Study Guide

to accompany

Jones • Wood • Borstelmann • May • Ruiz

CREATED EQUAL

A Social and Political History of the United States

Volume One

Second Edition

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Chapter 1  
First Founders

Learning Objectives:

*After reading Chapter 1, you should be able to:*

1. Discuss the origins of the first peoples to live in America.
2. Explain the most recent evidence as to the origins of the first inhabitants of America.
3. Understand how human groups adapted to changes in the climate.
4. Detail the Mesoamerican Empires that existed from A.D. 300 to 900.
5. Analyze why the great urban centers of Peru and Mesoamerica had no northern counterparts.
6. Explain the significance of the Cahokia and Moundville.
7. Discuss early European travel to the Western Hemisphere.
8. Understand the reasons behind the beginnings of globalization.
9. Analyze the reasons for the mistakes that led Columbus to mistake America for Asia.
10. Comprehend the importance of the Spanish devastation of the Indies.
11. Understand how the Spanish conquest of the Aztecs was achieved.
12. Discuss the various European expeditions that came to America in the sixteenth century.
13. Analyze how the Protestant Reformation affected America.
14. Discuss the reasons for increased English attention to America.

**Time Line**

- 300 A.D.  
  Rise of Mayan Culture

- 800 A.D.  
  Moche Empire collapsed

- 1000 A.D.  
  Vikings reached North American coast

- 1492  
  Columbus reached Hispaniola

- 1497  
  John Cabot reached Newfoundland
I. Ancient America

A. The Question of Origins

The ancestors of Indian societies have lived in America for at least 14,000 years. Although scientific research increasingly documents the general story of human origins and migration, nothing can diminish the powerful creation stories passed down from ancestors. These serve an important cultural purpose. Modern humans developed in Africa, but 50,000 to 70,000 years ago, they began to migrate. Bands of northern hunters migrated east across Siberia in search of game. Arriving at the Bering land bridge, then exposed because of arctic ice caps, some hunters made the trip from Asia to America. As the climate warmed, the land bridge was flooded while passages to the south opened up. Scholars suspect that the newcomers followed game southward, reaching the tip of South America in a few thousand years.

B. The Newest Approaches

Some scientists have found evidence that some peoples may have traveled from Asia to America by sea. While it is unclear whether humans took to boats before as well as after arriving, the DNA evidence shows that the first population of America came primarily from Asia.

C. The Archaic World

Some 10,000 years ago, the Paleo-Indian eras gave way to the different Archaic era as climate changes and more than 100 of America’s largest species disappeared. Human groups had to adapt to new conditions. Although genetically similar, far-flung bands of Archaic Indians developed diverse cultures in reaction to very different environments. A few early languages
branched into numerous language families, and similar cultural variations emerged in everything from lifestyle to spiritual beliefs.

The various Archaic American groups had one important thing in common: their lack of domesticated animals. Although they did have dogs and, in the Andes, llamas, there remained no other large mammal that could give humans milk, meat, hides, or hauling power. With regard to the domestication of plants, Americans had more options. Unlike wheat in Eurasia which offers a high yield from the start, American crops like maize took thousands of years to develop into a productive food source.

About 3,000 years ago, the Olmecs emerged as the first of several powerful Mesoamerican cultures. They developed a complex calendar, revered the jaguar, and built large mounds and pyramids. They traded widely with people across Mesoamerica and passed on their cultural traits, as shown by the possibility that they influenced the Poverty Point culture of the lower Mississippi River.

II. A Thousand Years of Change: A.D. 500 to 1500

A. Valleys of the Sun: The Mesoamerican Empires

The Mayans controlled an area half the size of Texas in what is today southern Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador between A.D. 300 and 900. Getting their elaborate calendar from the Olmecs as well as other cultural traits, the Mayans also built huge stone temples and conducted ritual blood sacrifice to their gods. The Mayans declined mysteriously as did the Moches in Peru and were replaced by the people of Teotihuacan, who in turn were replaced by the Toltecs and then the Aztecs.

The Aztecs migrated to the valley of Mexico in the twelfth century. Although they were at first looked down on as uncultured, the Aztecs rose quickly to power because of skillful alliances and military might. They founded their capital of Tenochtitlan on a swampy island in Lake Texococ, and by the 1400s, the Aztecs had transformed their city into an imposing urban center. The Aztecs were molded by hardship, pessimism, and violence, seeing themselves as living in a final human era destined to end in cataclysm. Launching fierce wars against their neighbors, the Aztecs demanded tribute and took prisoners who they then sacrificed at pyramid temples to please their gods. This harsh treatment of conquered peoples left the Aztecs vulnerable to external attack.
B. The Anasazi: Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde

Although there are no counterparts to the great urban centers of Peru and Mesoamerica farther north, three clearly different cultures were well-established in the American Southwest by A.D. 500. The Mogollons lived in sunken pit houses in what is now eastern Arizona and southern New Mexico. Their neighbors to the west, the Hohokams, constructed extensive canal and floodgate systems to irrigate their fields. To the north where Utah and Colorado now meet Arizona and New Mexico, lived the Anasazi, or “ancient ones,” and violence and warfare played a important part in their life. In the end, however, environmental changes exerted the greatest force as a drought gripped the Colorado Plateau for half a century after 1130.

C. The Mississippian: Cahokia and Moundville

The Hopewell people had prospered in the Mississippi valley for the first 500 years A.D. Their trading laid the groundwork for later, larger mound-building societies, known as the Mississippian cultures. Living in southern Ohio and western Illinois, the Hopewell established a network of trade that covered much of North America. Spreading after A.D. 500, a more elaborate and widespread culture flourished for six centuries after A.D. 900. Maize went from a marginal crop to a central staple, and by 1300, maize and bean agriculture reached all the way to the Iroquoian people around Lake Ontario. As food supplies expanded, Indian peoples began to settle in these fertile areas, and developed patterns of bureaucracy and hierarchy. With increased productivity, commercial and religious elites gained greater control over farmers.

Mississippian mound-building cultures were diverse and widespread. Although much is still not known about them, the largest complex developed at Cahokia in the floodplain below where the Illinois and Missouri rivers flow into the Mississippi. Cahokia rose quickly around A.D. 1050, as small villages were reorganized into a strong regional chiefdom. The centralized elite controlled food, labor, trade, and religion, as well as life and death, as shown by the evidence of human sacrifice. Cahokia declined and other regional chiefdoms arose along other rivers. The most important appears to be Moundville in west-central Alabama, which remained powerful until around 1400.

III. Linking the Continents

A. Oceanic Travel: The Norse and the Chinese

Around A.D. 1000, Scandinavian Vikings explored and then settled a region near the Gulf of St. Lawrence that they called Vinland. A tiny colony of 160 Vikings lived and grazed livestock in Vinland for several years until driven out by native peoples. For centuries, the Norse contact was known only from oral tradition, but recent research has discovered evidence of Viking settlement in northern Newfoundland. The Viking settlements in Greenland lasted much longer, possibly for
three centuries, until climate change, soil erosion, and a slump in trade in Europe caused by the plague finally ended the last settlements by 1450.

Europeans were vaguely aware of the existence of the Chinese Empire, particularly after Marco Polo recounted his visit there in the 1270s in his *Travels*. Polo told of many wondrous things, such as spices that could preserve meat and rocks that burned like wood (coal). When Islamic power cut off the Silk Road, the Europeans looked for other ways to reach this far-off land.

Ironically, it was China that first mastered ocean sailing, not Europe. In 1281, Kublai Khan sailed 4,500 ships in an attempt to invade Japan, only to have the invasion wrecked by a huge typhoon. Chinese overseas expansion reached its height in the early fifteenth century, as the brilliant Admiral Zheng led seven large fleets to the Indian Ocean and as far as the east African coast. Then China turned from overseas trade and grew socially inward, with officials even destroying the log books of earlier voyages. Instead of China shaping oceanic trade and the fate of North America, it fell to the small country of Portugal to emerge as the leader in maritime exploration in the fifteen century.

B. Portugal and the Beginnings of Globalization

Portugal sat at the crossroads of the Mediterranean trade and the coastal traffic of northern Europe. With the failure of the crusades to defeat Islam, Christian traders dreamed of reaching China by sailing around Africa. Even if this was not possible, it was thought that exploration south of the Sahara Desert could discover the extent of Islamic influence and might open up new trade or produce converts to Christianity. For these efforts to succeed, there was a need for determined leadership, which was provided by Prince Henry, later known as Henry the Navigator. Henry’s ships pushed along the African coast, reaching as far south as Sierra Leone in his lifetime. One major result of this push was the discovery of three island groups—Canaries, Madeiras, and Azores—off the Northwest coast of Africa, which sparked an overseas colonization process. In addition, by the 1440s, Portuguese mariners were seizing western African coastal residents and importing them to Europe as slaves.

C. Looking for the Indies: da Gama and Columbus

Portuguese exploration was rewarded in 1487 when Bartolomeu Dias rounded the southernmost part of Africa, proving that it was possible to sail to India from Lisbon. A decade later, Vasco da Gama successfully sailed to India and returned with a ship loaded with pepper and cinnamon. There was now a southeastern sea route to Asia.

Portugal’s rival Spain gambled on finding a profitable westward route to the Indies. In 1492, as they were expelling Moslems and Jews from their kingdom, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella sponsored a voyage by Christopher Columbus. With 90 men and three small ships, Columbus sailed west and finally found what he thought was an island only ten days from the mainland of China. In fact, this island was part of the Bahamas and the island he thought was Japan was
actually Cuba. Columbus’ mistake flowed from his belief that the world was 25 percent smaller than it actually is, a belief that contradicted both ancient estimates and most contemporary theories.

D. In the Wake of Columbus: Competition and Exchange

After Columbus’s return, the Pope issued a decree dividing the world between Spain and Portugal; the former was given the right to search for a western route to Asia while the latter could have a monopoly in developing the path around southern Africa. Brazil happened to be within the area granted to Portugal so it quickly claimed this territory but otherwise left further Atlantic exploration to others.

Both Spain and England acted quickly, with Columbus returning to Hispaniola with 1,200 men aboard 17 ships. The English king, Henry VII, licensed John Cabot, an Italian navigator, to search for a northern passage to China. Cabot reached Newfoundland thinking he had reached Asia but died on a return voyage and Henry VII lacked the resources to follow up this first English-sponsored attempt. After thousand of years of separation, the world was becoming linked. The Europeans brought seeds, diseases, insects and birds, plants and animals. They sent back corn, potatoes, pumpkins, chili peppers, tobacco, cacao, pineapples, sunflowers, turkeys, and maybe syphilis. The world would never be the same.

IV. Spain Enters the Americas

A. The Devastation of the Indies

Spanish conquest of the West Indies brought ecological and human disaster. The newcomers killed and enslaved native peoples while Spanish livestock trampled or devoured native gardens. European diseases were the worst imports and ravaged native peoples. The result was that 19 out of 20 native people died within a generation. This near-extinction led devout Catholics to protest the loss of potential converts, and Dominican friars who reached Cuba in 1510 denounced Spanish brutality as sinful. In addition, the loss of population led the Spanish to import slaves from Africa to replace the dead native workers, while the decimation of the islands pushed the Spanish to intensify their search for new conquests.

