concerned that the U.S. could not absorb the influx of immigrants. Studies showed that immigrants actually took jobs that Americans didn’t want. Immigrants also paid more dollars in taxes than they received in welfare.

**Ethnic Pride**
**Hispanic-Americans** were becoming a larger minority in the U.S. during the 1990s. Additionally, they were becoming more politically organized. Cesar Chavez, head of the **United Farm Worked Organization Committee**, improved working conditions for Mexican-Americans field laborers of the American West. Hispanics were elected as mayors of several large cities.
By the 1980s, **Asian-Americans** were the**fastest-growing minority.** They were becoming **more prosperous** than many Americans, earning 20 percent more than the typical white household.
Native Americans continued to experience discrimination and poverty, even as tribes opened casinos on their reservations to white patrons.

**Cities and Suburbs**
**Violent crime rates** exploded during the 1980s, hitting an all-time high during this decade. Crime leveled off in the 1990s, but this trend had caused middle income Americans to**flee the cities for the suburbs**. By the 1990s, a majority of Americans lived in the suburbs.
By the 2000s, some major cities started to rebound as commercial redevelopment increased in cities.

**Minority America**
Problems in cities were compounded by racial and ethnic tensions. In **1992**, a mostly white jury acquitted several white police officers who were videotaped beating Rodney King. The acquittals sparked **riots** by many angry African-Americans in **Los Angeles**.
In **1995**, OJ Simpson was found not guilty of killing his former wife and another victim. African-Americans felt that the verdict was just, while white Americans believed that Simpson was guilty.
By the 1990s, **cities** were comprised mostly of**lower-income minorities**, as whites had fled to the suburbs. As a consequence of this, cities did not have the tax revenue to support school and small businesses. Cities fell into disrepair and were plagued by drug addiction and a lack of hope and resources.
By the 1990s, about 40 percent of African-Americans were in the middle class. More African-American politicians were being elected at local, state, and federal levels.
Half of black families were headed by a **single mother**. Social scientists argued that limited support at home led to poor academic performance. Black children had about one year less of education than whites during the 1990s, and blacks were 50 percent less likely to get a college degree.

**The Life of the Mind**
More Americans were receiving **college degrees**, and this expanding population of educated people **increased interest in liberal arts**(reading, museums, music, etc). The American West became a popular literary focal point as more Americans moved west. Authors including Larry McMurtry, Raymond Carver, and Annie Dillard penned Western-themed novels.
The number of popular **authors** and **artists** who were **minorities** (African-American, Asian-American, and women) also increased.
**New York** became the **art capital of the world**after World War II. The Ford Foundation and the federal government (**National Endowment for the Arts**in**1965**) supported the arts.
Notable **artists** after WWII included Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning, Andy Warhol, Robert Rauschenberg, and Georgia O’Keeffe. **Film** continued to grow as generations of younger filmmakers emerged (George Lucas, Spike Lee, Steven Spielberg, etc). Interest in **architecture** also increased after WWII due to the building boom.

**The American Prospect in the Age of Terrorism**
On **September 11, 2001**, **terrorists** hijacked four planes and crashed them into the World Trade Center in New York (2), the Pentagon (1), and Pennsylvania (1).
Osama bin Laden was primarily responsible for the attacks. He was the head of the terrorist network, **Al Qaeda**. The U.S. invaded **Afghanistan** after the**Taliban** refused to hand over bin Laden.
Bin Laden harbored hatred for the U.S. mainly because:
      • The U.S. had an economic embargo against Saddam Hussein in Iraq
      • The U.S. had a military presence in the Arabian peninsula
      • The U.S. supported Israel
Congress passed the **USA-Patriot Act**in **October of 2011**. This law drastically reduced restrictions on law enforcement agencies’ abilities to perform surveillance. It also permitted the deportation of immigrants suspected of terrorism.
The attacks on September 11th coincided with the beginning of an economic recession.