B. The Spanish Conquest of the Aztecs

Realizing that the Gulf of Mexico provided no passage to Asia, the Spanish sent Ferdinand Magellan to sail around South America. Although his crew nearly starved crossing the Pacific, and Magellan and a number of his men were killed by natives in the Philippines, one of his ships made it back to Spain, becoming the first vessel to circumnavigate the globe.
In 1519, Hernan Cortes, a Spanish conquistador, or soldier, reached the edge of what he realized was a mighty empire. The Aztec emperor Moctezuma reacted to news of the strangers with uncertainty, since ominous signs indicated this event might be the return of a god. The emperor sent gifts of precious objects and gold to Cortes, which only revealed to the Spanish forces the wealth of the Aztecs.

Although Cortes had fewer than 600 men, they had guns and horses, which were unknown to the Aztecs. In addition, their ruthless style of warfare, in which the Spanish killed as many of their enemies as possible, shocked the Aztecs, who had also sought to take captives. The Aztec practice of human sacrifice enraged the Spaniards, and the Indian peoples oppressed by the empire became willing allies of the newcomers. While the Aztec leadership proved weak, Cortes was decisive. Still, had it not been for the smallpox epidemic which arrived with the Europeans, the task of conquering the Aztecs would have been more daunting. Cortes renamed the Aztec capital Mexico City and claimed the entire region as New Spain.

C. Magellan and Cortez Prompt New Searches

The fall of the Aztecs led the Spanish to hope for further riches in the Americas, while the length of Magellan’s voyage encouraged the search for a shorter route to Asia. Spanish raiders under Francisco Pizarro attacked the Inca empire in Peru and, assisted again by smallpox, sacked the capital for its gold. Various other expeditions were launched to find either new routes to Asia or American gold to plunder.

D. Three New Views of North America

Although they were competitors, the enterprises of Jacques Cartier, Hernando de Soto and Francisco Vasquez de Coronado made the ten years after 1534 the most important decade in early European exploration of North America. The French, under Jacques Cartier, arrived at the Gulf of St. Lawrence and bartered for furs with the natives. Returning the following year, Cartier ventured into Canada. Although he failed to find the valuable minerals he sought, Cartier was the first of the French expeditions which challenged Spain’s exclusive claim to North America.

In 1537, the Spanish Crown granted Hernando de Soto the right to conquer Florida. For the next four years, de Soto pillaged Indian villages in search of gold before dying of a fever after reaching beyond the Mississippi River. His demoralized followers escaped downstream to the Gulf of Mexico. Greater than the direct destruction wrought by de Soto was the horror of the epidemic sicknesses he left in his wake.

At the same time, in the Southwest, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado set out from northwestern Mexico in search of fabulous wealth. He found the pueblos of the Zunis but no significant wealth. The Spanish troops imposed a huge burden on the Pueblo Indians by demanding food and burning down any village that resisted. In a plan to rid themselves of these oppressors, the Indians told the Spanish of a far-off land of countless treasures. They recruited a Plains Indian
and had him lead the Spanish out into the Great Plains. When Coronado realized that the legendary city of wealth was a small Kansas Indian village, he had the guide killed and returned to New Spain.

V. The Protestant Reformation Plays Out in America

A. Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Europe

Following Martin Luther’s demands for religious reforms, the years of the sixteenth century saw Europe split into Catholic and Protestant camps. The Protestant Reformation coincided with the desire of European monarchs to distance themselves from the authority of the Pope. Now religious hostilities would spill over into the Americas.

B. Competing Powers Lay Claim to Florida

Jealous of the dazzling wealth Spain expropriated from the New World, France sent raiders to capture Spanish ships returning from Mexico. French Protestants, or Huguenots, led the way in efforts to colonize Brazil and Florida. The Portuguese uprooted the French in Brazil while Spain ousted the Huguenots from Florida. Although the French were defeated, English adventurers began challenging Spanish domination in the Caribbean and along the southeast coast of North America.

C. The Background of English Expansion

After 1550, Henry VIII of England used the wealth he had seized from the Catholic Church to add 85 ships to the Royal Navy. The merchant fleet expanded at the same time as did the English population. When Europe’s woolen textile market collapsed in 1551, merchants looked for new forms of foreign commerce. Expanding in all directions, England established contact with Russia but failed to find a northeast route to China. The English also challenged the Portuguese monopoly of the African trade and began to engage in the slave trade. While Spain was at first successful in driving Sir Francis Drake out of Mexican waters, the English captain continued to attack Spanish shipping and helped defeat King Philip’s Spanish Armada in 1588. Anti-Catholic propagandists made Drake a national English hero and emphasized the brutality of the Spanish against the Indians, although the English were little better. When Sir Humphrey Gilbert died while attempting to establish a colony in Newfoundland, his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, obtained the right to establish an English colony in North America.

D. Lost Colony: The Roanoke Experience

Raleigh’s three attempts to establish a colony failed quickly. In 1587, John White led a third English expedition to North America and set up at Roanoke Island. When White returned after three years from England, where he had gone for supplies, he found the settlement deserted, with
nothing but the word *Croatoan* carved on a post. The fate of the colony has never been determined.

**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Atlatl:
2. Incas:
3. Mississippians:
4. Leif Eriksson:
5. Zheng He:
6. Ferdinand Magellan:
7. Hernando de Soto:
8. Martin Luther:
9. French Huguenots:
11. Francisco Pizarro:
12. Jacques Cartier:
13. John Calvin:

14. Sir Francis Drake:

15. Sir Walter Raleigh:

16. Roanoke:

17. *The Devastation of the Indies*:

18. Hispaniola:

19. Marco Polo:

20. Mayans:
Multiple Choice Questions:

1. The first people to settle in the Americas came from
   A. Europe.
   B. Asia.
   C. South America.
   D. North Africa.
   E. Russia.

2. All of the following were Mesoamerican civilizations EXCEPT
   A. Incas.
   B. Aztecs.
   C. Mayans.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

3. Around A.D. 1000, the Vikings explored
   A. Iceland.
   B. Greenland.
   C. Denmark.
   D. Vinland.
   E. all of the above.

4. In the early fifteenth century, China was
   A. visited by Marco Polo.
   B. defeated by the French under Jacque Cartier.
   C. victorious over England’s Royal Navy.
   D. crushed by Japan at the Battle of Beijing.
   E. a major sea power led by Admiral Zheng He.

5. In 1492, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain
   A. sponsored Christopher Columbus’s voyage.
   B. drove Islam from their realm.
   C. forced Jews into exile.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.
6. The Spanish arrived in the West Indies and they
   A. enslaved many native peoples.
   B. killed many Taino Indians and Caribs.
   C. brought diseases that ravaged countless villages.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

7. One reason Cortes was able to conquer the Aztec Empire is because
   A. Indians were eager to convert to Roman Catholicism.
   B. of Spain’s alliance with the Inca Empire.
   C. coastal Indians oppressed by the Aztecs became willing allies of the Spanish.
   D. the Spanish had so many soldiers.
   E. all of the above.

8. Pizarro was able to conquer the Incas in part because
   A. of his French military skill.
   B. smallpox killed many Incas.
   C. he had such a large troop of soldiers.
   D. the Spanish came in peace.
   E. all of the above.

9. Henry VIII of England was the monarch who
   A. added 85 ships to the Royal Navy during his reign.
   B. fought with France over Brazil.
   C. converted his nation to Lutheranism.
   D. none of the above.
   E. all of the above.

10. Against the Aztecs, the Spanish style of warfare consisted of
    A. killing as many of the enemy as possible.
    B. capturing as many of the enemy as possible.
    C. using swords rather than guns.
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.

    A. began in the 18th century.
    B. actually included Tsarist Russia.
    C. was begun by the Turks.
    D. was based on slavery.
    E. none of the above.
12. The Pope divided the Americas between Spain and
   A. France.
   B. Italy.
   C. Portugal.
   D. England.
   E. The Netherlands.

13. Francis Drake was an English sea captain who
   A. captured numerous Spanish treasure ships.
   B. helped defeat the Spanish Armada in 1588.
   C. encouraged slave rebellions against the Spanish.
   D. became an English national hero.
   E. all of the above.

14. The Columbian Exchange of the last 500 years
   A. actually began in the 19th century.
   B. was a dramatic swapping of organisms between once-isolated continents.
   C. refers to the price that gold from the Americas brought back in Europe.
   D. was originally only between Spain and France.
   E. all of the above.

15. One of Ferdinand Magellan’s ships was the first European vessel to
   A. circumnavigate the globe.
   B. reach West Africa.
   C. visit what is today Canada.
   D. make it to Cuba.
   E. all of the above.
MAP QUESTION:

After looking at Map 1.5, discuss the penetration of the Europeans into North America in the sixteenth century. What explains why they went to certain places and avoided others?

CONNECTING HISTORY

Explain how people developed ways to discover where they were when on the open sea. How have new inventions changed sea travel?

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Explain how you think it would have felt to be a European hearing the Aztec defense of their gods. What is the basis of the Aztec argument?

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. B
2. A
3. C
4. D
5. D
6. D
7. B
8. A
9. C
10. A
11. C
12. B
13. D
14. A
15. B
Chapter 2

European Footholds on the Fringes of North America, 1600–1660

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 2, you should be able to:

1. Discuss early Spanish incursions into the New World through the use of missions and forts.
2. Understand the aims of early Spanish explorers and how they encountered competition from the French and the Dutch.
3. Explain the motivations behind England’s exploration of the Atlantic coast.
4. Describe the various Spanish, French, Dutch, and English settlements and understand some of the difficulties and successes encountered.
5. Discuss European and Native American contacts throughout this period.
6. Understand the Puritan Experiment and its aims.
7. Describe the Massachusetts Bay and Virginia Companies.
8. Discuss the unique character of the Maryland colony.

Time Line

1580
Spain’s King Philip II claimed the throne of Portugal as his own, thus uniting the two great seafaring countries

1602
Dutch East India Company established

1606
Virginia Company chartered by James I

1607
Philip commanded an outpost be created on the coast of California as a way-station for Spanish galleons crossing the Pacific from the Philippines
1608
Samuel de Champlain established the outpost of Quebec in a narrow strait of the St. Lawrence River

1610
Henry Hudson, working for the English crown, explored the strait and bay in northern Canada that still bears his name

1624
King James annulled the Virginia Company’s charter, creating in its stead a royal colony

1632
George Calvert granted 10 million acres of land adjacent to Virginia by Charles I to establish the royal colony of Maryland

1660
All four great European naval powers (Spain, France, Holland, and England) had established lasting footholds on the coast of the new continent

Chapter Overview

Envious of Spain's wealth, other European countries were soon competing for colonial spoils. This chapter looks at French, Dutch, and English programs for colonization in North America, as well as the motivations of the colonists in New England and the Chesapeake colonies.

I. Spain’s Ocean-Spanning Reach

A. Vizcaino in California and Japan

Spain’s imperial objectives included global markets in the East. Instructions from the Crown ordered the viceroy to create a Spanish settlement at Monterey Bay in California as a protective port for merchant ships returning from the Philippines and Japan. The viceroy engaged Sebastian Vizcaino to do the job but soon after diverted needed funds to search for the fabled North Pacific islands of gold and silver. Vizcaino, powerless to complete the king’s outpost, was soon directed to Japan in search of the legendary islands. He brought back to Spain a delegation of Japanese, but no gold. Spain’s plans to colonize California were postponed.
B. Onate Creates a Spanish Foothold in the Southwest

While Spanish officials (peninsulares) debated over the wisdom of maintaining outposts like Fort Augustine, Florida, wealthy individuals like Juan de Onate secured permission from Mexican officials to establish a settlement in the northern Pueblo lands of New Mexico. He predicted New Mexico would outshine the rest of New Spain, but the native peoples, climate, and geography failed to cooperate with Onate’s grand schemes. Brutal repression was necessary to secure aid from local villages, while settlers gave up and returned to central Mexico, convinced that nothing could grow in the harsh landscape. Onate’s explorations did not find the Atlantic Ocean to the north or the Pacific Ocean within easy reach on the west. Franciscan friars converted several hundred Pueblo peoples, and pleaded with the Crown for the right to continue their harvest of souls in the region. Alerted to growing English and French interests in territories claimed by Spain, the Crown committed itself to maintaining the region but changed its governor. The small colony at the village of Santa Fe received news from central Mexico only once every three years. Unlike the French, Dutch, or English tradition of allotting citizenship, all townspeople were counted as Spanish citizens, whether Spanish, Mexican Indians, Africans, or mixed-race children (mestizos).

C. New Mexico Survives: New Flocks among Old Pueblos

The Spanish decision to retain and grow its settlements in New Mexico meant a reshaping of life for every ethnic type in the region. Missions proliferated, but converts were reluctant and few. Friars forbade traditional celebrations, destroyed sacred objects, and punished any backsliding severely. Soldiers from the presidios (forts) enforced these policies of the friars, as well as taxing local Pueblos for food, clothing, and servants. Despite these problems, Pueblo peoples found Spanish plants and animals useful and incorporated them into their lifestyle. Cattle were a problem, but horses, sheep, and donkeys were a benefit, as were plants like wheat, onions, chilies, peas, peaches, plums, and cherries. Metal tools and axes improved cultivation, and wool became part of the rich spinning and weaving traditions of the Pueblo peoples.

D. Conversion and Rebellion in Spanish Florida

In Florida, Spanish cattle ranches were more successful than Spanish missions. Native population counts, assaulted by crushing diseases as well as corvee labor (required work hours on Spanish projects) and lack of food, began to plummet, and entire villages ceased to exist. Indian rebellions were quickly and firmly stamped out, with an eye to European competition for Spanish Florida.
II. France and Holland: Overseas Competition for Spain

A. The Founding of New France

England, Holland, and France secured islands and challenged Spanish control of the Caribbean. Having established a firm presence in the region, France concentrated on developing lands to the north in Canada. Their yearly fishing trips became even more lucrative with the realization that native peoples would trade beaver robes for cheap iron pots, with both parties feeling they received the best bargain. Explorations led to temporary settlements that had little lasting impact. However, Samuel de Champlain’s use of his gun in support of his Algonquian neighbors’ war against their Iroquois enemies produced a surprise victory and strong alliance with the Algonquians, as well as the lasting enmity of the Iroquois Confederation.

B. Competing for the Beaver Trade

While the French expanded their influence on the fur trade throughout the northern extent of the Great Lakes, trading and arming the native populations with guns, Dutch fur traders founded Fort Orange on the Hudson River, trading with and arming the Iroquois League. Contagious disease and warfare as always took a dreadful toll, and resulted in a continuous round of “mourning wars” (a.k.a. Beaver Wars). Attempts by French Jesuit priests to convert the Indians finally settled on the four major villages of Huronia; they later moved their converts to praying missions close to French forts.

C. A Dutch Colony on the Hudson River

In 1608, the Dutch East India Company hired Henry Hudson, English-born navigator and arctic explorer, to attempt to locate a potential connecting waterway from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Confounded by snowstorms in Scandinavia, Hudson and his crew sailed down the American coast, visiting Chesapeake and Delaware Bays and New York harbor. Here, flying the Dutch flag, Hudson sailed up the river that still bears his name. Subsequent explorations claimed the land between the Delaware and Connecticut Rivers as New Amsterdam, to be administered by the new Dutch West India Company, created in 1621. The Company sponsored numerous settlements along the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers and the Atlantic coast. Dutch settlements successfully attracted colonizers and Crown support.

D. “All Sorts of Nationalities”: Diverse New Amsterdam

The Dutch Colony of New Amsterdam quickly became the most cosmopolitan of European colonies in the Americas, with settlers from Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, and England and religious convictions as diverse as Walloon Protestants, Quakers, and European Jews (who were segregated in a specific neighborhood called a ghetto). By 1664, African arrivals,
granted “half-freedom” status, made up more than ten percent of New Netherland’s population, and at least half of them lived in Lower Manhattan.

III. English Beginnings on the Atlantic Coast

A. The Virginia Company and Jamestown

The failed Roanoke experiment warned individual investors that developing the wealth of America could be a costly venture. The next effort, chartered by James I in 1606, was the Virginia Company on the Chesapeake Bay under the direction of a governor and council. The local Indian confederacy led by Powhatan chose an unequal diplomatic friendship, and the stronger “father” provided food and assistance to the weaker English “children,” fostering expectations that the future would include mutually beneficial trade, as it had for tribes dealing with the French and Dutch. The Jamestown settlers included a large number of gentlemen unused to physical labor, who expected immediate riches and found none.

B. “Starving Time” and Seeds of Representative Government

When hard work and starvation ensued, only the arrival of additional settlers kept the colony alive. Even so, they had to rely heavily on the native population for food. Unable to find readily exploitable precious metals, the quest to find a stable and profitable cash crop began. It took a decade to refine West Indian tobacco plants into an exportable crop. With labor, rather than land, at a premium, the majority of workers were English indentured servants, attracted by the promise of sizeable acreage at the end of their contract period. The high cost of African slaves meant that they would only gradually become key elements of the successful tobacco plantation society.

C. Launching the Plymouth Colony

To gather capital and labor, the Virginia Company began distributing legal charters to various groups to erect towns for settlement and cultivation. Between 1619 and 1623, the company granted more than 40 of these charters. Two such charters came to the ownership of members within a band of English Protestants exiled to Holland for religious differences with the king. One of these groups of separatists set sail from Plymouth in 1620 on the Mayflower. Storms and faulty navigation caused the settlers to make landfall at Cape Cod in modern-day Massachusetts.
IV. The Puritan Experiment

A. Formation of the Massachusetts Bay Company

In the northeast, religiously motivated settlements began at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. At Plymouth, the Pilgrims developed a small farming community, depending on the charity of the Wampanoag tribe led by Massasoit. In 1629, the Massachusetts Bay area became the site of a better-organized settlement of English Puritans who, under a new charter, sought to create a social experiment called the Massachusetts Bay Company. Their aim was to show the English an example of how to be piously religious as well as financially successful.

B. “We Shall Be As a City upon a Hill”

Over the next decade, 70,000 people left England for America. Many sailed to the West Indies, but a large contingent of Puritans arrived in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, enlarging the population and providing more labor to turn out the basic needs for survival. They brought with them the Calvinist ideals that embodied their religion and work ethic. These earlier settlers traded food, lodging, and raw building materials to the newest arrivals in return for textiles, tools, money, and labor. By 1640, English settlements had sprung up along the coast and up the Connecticut River where earlier smallpox infestations had removed the native menace. This rapid expansion put a quick strain on limited resources and caused church fathers to impose civic order.

C. Dissenters: Roger Williams and Ann Hutchinson

The Puritans were self-appointed saints, and as such believed God had chosen them for a special mission in this world. Not everyone, however, believed in the idea that a mandate from God required dominance of the Indians or subjugation of women by men. Roger Williams, a new arrival in the Boston area of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, angered local clerics with his views on separation of church and state and the invalidity of the king’s land grants. Williams felt that Native Americans had the only right to sell land to the Puritans. Unwilling to listen, angry magistrates banished Williams from Massachusetts. He moved south and set up a township for other dissenters called Providence and sometime later sailed back to England to secure his own charter for the colony of Rhode Island.

Ann Hutchinson, an English native, had a vision of God telling her to follow her long-time minister to the New World. She did so in 1634, migrating to Boston with husband and 15 children. Soon after, she began hosting religious discussions in her home, which troubled the authorities. Accused of anarchy and dangerous anti-Puritan ideas about the nature of divine forgiveness, she and her growing number of followers were labeled Antinomians. Hutchinson herself was convicted of contempt and sedition in a two-day hearing and forced into exile. She moved first to Williams’ Rhode Island and then to the Hudson Valley, where she and most of her family were killed by Indians.
D. Expansion and Violence: The Pequot Wars

Increasing power among Puritans in England resulted in an English Civil War that overthrew the monarchy and established in its place the English Commonwealth. In America, expanding Puritan settlements provoked a war with the Pequot tribe living along the Connecticut River. Fearing Pequot intentions, the Massachusetts Bay Colony recruited Narragansett and Mohegan Indians and waged a war so brutal that the Indian allies were shocked at the destruction and slaughter. The Mystic village massacre served as an effective threat to neighboring tribes, who reluctantly ceded lands to the English settlers.

V. The Chesapeake Bay Colonies

The successful tobacco experiment meant increasing tensions with the Powhatan Confederacy, as land-hungry Englishmen began to seize corn supplies and burn villages thought to harbor English runaways. Their aim was to convince the Indians to abide by English laws.

A. The Demise of the Virginia Company

The arrival of 3,500 additional settlers created so much tension that the remnants of the Powhatan Confederacy finally retaliated with a ten-year war that almost destroyed the Chesapeake colonies. In London, tales of the disaster fanned the flames of opposition to the Virginia Company, leading King James to annul the company’s charter in 1624, making Virginia a royal colony controlled and taxed by the Crown. Barely surviving and rebuilding with newly arriving Englishmen, the colony of Virginia once again grew to become a major force in the area. A second major Indian war, begun a decade later, resulted in the defeat of the Indian Confederacy. Land-hungry colonists swarmed into territory once held by the tribes.

B. Maryland: The Catholic Refuge

The second colony that emerged in the Chesapeake Bay area, Maryland, began in 1634 as a Catholic haven with laws protecting freedom of religion. Within 15 years, the majority of Protestants who moved to the colony took control and repealed these laws. In Maryland, as in the northern colonies, strong religious conviction did not result in respect for the religious convictions of others, but by 1660, with the reestablishment of the English monarchy, tolerance returned to the colony.
C. The Dwellings of English Newcomers

Virginia and Maryland had perhaps 35,000 settlers by 1660, while New England contained maybe 25,000. From the start, housing was a prime concern. Different climates led to contrasting architectural styles. In New England, harsher weather and longer winters caused houses to be larger, with a central fireplace. Early Chesapeake houses were less solid and smaller, with a dirt or plank floor.

D. The Lure of Tobacco

After a series of failed export products, Chesapeake resident hit upon the cultivation of tobacco. Virginia’s export of the weed grew from 2,000 pounds in 1615 to 500,000 pounds by 1626. In 1620, the British government gave Bermuda and Virginia a near monopoly on tobacco production. Even when prices were low, tobacco remained the life blood of the region.

Identification

Explain the significance of each of the following:

1. Mayflower:

2. Sebastian Vizcaino:

3. Tokugawa Dynasty:

4. Straits of Anian:

5. Juan de Onate:

6. Franciscans:

7. Florida:
8. Dutch East India Company:

9. Samuel de Champlain:

10. Cardinal Richelieu:

11. Ignatius Loyola:

12. The Beaver Wars:

13. Henry Hudson:

14. New Netherland:

15. Waloons:

16. Peter Stuyvesant:

17. “half-freedom”:

18. enclosure movement:

19. The Virginia Company:

20. Powhatan:

21. Tobacco:

22. The Massachusetts Bay Company:
23. Puritanism:

24. Roger Williams:

25. Anne Hutchinson:

26. The Pequot War:

27. Opechancanough:

28. George Calvert:

29. Maryland:

30. Anne Bradstreet:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. When the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth in 1620, the English-speaking Indian they encountered was:
   A. Leif Erikson.
   B. Tecumseh.
   C. Tonto.
   D. Squanto.
   E. Metacom.

2. In 1580, in order to consolidate his power, Spain's Philip II laid claim to the throne of:
   A. Holland.
   B. Spain.
   C. England.
   D. Sweden.
   E. Portugal.
3. In 1611, Sebastian Vizcaino began a search for islands fabled for their
   A. silk.
   B. furs.
   C. gold and silver.
   D. spices.
   E. fountain of youth.

4. By 1660, England had established a colonial foothold in the Caribbean at
   A. Trinidad.
   B. St. Maarten.
   C. St. Lucia.
   D. Barbados.
   E. Haiti.

5. Religious warfare in France was ended in 1598 by the
   A. Treaty of Tordesillas.
   B. Edict of Nantes.
   C. Treaty of Utrecht.
   D. Peace of Westphalia.
   E. Treaty of Versailles.

6. The Dutch commander who seized New Sweden was
   A. Samuel de Champlain.
   B. Peter Minuit.
   C. Ronald Van Raak.
   D. Peter Stuyvestant.
   E. John Cabot.

7. The English leader of the Jamestown colony was
   A. Peter Stuyvesant.
   B. John Winthrop.
   C. John Locke.
   D. Sir Francis Drake
   E. William Bradford.

8. The Virginia colony was a financial disaster until the introduction of
   A. yams.
   B. indigo.
   C. tobacco.
   D. cotton.
   E. oranges.
9. The leader of the Massachusetts Bay Colony was the Puritan
   A. John Winthrop.
   B. Thomas Hooker.
   C. Roger Williams.
   D. William Bradford.
   E. Lord Baltimore.

10. Religious dissenter Roger Williams founded the
    A. Massachusetts colony.
    B. Rhode Island colony.
    C. Connecticut colony.
    D. Georgia colony.
    E. Kentucky colony.

MAP QUESTION:
Examine the hand-drawn maps of North America provided in the second chapter. How would these primitive maps, which inaccurately show land areas, affect exploration or settlement?

CONNECTING HISTORY
Some people conjecture that space colonization may be in the near future. Under what circumstances do you think this could be successful? Who would go?

INTERPRETING HISTORY
Why was Anne Bradstreet an unusual poet for the times?

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. D
2. E
3. C
4. A
5. B
6. D
7. E
8. C
9. A
10. B
Chapter 3

Controlling the Edges of the Continent, 1660–1715

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 3, you should be able to:

1. Discuss France’s dominant role in exploring the new American continent.
2. Understand the ongoing expansion of Spanish settlements.
3. Discuss how the restoration of the English monarchy changed the nature of English expansion in the New World.
4. Discuss the English colonies and their relationship to Native Americans.
5. Explain how the Glorious Revolution in Europe affected the English colonies.
6. Understand the consequences of war and growth, financially and socially.
7. Outline the Salem, Massachusetts witch trials.

Time Line

1660
English monarchy restored in the guise of Charles II
Parliament passed Navigation Act designed to promote and protect English shipping and trade with the colonies

1661
King Louis XIV assumed personal control of the French nation at age 22

1664
Charles II seized Dutch colony of New Netherland and its capitol New Amsterdam, renamed New York

1673
Louis Joliet and Jacques Marquette explored upper Mississippi river and deduce its path to the Gulf of Mexico

1675
Metacom’s War began, also known as King Philip’s War
1679
Charles II made New Hampshire a proprietorship

1680
Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico

1681
Charles II granted charter for Pennsylvania to Quaker aristocrat William Penn
Charles dissolved Parliament, angered by interference over line of royal succession

1682
La Salle led a contingent of French and Indians south from the Great Lakes to explore the lower Mississippi River; confirmed river path to the Gulf

1685
James II became King of England
Louis XIV revoked Edict of Nantes, stripping French Protestants of their legal rights

1688 - 1689
Glorious Revolution in England, abdication of James II, ascension of William and Mary to new limited monarchy

1689
King William’s War, also known as the French and Indian War, erupted near Montreal; lasted eight years

1691
New Massachusetts charter granted, joining Plymouth settlement and Maine into Massachusetts Bay colony

1692
Salem Witch Trials

1700
Louis XIV maneuvered his own grandson onto the Spanish throne to become Philip V

1701
War of Spanish Succession began
English Parliament passed Act of Settlement detailing succession upon death of William (1702)
Chapter Overview

European powers were quick to push into the North American interior, exploring the region, pressing their own claims to the empire, and putting pressure on the Spanish. This competition inevitably led to bloodshed as North America became the scene of a number of bloody proxy wars. The last of these, the Yamasee War in the South, ended Native American militancy in the section.

I. France and the American Interior

A. The Rise of the Sun King

The French king, Louis XIV, assumed command of the nation in 1661 at the age of 22. Living and ruling for 55 more years, Louis became a fixture in the political and religious spheres of Europe. He built monuments, dazzled the French nobility into complacency, and challenged the supremacy of the pope while centralizing his country’s power as never before.

An adherent of the fiscal policy of mercantilism, Louis followed a path of economic self-sufficiency by avoiding foreign debt and amassing precious metals from French colonies abroad. Efficient use of labor resources and an aggressive trade policy generated much revenue and allowed Louis to finance huge building projects and wars.

In contrast to England, Louis declined to use France’s overseas colonies as havens for religious dissidents and social outcasts. These dissidents were later compelled to seek refuge in the English colonies.

B. Exploring the Mississippi Valley

The French government followed a two-pronged approach to settlement in New France. Exploration was encouraged to expand French claims to American territory.

Adapting Indian canoes, the French explorer La Salle traversed westward to the Great Lakes and southward on the newly discovered Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico. LaSalle then claimed all the land drained by the river for France, proclaiming it Louisiana. French forts were
networked at distant points to aid in the fur trade and provide logistical support for further exploration.

Settlement was encouraged to diversify economic growth, although small townships and farming communities grew slowly due to climate and living conditions. Concerned about depopulating France to build the colonies, the Crown decreased its support for major settlements in New France.

C. King William’s War in the Northeast

Religion and economic competition fueled the French and English rivalry in Europe, finally boiling over into the American colonies in 1689. In that year, the Iroquois, equipped by the English, launched raids on the encroaching French near Montreal. The French, spread thin from administering the widening fur trade, nevertheless successfully used their native allies in an eight-year war of European empires, inflicting heavy damage on the Iroquois Confederation, as well as scattered English villages, farms, and frontier settlements.

At the conclusion of King William’s War (also known as the French and Indian War), the Iroquois determined to remain neutral in any future confrontations between the two European powers. The European portion of the war ended in a stalemate where each belligerent returned the territory gained from the enemy. In America, this meant a strengthened position for the French with a long-time enemy subdued, and the freedom to expand forts and establish settlements along the length of the Mississippi River.

D. Founding the Louisiana Colony

Before the eruption of war in Europe in 1701, King Louis XIV took active steps to insure the control of its claims in the Gulf of Mexico and established defenses against the naval power of the Spanish. Repelling English explorers, an early French expedition founded the first Gulf fort at Biloxi Bay in 1699.

Subsequent French expeditions established a defensive base at Mobile and began to drive inland, up the course of the Mississippi, where a series of outposts began to thrive. Reinforcing the territorial claims of France, these outposts eventually stretched the length of the river and offered increased trade and protection to the native populations, thereby gaining their loyalty.

In 1712, the French government, depleted from a decade of warfare in Europe, granted control of Louisiana to a powerful Parisian merchant, Antoine Crozat, who resolved to make the colony profitable.
In 1715, the Louisiana population was approximately 300, but the French had established a solid claim on the interior of the American continent until the era of Napoleon and Thomas Jefferson, almost a century later.

II. The Spanish Empire on the Defensive

A. The Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico

Mismanagement fueled Indian rebellions throughout northern New Spain. Local administration proved to be corrupt, and effective communication with Spain was naturally slow, giving these local bureaucrats an unlimited potential to abuse the native populations.

The successful Pueblo Revolt of 1680 had the longest-lasting impact on Spanish policy. Drought, Apache and Navajo raids in response to Mexican slave raiders, the inability of the Spanish officials to protect villages from these raids, and religious issues were only a few of the long-standing grievances of the Pueblo people. When frustrated priests resorted to hanging, whipping, and selling “idolaters” into slavery, the villagers united around the charismatic San Juan Pueblo leader, Pope, and successfully defeated the military garrison and drove the remaining Spanish citizens from the region. The unusual coalition of independent villages soon disintegrated over differences concerning leadership and objectives. When Spain regained control of the region, the Crown ordered fairer government, which included respect for Indian traditions. The Crown was more interested in maintaining control over the region than in purifying Indian souls.

B. Navajos and Spanish on the Southwestern Frontier

Among the repercussions of the Pueblo Revolt and fears of Spanish military reprisal was the dispersion of Pueblo peoples to Navajo villages, along with flocks of sheep, horses, and agricultural seeds. In their matriarchal society, Navajo women controlled the flocks and incorporated wool into their traditional cotton-weaving routine. Horses increased Navajo mobility and also entered the trade network, eventually reaching the Southern and Northern Plains, thus drastically altering Plains lifestyles and tribal relationships.

The Pueblo Revolt also brought repercussions for the Spanish, who realized their weakened and isolated position in the Southwest. Despite limited resources, administrators in Mexico City sent a few missionaries northward to spread Christianity and subdue native tribes. These missionaries, seeking to expand their nation’s geographical knowledge, pushed into present-day Arizona and the Sonoran Desert by the 1690s.
C. Borderland Conflict in Texas and Florida

Earlier border conflicts with the French caused the Spanish to assert their claims and establish missions and forts in the area of Texas, named after the local Tejas Indians. Starting with San Antonio, the Spanish network expanded along the border between Louisiana and Texas and along the San Antonio River.

Indian resentment also grew in Florida, where demands for food and labor combined with the demands of the new religion and deadly diseases led to the deterioration of village lifestyle and tradition. As in other areas in New Spain, Crown laws concerning Indian legal rights and labor responsibilities were ignored. Rather than respecting unfenced Indian gardens, cattle roamed freely, and Indians who killed the cattle faced four months of servitude and the loss of their ears.

The new English colonies to the north gave Florida tribes the chance to ignore Spain and deal with a new English market in the deerskin trade. Each country tried to force exclusive tribal loyalty. Caught in the middle of Spanish and English imperial aspirations, Florida tribes dealt with harsh military action from the Spanish and slave raids from Carolina.

III. England’s American Empire Takes Shape

A. Monarchy Restored and Navigation Controlled

As France’s Louis XIV ascended to his throne, England underwent a radical change in government that changed how English colonists lived. In the 1640s, during a bloody civil war, English citizens supporting Puritan freedom of religion and Parliament-based rule overthrew the reigning Stuart family, beheaded Charles I, and put an end to the hereditary monarchy.

For the brief years that followed, England became a republican commonwealth, ruled by the Lord Protector of Parliament, Oliver Cromwell. His death in 1658 caused members of government to reconsider reestablishing the monarchy. Two years later, the English government invited Charles’ son back from exile and restored him to the throne as Charles II.

After nullifying all government decrees from the late Cromwell, Charles II moved quickly to revenge his father. Those responsible parties that could not escape to Puritan New England were summarily executed. The American colonies continued to grow with the influx of political dissidents. Sea trade flourished as a result of population increase and close proximity of the majority of people to a shoreline. Increased merchant shipping traffic prompted the need for regulation to safeguard colonial interests.

In 1660, Parliament passed the Navigation Act, designed to promote British seaborne trade through regulation regarding who could carry which products. Foreign-owned ships were not
allowed to transport colonial goods, key non-English products from the colonies had to be shipped on British transports, and a list of luxury items produced overseas—enumerated articles—could no longer be sent to England via a foreign port.

The Navigation Acts (several more followed the original) fueled shipbuilding in the tree-rich New World. Britain’s navy and merchant fleet grew tremendously as colonial trade became a main staple of the English economy.

B. Fierce Anglo-Dutch Competition

English and Dutch trade rivalries also affected the colonies. The Navigation Acts had cut deeply into the Dutch share of colonial trade and prompted a decade of renewed warfare with the British. These Anglo-Dutch skirmishes usually ended in stalemate, but the subsequent Treaty of Westminster in 1674 granted England valuable rights in Africa and advantages in the growing slave trade as well as seizure of the poorly defended Dutch colony of New Netherland and its capital of New Amsterdam.

These Dutch holdings had long been disputed by Britain, who claimed the renamed New York area as part of its original rights in the continent. The naval fleet that arrived to back up the English claim was unnecessary, as the Dutch governor surrendered the colony without a fight. The enthusiasm of Dutch colonists waned under an appointed governor and council whose decisions were unrestrained by local opinion. Arriving English settlers also resented the lack of representation and lobbied successfully to acquire it. However, their first action, approving government by consent of the governed, angered the Duke of York, who ordered it disbanded. Despite their loss, the Dutch continued to be a presence in the colony and eventually integrated themselves into the local society.

C. The New Restoration Colonies

The restoration to monarchal rule also resulted in the establishment of new colonies as proprietorships, opening Carolina, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Carolina quickly prospered using slavery to develop plantations that supplied rice to Barbados and its fellow slave regions and indigo (deep blue dye) to the British textile industry. Pennsylvania prospered by supplying foodstuffs and various craft goods, especially chains and metal tools, to the existing colonies to the north, south, and West Indies.

D. The Contrasting Worlds of Pennsylvania and Carolina

In 1682, William Penn established Philadelphia as the capital of Pennsylvania and within two decades it had more than 2,000 residents. Penn, a devote Quaker and pacifist, dealt fairly with the Lenni-Lenape Indians and practiced religious toleration. From the start, Pennsylvania was diverse and in 1701, Penn agreed to a unicameral legislature with full legal power.
By contrast, Anthony Ashley-Cooper wished to establish a stable aristocratic system based upon a clearly stratified society. Moreover, Carolina was based on racial slavery, which is not surprising given the proprietors’ interest in England’s slave-trading monopoly in Africa.

IV. Bloodshed in the English Colonies: 1670 - 1690

A. Metacom’s War in New England

By 1675, the Native Americans of the Atlantic coastal region had lived through several decades of colonization by Europeans. Disagreements flourished about how much European culture should be assimilated. Many Native Americans spoke English to enhance trade relations and some had aspired to traditional higher education. Massasoit, the Wampanoag leader who had befriended the Pilgrims, was careful to ensure that his two sons, Wamsutta and Metacom, were schooled in English ways. Wamsutta died in the 1660s and Metacom (now called King Philip, having succeeded both his father and brother) suspected a sinister plot by the British.

Metacom held his tongue over the next decade as his resentment grew. He saw his people abused and cheated by the colonists and watched the white population grow. Open hostilities erupted in 1675 when three Wampanoags were executed as murderers of another Wampanoag informant, an informant who had learned of Metacom’s anger and plans for revenge.

In the summer and fall, Metacom’s braves raided town after town along the Connecticut River, gathering new recruits as they traveled. United colonists surprised and overwhelmed a main band of rebel natives, burning them in their hastily prepared defenses. Some escaped this “Great Swamp Fight,” but the death toll stood at about 600 Wampanoags and other tribesmen.

Infuriated, the neighboring Narragansett tribe joined forces with Metacom and his growing cadre of natives. Ultimately, sickness, hunger, and clashes with pro-European tribes broke the Metacom coalition; he was taken prisoner and beheaded.

B. Bacon’s Rebellion in Virginia

In Virginia, the grievances of 6,000 indentured Europeans and 2,000 black slaves combined with frontier tensions in a bloody rebellion led by Nathaniel Bacon. Governor Berkeley was not successful in controlling the rebellion, which grew with the addition of poor land owners and runaway servants.

In an attempt to demonstrate support for his policies, Berkeley held the first election in 14 years, but Bacon’s followers dominated the new Assembly, which passed laws returning the vote to landless men, and reduced much of the corruption that had crept into Virginia’s governance under Berkeley.
Bacon’s followers destroyed Indian villages on the frontier, and Jamestown on the coast. The rebellion evaporated with the death of Bacon and the arrival of English troops. On the frontier, Indian anger against settlers increased, while the small group of Virginia gentry moved to erect barriers between black and white servants.

C. The “Glorious Revolution” in England

In 1678, rumors began to circulate in England that the Catholics were plotting to kill the Protestant king Charles II so that a Catholic, his brother James, could take power. Parliament, fearful of rule by a Catholic, declared that James should be removed from the natural line of succession. Parliament argued that a better choice for ruler would be one of James’s daughters from his first marriage—most specifically Mary, who had just married her Dutch Cousin, William of Orange.

Angered by the debate on succession, Charles disbanded Parliament in 1681 and ruled alone for the remaining four years of his life. When he died without Parliament’s oversight, his natural successor, James II, ascended the throne in 1685.

Fear and suspicion of Catholics escalated in the people of England when James also dissolved Parliament, created a standing army, and placed a Catholic in command of the English Navy. Soon after, James’s queen gave birth to a male heir, ushering in a new dynasty of Catholic rulers.

United by their fear, England’s political class appealed to Protestant William of Orange to lead an army from Holland and seize the English crown. William did this in 1688, staging a bloodless invasion of the island country. James abdicated and fled into exile. William and his wife, James’s daughter Mary, were proclaimed joint monarchs of the Glorious Revolution. They accepted a Bill of Rights from Parliament and handed over most of the sovereign’s traditional powers.

D. The “Glorious Revolution” in America

In America, James’s creation of the Dominion of New England met fierce resistance, which increased under the heavy-handed governance of Edmond Andros. James II finally abdicated and fled the country. Crowned king, William accepted English demands for a bill of rights, greater freedom of the press, and freedom of religion for Protestant dissenters. Unlike James II, William supported Parliamentary power. As information about these conditions in England reached the colonies, colonists in Boston and New York removed the Dominion officials appointed by James II. Colonists in the Chesapeake also seized power from his appointees.
V. Consequences of War and Growth: 1690 B 1715

A. Salem’s Wartime Witch Hunt

In 1692, an outbreak of witchcraft accusations occurred in Essex County, Massachusetts, near the Maine frontier. In the early 1600s, witchcraft trials were common in Europe, and in the colonies Christians had already prosecuted and executed several accused witches. Salem, however, was a special case with more than 200 accused witches.

Early in 1692, several young girls in Salem began to suffer violent fits, followed by vivid hallucinations. The girls accused a slave couple of Indian or African origin of bewitching them. By April, the girls had accused seven more people, who in turn accused others of the township.

Show trials in abundance followed, with public hangings of those hapless enough not to appear convincing. Only when prominent leaders of the church and community fell under accusation did the girls begin to recant. The colonial governor intervened, and emptied the jails.

B. The Uneven Costs of War

While war in America meant frightening raids for frontier settlements, there were those in coastal towns who profited from the war. The challenge of supplying troops with necessities combined with a growing trade in black market merchandise, created opportunity and wealth for a few and an expanded job market for others. Poor families suffered under increased taxes, higher food prices, and military pressures. While the rich prospered under the wartime economy, with five percent controlling 40 percent of the wealth, over 60 percent of the population controlled only 13 percent of the wealth.

C. Storm Clouds in the South

Increasing settlement in Carolina created new pressures on southern tribal lands and local resources. Tuscarora tribesmen, reacting to cheating traders and settler pressures, began war in 1711. Settlers combined with Yamasee warriors to crush the rebellion. Most of the remaining Tuscaroras moved north from their southern homelands and became the sixth nation in the Iroquois League. By 1715, settler pressure for Yamasee land again led to war. Yamasee, Creek, Spanish settlers in Florida, and French traders in the Alabama territory joined in bringing war again to the English frontier.
Identification

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. King Louis XIV:

2. The Edict of Nantes:

3. Louis Joliet:

4. Rene-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle:

5. Louisiana:

6. King William’s War:

7. Monsieur Cadillac:

8. The Pueblo Revolt:

9. Eusebio Kino:

10. Unicameral legislature:

11. Oliver Cromwell:

12. The Navigation Acts:

13. The Peace of Westminster:
14. William Penn:

15. Wampanoags:

16. Metacom’s War:

17. Massasoit:

18. Bacon’s Rebellion:

19. The Glorious Revolution:

20. William of Orange:

21. Salem, Massachusetts:

22. The Act of Settlement:

23. The Naval Stores Act of 1705:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. King Louis XIV was nicknamed the
   A. Ruthless.
   B. Father of Paris.
   C. Sun King.
   D. Conqueror.
   E. Great Communicator.
2. The Pennsylvania colony was founded as a safe haven for
   A. Indians.
   B. debtors.
   C. Catholics.
   D. slaves.
   E. Quakers.

3. The Wampanoag leader, Metacom, was also known as
   A. King Philip.
   B. Squanto.
   C. Pequot.
   D. Wamsutta.
   E. none of the above.

4. The authoritarian governor of Virginia whose heavy-handed actions touched off Bacon's Rebellion was
   A. Thomas Hutchinson.
   B. Charles Ashley-Smith.
   C. William Pitt.
   D. Nathanial Bacon.
   E. none of the above.

5. In the Glorious Revolution of 1689, William of Orange intervened in English politics to depose
   A. Charles I.
   B. Edmond Andros.
   C. Elizabeth I.
   D. James II.
   E. Charles II

6. The French explorer who “discovered” the point where the Mississippi River empties into the Gulf was
   A. Jacques Marquette.
   B. Sieur de La Salle.
   C. Louis Joliet.
   D. Comte de Frontenac.
   E. Louis Napoleon.
7. The Indian leader of the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680 was
   A. Diego de Vargas.
   B. Juan de Onate.
   C. Pope.
   D. Pedro Naranjo.
   E. Squanto.

8. When James, Duke of York, seized New Amsterdam from the Dutch, he renamed the colony
   A. New Boston.
   B. New Caledonia.
   C. Baltimore.
   D. New York.
   E. New London.

9. Nathaniel Bacon drew support for his Virginia rebellion from
   A. the Carolina colony.
   B. the Scottish Highlands.
   C. Indian tribes.
   D. neighboring Georgia.
   E. the Virginia frontier.

10. To increase his control over the American colonies, James II established
    A. the Carolina colony.
    B. the Dominion of New England.
    C. the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
    D. New York.
    E. all of the above.

**MAP QUESTION:**

Examine the maps in this chapter. According to European convention, exploration of an area more firmly establishes a country’s claim to a region. The existence of colonies confirms the claims. By studying the maps, what can you conclude about European activity between 1660 and 1715? Regardless of international understandings, who had control of the land claimed by Spain, England, or France?

**CONNECTING HISTORY**

In the case of a national tragedy such as the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, should a person come under suspicion solely on the basis of identification with a particular nationality, religion, or ethnic group?
INTERPRETING HISTORY

Given the enormous negative influence that European colonization had on the Native Americans, would any amount of sympathy regarding their plight from colonial leaders of the times have made a difference in the resulting actions of people like Metacom?

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. C  
2. E  
3. A  
4. E  
5. D  
6. B  
7. C  
8. D  
9. E  
10. B
Chapter 4
African Enslavement: The Terrible Transformation

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 4, you should be able to:

1. Understand the effect of the growing slave trade on the African tribes in terms of escalation of tribal warfare, slave raids, changes in tribal population, and culture.
2. Discuss the origins of the African slave trade and why it came to be.
3. Explain how the process of capture in Africa, the terrifying Atlantic journey, and torture were meant to produce a servile, industrious slave with no desire to rebel.
4. Appreciate the kinds of passive resistance demonstrated by African slaves in order to exert some measure of control over their lives.
5. Describe how interpersonal relationships and religion helped Africans endure the oppression of slavery.
6. Discuss how the slave trade developed in the Western Hemisphere.
7. Understand how constant fear of slave revolt prompted the white minority to create rigid systems of law to control every aspect of African labor.

Time Line

1565
African slave labor used to establish Spanish outpost at St. Augustine (Florida)

1625
Brazil led the Western Hemisphere in imported slaves and exported sugar

1640
Virginia passed law preventing blacks from bearing arms

1650
Slavery and sugar production growing quickly in English West Indies; few slaves in North American colonies

1652
Rhode Island colony passed statute limiting all involuntary servitude to no more than ten years
1662
Virginia General Assembly proclaimed that any child born of an Englishman and an African woman would be free or slave depending on the status of the mother; began a tradition of hereditary slavery

1665
Great Plague in England lowered population and created increased demand for alternative labor source

1676
Bacon’s Rebellion in Virginia

1680
Virginia slave law created, spelled out punishments, including death for violent slaves

1691
Virginia statute created, condemning sexual mixing of Englishmen with other races; required freed slaves to be banished from the colony within six months of their release at the former master’s expense; limited the parameters for granting freedom to slaves

1699
Thomas Bray established Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; established Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) in 1701

1705
Virginia Negro Act allowed white indentured servants to sue their masters in court for mistreatment; blacks were not extended the same right

1732
Twenty-year charter for the new territory of Georgia granted to a group of English trustees; first group of settlers arrived in 1733

1735
Georgia proclaimed a free-white colony that prohibited slavery and refused to admit free blacks

1739
Stono Rebellion, largest slave uprising in colonial North America, near Charleston

1741
New York Slave Plot

1750
Free-white experiment in Georgia failed; law passed permitting slavery
Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes published by the Quaker John Woolman

Georgia became royal colony

Chapter Overview

As the economic and social structure of the colonial world changed, so too did the institution of slavery. Demand grew and the institution increasingly defined itself racially. As profits increased, England entered the slave trade, and Africans, newly enslaved, struggled to make sense of this new, horrible world.

I. The Descent into Race Slavery

A. The Caribbean Precedent

As the need for fully controlled, inexpensive labor emerged in colonial expansion, Europeans devised religious and moral justifications for participation in the African slave trade. Spanish developers introduced black slavery to the Western Hemisphere, specifically in the Caribbean, as Indian populations declined due to disease and labor conditions. Agriculture and mining successes outgrew the ability of Spanish ships to deliver the required number of slaves, and the Spanish government actively sought shippers from the Dutch and other rival nations. Portugal, already delivering slaves to sugar colonies in the Azores, increased its activity in the lucrative slave trade to meet the new demand.

As Portugal developed Brazil, the slave trade naturally followed. Slavery also became the regional work force on English sugar plantations in Barbados. During the earliest British colonies in America, black slaves, due to expense, were an insignificant portion of the labor force, which depended on white indentured labor.

B. Ominous Beginnings

Since the sixteenth century, African men had joined Spanish expeditions into the wilds of the Southeast; some had remained, starting families with natives. African slaves labored to build the Spanish outpost at St. Augustine in 1565. Africans did exist within the colonies of the French, Dutch, and English but not in great number. Most slaves at this time did not come from Africa but were second-generation African Americans from the Caribbean. There was no uniform code regarding the treatment of slaves, and experiences varied widely.
In the Massachusetts Bay area, early Puritan settlers in need of reliable labor began to import a few slaves from the Caribbean and even tried to negotiate a direct trade agreement with Africa. In 1652, Rhode Island passed a law restricting the length of involuntary servitude of any type to ten years.

In 1619, slaves were brought in number to Virginia. A series of Virginia statutes was created during the subsequent decades to systematically strip Africans of any rights and reduce them to mere property. Skin color became the distinguishing identifier of servitude. Throughout the 1640s and 1650s, planters in Virginia began to assume rights to the labor of Indians and Africans for life. Additionally, they claimed rights to any children produced by slave women of color.

C. Alternative Sources of Labor

Enslaved Native Americans were readily used but proved susceptible to European diseases and were harder to identify or capture when they ran away. Also, Indian wars to secure slaves tended to disrupt trade and increased the risks to villages, towns, and outlying farms in all of the colonies. Bacon’s Rebellion and the Great Plague of London sounded a warning to colonial planters that indentured labor from Europe was not an inexhaustible resource. Moreover, abused and cheated indentured servants were quick to report their plight to potential indentures back in England; these potentials would simply book passage to another location.

In contrast, the African slaves had no avenue of redress for the mistreatments they encountered in the colonies and the Caribbean. Thus, no feedback or warnings made it back to Africa to deter relatives or tribesmen from falling into the same trap. Lack of communication perpetuated the Africans’ plight.

D. The Fateful Transition

Although black slaves existed in British colonies, the growth of laws to support a slave system emerged gradually over the decades. Questions about the length of time one would be a slave, the status of slave children, and the legal restrictions regarding slave testimony were decided in colonial courts. Also struck down was the notion that the acceptance of Christianity could save an African from slavery; a Maryland law of 1664 closed that avenue of escape.

In approximately 20 years, English planters had conspired to transform black indentured servitude into hereditary slavery. African slaves, condemned to unpaid labor for life, had no method of complaint when they were punished for misdeeds, real or suggested. Therefore, they found themselves increasingly at the mercy of cruel masters sanctioned by the government to beat them into submission.
II. The Growth of Slave Labor Camps

A. Black Involvement in Bacon’s Rebellion

Bacon’s Rebellion, the major uprising that took place in the Chesapeake region in 1676, had a profound impact on Virginia’s transition to racial slavery. The debacle saw Nathaniel Bacon and a group of aspiring Virginia gentry struggling against Indian groups of the frontier and an entrenched Jamestown oligarchy.

The rebellion underscored the need to find an alternative to the flow of predominately white indentured servants from England. Terms of service only lasted several years and freed servants were still young enough to become competitors to the masters. Those freed men, both black and white, made up the bulk of Bacon’s following.

B. The Rise of a Slaveholding Tidewater Elite

The decision to use black slave labor in the Chesapeake region was based on the desire for profit and dependable long-term laborers. As better living conditions emerged, slaves could be expected to produce children, whose labor could also be exploited or who could be sold for a profit. Slave laborers worked long hours, at tasks specified by owners, and were moved without warning when their labor was desired elsewhere. These conditions were no better than convict labor camps. Africans would routinely be forced to work without pay for life and endure increasingly brutal physical punishment as motivation.

Slave ownership appealed to both the wealthy and those aspiring to wealth. Young white men, like William Byrd of Virginia, could earn enough money in business, purchase a few slaves for resale, and continue expanding their operations to gain wealth and power. Planters in Virginia increased their profits by expanding the head right system, where 50 acres of land were provided for any person who brought a family member or worker into the colony, to include those who bought slaves, thereby increasing their acreage as they increased the workforce.

C. Closing the Vicious Circle in the Chesapeake

The courts and the church also became influential in establishing the accepted conditions of slavery and white labor. Interracial ties became taboo; insistent couples were banished from the dominion. Blacks, regardless of their origins or status, were systematically stripped of any rights they might have thought they possessed.

White indentured servants retained the right to sue their masters for mistreatment according to the Negro Act of 1705, yet Africans had no such ability of judicial appeal. Masters who accidentally killed a slave during the course of inflicting punishment were held free of any felony. The system of government-approved enslaving of Africans was now firmly in place.
III. England Enters the Atlantic Slave Trade

England showed little initial interest in the slave trade, but profits from a growing sugar operation in Barbados quickly convinced Charles II of the slavery system’s merits.

By 1670, the Crown granted a monopoly to the Royal African Company to exploit the African slave trade. The RAC kept up a steady flow of slave ships between Africa and the English colonies. Demand for slave labor, especially in the Caribbean, continued to drive the price of slaves higher. Greed compelled privateers to challenge the RAC monopoly, which ended officially in 1698. In 1713, English companies were contracted to supply African slaves to the Spanish colonies in America and continued to dominate the slave trade for the next three generations.

A. Trade Ties Between Europe and Africa

Dozens of European trading posts were set up all along the sub-Saharan coastline in the two hundred years since the Portuguese had first visited Africa in the 1680s. Local African businessmen formed alliances with Europeans and traded gold and ivory for textiles and alcohol. As Europeans learned African ways, some Africans, like Prince Aniaga of Guinea, became more European. Aniaga visited Paris and even became a respected captain in the French military before deciding to go home.

B. The Slave Trade on the African Coast

Led by the Dutch, most of the European powers had created outposts along an 8,000-mile stretch of the western coast of Africa. Embracing diverse geographic regions, this coastline was home to many distinct cultures of African tribes. Generations of Africans had become accustomed to contact with the Europeans, learning their languages and initiating trade.

Some traders from the interior of the continent, aware of the need for slaves in the New World, would make yearly treks to these coastal outposts with thousands of captive natives from tribal wars to sell to the Europeans. Sold slaves were then ferried across the Atlantic to the American colonies or the Caribbean.

C. The Middle Passage Experience

Lasting as much as two years, the deportation of a captured African to America was a harsh affair usually experienced in five distinct stages, beginning with initial capture in the interior of Africa and relocation to the coastal outposts.
The next stage included sale of the natives by African traders to Europeans. This transaction usually included close inspection of the slaves and identification branding into the skin. Confused and disoriented, slaves would lose track of relatives and friends by the time they reached the Atlantic. Great sailing vessels waited to be filled with slaves offshore.

Once filled, a transport’s captain would make an educated guess about when to sail for America along the middle passage of the Atlantic. Factors such as weather, prior instructions from financiers, advice from local agents, and food supply contributed to a captain’s decision to start the risky voyage.

The African slaves in these ships were kept in deplorable conditions, shackled side-by-side below decks. Filth and disease were the norm on the voyage and many slaves died on the way, only to be tossed overboard by the white crew or used as shark bait to help feed those who would survive.

D. Saltwater Slaves Arrive in America

The slaves unfortunate enough to survive the hellish sea journey were sold to individual planters, merchants, or speculators soon after arriving in America. The healthiest were paraded in their chains for inspection by the wealthy buyers. Those not sold immediately were advertised in the press.

Bought slaves were then transported to their permanent labor camps. Usually arriving in fall or winter, the new arrivals were indoctrinated into the life of a slave during a final stage known as “seasoning.” This process was designed to allow the slave time to recover from the colossal shock of deportation and to heal physically.

IV. Survival in a Strange New Land

A. African Rice Growers in South Carolina

Unlike the Chesapeake region where slavery slowly replaced white labor, South Carolina depended on black slaves from its inception. South Carolina’s climate and its hazards were similar to those in Africa. Working with cattle was also familiar to some slaves, while others were faced with unfamiliar tasks. Slaves were expected to produce their own food, and many turned to rice cultivation, common in their homelands.

Owners recognized the market opportunities of rice cultivation as food for slave populations in the Caribbean and later as a viable export to satisfy the European taste for rice pudding. Another labor intensive African product, indigo, also developed into a highly desirable dye for English textile industries.
B. Patterns of Resistance

South Carolina laws quickly emerged to protect owner interests, similar to the laws found in the Caribbean region. The strict working conditions and subsequent punishments did not develop a totally subservient people. Work slow-downs, faked illness, lost or broken tools, running away, and threats of violence were only some of the acts of resistance that slowly forced individual owners to alter working conditions. Slaves needed to calculate the reaction to such resistance, since punishments could be severe, and included confinement, reduction in food, whipping, mutilation, sale, or even death.

Owners feared their slaves and constantly watched for signs of a violent uprising of numbers of slaves or changes in activity of an angered individual who could strike out by burning fields at harvest time, destroying livestock, intentionally damaging expensive equipment, or murdering white owners or overseers.

C. A Wave of Rebellion

Individual acts of slave protest were common, yet group uprisings also occurred. During the 1730s, rumors of slave uprisings shook French Louisiana. Several suspected plotters were unsuccessfully tortured to force them to reveal the extent of the plot and names of others involved. They were then executed.

The largest colonial uprising, called the Stono Rebellion, occurred in South Carolina in 1739, shortly after the declaration of war between Spain and Britain. Approximately 70 armed slaves burned selected plantations, murdered ten whites, and tried to attract new recruits as they traveled toward the freedom promised in St. Augustine, Florida. Colonists and their Indian allies defeated the rebels before they reached Florida, while additional blacks suspected of rebel sympathies were tortured or killed during the wave of hysteria following the event. Charleston stopped another rumored uprising in 1740 by hanging the 50 suspects as an object lesson to other slaves.

New York also exploded in violent racial activity during fears generated by the Spanish war with England. Suspicious fires resulted in aggressive arrests and 34 executions and the expulsion of 72 free blacks from the town. It is clear that as slavery became imbedded in colonial life, white slave owners and neighboring colonists without slaves had serious concerns about their own safety.

V. The Transformation Completed

Those southern Americans who saw slavery as a viable tool for survival and success tightened the regulations concerning slave behavior, supported costly slave patrols and slave-catching activity, and sought to further control or drive from their midst the small but growing number of
free blacks in their neighborhood. Free blacks in the north also faced increasing discrimination in relation to jobs and housing. The number of slaves also increased in the north, where slaves were most often used as servants, both to alleviate white mistresses from burdensome household tasks and to provide evidence of wealth and culture. Northern speculators and ship owners became wealthy by transporting slaves from Africa and selling them in the south.

A. Uncertain Voices of Dissent

As slavery expanded, many whites saw free blacks as a threat and in 1691, Virginia restricted manumissions. As southern slave colonies oppressed free blacks, in the North, discrimination against African Americans became widespread. Slavery continued and even strengthened in Northern colonies while white Christians lacked the will to fight against slavery. Even critics of the slave system, like Samuel Sewell of Massachusetts, were often ambivalent about the prospects for free blacks.

B. Is this Consistent “with Christianity or Common Justice”?

Although not all Americans condoned slavery, few even among religious leaders spoke out against the growing institution. Some religious leaders and philanthropists such as Thomas Bray promoted Christian instruction for slaves, which received little support among masters. Those who did give permission insisted that slaves be taught about their duties and clearly instructed that rewards or freedom would be found in heaven but not on earth. Among Quakers, individual opposition to slavery existed, but the church supported the individual’s right to own slaves.

C. Oglethorpe’s Antislavery Experiment

In 1731, the London proprietors of Georgia posed an idealistic challenge to southern slavery. The objective of this new colony was to provide a means of rescuing the worthy poor and those in jail for minor crimes by providing small farms as well as transportation to Georgia. In return, these new farmers would produce warm-weather items such as grapes and silk for the English market. This prosperous region would also provide a military buffer between Spanish Florida and South Carolina. The proprietors took no profits from the colony but sought to control all aspects of its growth. Most important, Governor James Oglethorpe was dedicated to the cause of making Georgia a free-white colony with no slavery and no admission of free Africans.

Settlers in Georgia, whether from England, Germany, Switzerland, or Austria, faced the common adjustment problems to weather, geographic conditions, and animal and insect hazards encountered by all other new colonists. Resentment over the lack of a legislature enjoyed by the other English colonies and over the inability to buy or sell land or deed their land to whomever they desired to prevent the accumulation of large estates caused problems. In addition, the banning of slavery in the colony was viewed as a threat by other southern colonies.
D. The End of Equality in Georgia

Finally, a small, well-organized Georgia faction, joined by supporters from South Carolina, encouraged a rift among the proprietors about the appropriate course for the development of the colony. After holding out for two decades, slavery was allowed by 1751, and land-hungry South Carolinians pushed into Georgia to extend their slave empires into the rich, virgin soil. African slaves rapidly became the workers of choice, and Georgia laws controlling slavery mirrored the harsh statutes passed in South Carolina.

**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. The *Asiento*:

2. Bess Key:

3. Aniaga:

4. freedom dues:

5. Reverend Morgan Godwyn:

6. Bacon’s Rebellion:

7. William Byrd:

8. Negro Act of 1705:

9. Barbados:

10. Prince Rupert:
11. Royal African Company:

12. manumissions:

13. triangular trade:

14. “entrepots”:

15. coffle:

16. barracoons:

17. saltwater slaves:

18. “seasoning”:

19. Sullivan’s Island (Charleston):

20. rice:

21. indigo:

22. Stono Rebellion:

23. New York Slave Plot:

24. Thomas Bray:
25. Christian Priber:

26. John Woolman:

27. James Oglethorpe:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. Historians estimate that ____________ people were enslaved and transported against their will to the Caribbean and Central, South, and North America.
   A. 50 million
   B. 100 million
   C. 25 million
   D. 15 million
   E. 10 million

2. England became increasingly involved in the slave trade when the sugar colony of __________ began its economic take-off.
   A. Barbados
   B. Cuba
   C. Trinidad
   D. Puerto Rico
   E. Haiti

3. The English corporate entity that was given a monopoly on the slave trade was the
   A. Massachusetts Bay Company.
   B. Barbadian Land Company.
   C. Dutch East Indies Company.
   D. Royal African Company.
   E. East Indies Company Ltd.

4. To control access to the slave trade, European powers established dozens of ____________ along the West African coast.
   A. stores
   B. river shanties
   C. markets
   D. forts
   E. entrepots
5. The growth of the slave trade in West Africa paralleled the growth of ___________ in the colonies.
   A. inter-colonial warfare
   B. sugar production
   C. tobacco production
   D. disease epidemics
   E. all of the above

6. In their studies of the Middle Passage, historians have been able to document ___________ slave voyages.
   A. 1,000
   B. 32,000
   C. 27,000
   D. 51,000
   E. 43,000

7. The final stage of Africans’ journeys into slavery was called ___________ and it gave them time to acclimate to their new worlds.
   A. the Long Dying
   B. seasoning
   C. the transition
   D. Middle Passage

8. The highest proportion of enslaved workers in North America lived in
   A. New York.
   B. Massachusetts.
   C. Georgia.
   D. Virginia.
   E. South Carolina.

9. West African slaves brought with them the profitable staple crop that transformed the South Carolina economy. It was
   A. rice.
   B. tobacco.
   C. indigo.
   D. sugar.
   E. corn.
10. Of the men listed below, who did not dissent on the issue of slavery in the English colonies?
   A. Thomas Bray
   B. William Byrd
   C. Samuel Sewell
   D. Christian Priber
   E. all of the above

**MAP QUESTION:**

After looking at the information associated with Map 4.2, what general conclusions can you draw about the African slave trade and the European powers that perpetuated it?

**CONNECTING HISTORY**

Consider the question of slave reparations. In what way could this be accomplished fairly for everyone? Who would foot the bill? Should a generation of taxpayers who have never experienced slavery pay for the sins of a relatively few long-dead planters and merchants? Is granting reparations the only possible solution?

**INTERPRETING HISTORY**

Considering the time in which the plea to Bishop Gibson was written, what measures could the Church of England have followed to help the plight of the African slaves beyond Christianization? Were any measures feasible, considering the drastic need for labor in the colonies?
Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. E
2. A
3. D
4. E
5. B
6. C
7. B
8. E
9. A
10. B
Chapter 5
An American Babel, 1713–1763

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 5, you should be able to:

1. Understand the challenges many Indian nations faced from European animals and trade-goods long before they encountered Europeans themselves.
2. Explain why horses and guns were the most significant exchanges between Europeans and Indians.
3. Discuss which tribes of Native Americans were dominant in the different regions of the continent.
4. Discuss the root causes of the Indian wars.
5. Analyze how the Great Awakening altered the religious landscape of white America.
6. Explain how and why the French formed alliances with Indian tribes.

Time Line

1690
Arrival of the horse in the Comancheria

1700
Population of England at 5.1 million
Population of British North America at 260,000

1706
First Spanish contact with the Comanche
Benjamin Franklin born in Boston

1710
Inhaled snuff became popular among Europeans, creating more demand for colonial tobacco

1723
Benjamin Franklin, age 23, arrived in Philadelphia and began printing business
1737
Thomas Penn’s Walking Purchase

1739
Revivalist George Whitefield visited America; his preaching ushered in the Great Awakening
Pierre and Paul Mallet set out to explore the Missouri River, tributary of the Mississippi

1740
Great Wagon Road used for wagon transportation from Philadelphia to South Carolina Piedmont

1742
Richmond, Virginia incorporated

1747
Ohio Company of Virginia founded

1749
Apache tribe established non-aggression pact with the Spanish

1750
Population of England at 5.8 million
Population of British North America at 1.2 million

1751
Georgia colony legalized slavery

1754
Skirmish between French and colonial forces under Major George Washington

1755
Eviction of French colonials from Acacia, British Nova Scotia; many moved to Louisiana to become Cajuns

1763
Treaty of Paris negotiated, ending hostilities in America and removing the French as a threat

1780
Comanche population grew to over 20,000
Chapter Overview

The term that best described the colonies of North America in the first half of the eighteenth century was “diverse.” After the initial shock of contact, the native populations re-organized themselves in the West. New immigrant groups arrived from Europe, bringing with them new beliefs, ideas, and skills. The economic landscape became more varied and regionally specialized. As the colonists struggled with change, religious revivals swept across the cultural landscape while European power struggles cost France its Canadian empire.

I. New Cultures on the Western Plains

A. The Spread of the Horse

As the horse spread northward from Spanish settlements in New Mexico, French, and British trade guns slowly moved down from Canada or across the Mississippi River. Plains tribes like the Cheyenne and Crow in the Northern Plains and the Comanche in the Southern Plains, formerly dependent on dogs to aid village movement, readily adapted the horse, initially to carry burdens like the dog and then to improve bison-hunting expeditions.

Once the herds had increased, horses became key to raiding and warfare strategies. Social, religious, hunting, and raiding customs quickly adapted to the use of the horse. With hunting success came population increase, which in turn encouraged raids against distant enemies to acquire horses or other trade goods and to gain warrior status and leadership skills. The power of existing warrior societies increased and tribes without formal societies created them. Eventually, some of the sedentary tribes, like the Osage and Pawnee, chose to leave their riverside villages and agricultural lands for the nomadic life on the Plains to remove their people from the constant slave raiding expeditions of their enemies.

B. The Rise of the Comanche

In the Southern Plains, the Comanche expanded their range from western Kansas to central Texas. Skilled warriors and hunters, their raids on Apache and Pueblo towns concerned the Spanish authorities. The presence of French traders at Natchitoches and New Orleans, territory claimed by Spain, also alarmed the Spanish authorities. The failure of Spanish expeditions to chastise the Comanche encouraged their raiding, which in turn meant Apache villages made more raids on Pueblo and Spanish settlements.
C. Creation of the comacheria on the Southern Plains

To survive under the new pressures, Spanish villages made separate peace and trade agreements with the Comanche and Apache, increasing their own safety but also increasing the problems for other Spanish and Pueblo towns in the region. In two decades, the Comancheria encompassed most of Texas, with a tribal population of 20,000, and was to remain a powerful force in the Southwest for decades.

D. The Expansion of the Sioux

In the Northern Plains, the Beaver Wars and the impact of trade guns resulted in Sioux bands moving out onto the Plains. Familiarity with firearms gave the Sioux an advantage over western tribes, while access to horses significantly changed Sioux culture. The abundance of food increased band size, while the abundance of hides resulted in larger teepees and the accumulation of personal possessions.

The work-load for women increased, as did their exposure to raiding parties. Leadership within the tribe shifted to include more hunters and warriors, while the influence of women and older men on tribal decisions decreased. Wealth was judged by the size of horse herds, and the need to pasture the expanding herds increased the necessity of constant movement.

II. Britain’s Mainland Colonies: A New Abundance of People

A. Population Growth on the Home Front

Early marriage, the abundance of food, the need for laborers, and the relatively low occurrence of deadly epidemics due to population dispersal all contributed to an astonishing population growth in the American colonies. Families needed to be large to produce adequate labor for the parents. Benjamin Franklin, born in Boston in 1706, grew up in a household of 17 children that had all survived the frequent early death experienced by European children and colonial children a century before.

Most important, low death rate and a growing average life span contributed to the booming population of the American colonies. Food was plentiful, and the craftsmanship of housing improved dramatically. Newborns who survived infancy could expect to live a long life.

B. “Packed Like Herrings”: Arrivals from Abroad

Immigration also added to colonial growth. From England came large numbers of independent persons pursuing opportunity or joining relatives. Many deported felons came as well, having been offered by the Crown the opportunity to work for a contracted length of time in America in return for dismissal of their prison sentences.
The British administration also sought to recruit Europeans, hoping that townships of acceptable ethnic groups on the colonial frontier would create a buffer against unwelcome Indian attacks. Immigrants were often offered sizable plots of land and free passage to America. However, despite these enticements, the African slave population continued to expand more quickly than the free community.

C. Non-English Newcomers in the British Colonies

Colonies that had begun existence as exclusively English became much more diverse after 1700. Much of the diversity was due to the Atlantic slave trade. By 1750, about 250,000 African Americans made up 20 percent of the English colonial population.

Native Americans accounted for a small number of the total, but the bulk of the colonial population was of European decent. Many spoke English with varying accents or not at all. The New England colonies remained the most homogenous, but even they experienced wide diversification of population during this period.

The majority of European immigrants were indentured servants. Sizeable numbers arrived from Scotland, Wales, and Germany. African slaves were more predominant in the South, arriving at a rate of some 4,000 per year, in some areas exceeding the white population.

III. The Varied Economic Landscape

Five distinct economic regions emerged in colonial America as local commercial systems gained strength and chose logical specialties. Transportation improved somewhat, but the colonies remained largely isolated. This led to regional diversification based upon immigration and agricultural and societal influence.

A. Sources of Gain in the Southeast

Two distinct regions emerged in the colonial Southeast. One centered on the low country of the South Carolina piedmont, where warm weather produced a long growing season. Mild winters meant that livestock could forage independently all year long.

Some of the incoming slaves to the region had grown rice in Africa for years and continued the practice for their own consumption after arriving in America. Observing the African technique, regional planters realized the potential for revenue and devoted huge areas of cleared swamp for rice cultivation. Indigo also emerged as a staple crop for the region.

In North Carolina, a second region of agricultural economy evolved. Coastal geography compelled colonists to use the giant pine forests of the region for their profit. The pine trees
yielded an abundance of the tar and pitch that were crucial to the shipbuilding industry. Slaves hauled the cut lumber and rendered pine sap to the coastal port of Wilmington, where dozens of sawmills processed the trees.

B. Chesapeake Bay’s Tobacco Economy

North of the Carolina region, the entrenched colonies bordering Chesapeake Bay continued to cultivate tobacco as the primary staple crop despite a long decline in price at market. After 1710, inhaled snuff became widely popular in Europe, saving the regional economy. Consistent tobacco cultivation in the region began to deplete the soil and produce smaller yields, prompting the introduction of wheat and corn as secondary staple crops.

C. New England Takes to the Sea

North of the Bay area, two overlapping economies emerged. The New England colonies, long-established but less affluent than other regions, had not found a staple crop capable of flourishing in the rocky soil. All the reserves of beaver pelts had been harvested and most of the scarce fertile land was taken, and each successive generation had less land to pass along as the population swelled. With little hope for agriculture, a generation of New Englanders turned to the sea for a living.

Shipbuilding was successful in the region with shipyards lining the mouths of the major rivers. Whaling became a ready source of income as the blubber from the whales was found to be a stable fuel for lamps. Traditional fishing also flourished off the Grand Banks. As the region matured, men increased their influence in the political and business worlds, while women remained locked in gendered work and social patterns and retained their legal status as non-persons.

D. Economic Expansion in the Middle Colonies

The middle colonies—the fifth economic region—was situated between New England and the Chesapeake. The region enjoyed good weather and had an abundance of fertile land, which was put to use producing grain. The farmers exported wheat, flour, and bread to the rest of America and Europe. Unlike Virginia and its reliance on slaves, the middle colonies found a better balance and emphasized the use of paid labor. The seaports of New York and Philadelphia grew quickly with the influx of European trade.

Unfortunately, with the growth of the regional cities came the attendant poverty and other urban problems. Hospitals and asylums began to overflow. The answer seemed to be removing as many settlers as possible to the countryside or frontier, which continually pushed west. Thomas Penn, son and heir of Pennsylvania founder William Penn, made a point of defrauding the Delaware Indians in the Walking Purchase.
IV. Matters of Faith: The First Great Awakening

A. Seeds of Religious Toleration

The same diversity that spread throughout the colonies brought with it a mix of religious cultures and creeds. Although most of the population professed Christianity of a general type, there were representative numbers of Presbyterians, Quakers, Lutherans, Baptists, Methodists, Catholics, Jews, and many others.

The overall mindset of the colonies was one of inclusive toleration of religion. Only the Anglican Church caused suspicion, as most governors and wealthy colonists were members. A plan to install an Anglican bishop in the colonies was thwarted by other colonists fearful of an established religious hierarchy headed by the king of England.

B. The Onset of the Great Awakening: Pietism and George Whitefield

The relative religious toleration of the colonies provided a haven for many European religious sects. Collectively, these immigrants were part of a European reformation of Protestants in an age of rationalism and reason. Pietism—as this reformation was called—sought to renew vitality of worship and emphasize emotion and intensity in sects that had become stagnant.

George Whitefield became a leading proponent of Pietism in England. He visited the colonies several times, preaching a fervent message of inclusion for all believers and disdain for the structural obsessions of established religions. His message, delivered at just the right time, served as a catalyst of religious zeal in the colonies.

C. The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry

Local religious revivals had taken place in the colonies decades before the message of Pietism. Massachusetts theologian Jonathan Edwards argued that mechanical recitation of ritual was a poor substitute for a relationship with God.

In the colonies, the question of ongoing education for the subsequent generations of ministers arose as the few established colleges of theology were unable to produce enough qualified graduates to minister to the entire colonial population. The result was vacant
pulpits throughout America. A contemporary of Whitefield, Gilbert Tennet, issued a printed sermon that blasted incompetent, uncaring, and greedy ministers and became a leading issue for the Awakening.

D. The Consequences of the Great Awakening

This Great Awakening of the American religious consciousness produced converts called “New Lights,” who clashed with the conventional clergy supported by colonial governors. No unified church emerged from this energetic movement; instead, numerous congregations split off from existing churches and religious vigor blurred class lines and strained the conventional distance that had developed in America between politics and religion. The Great Awakening legacy of democratic associations and free thinking would prove valuable in the development of revolutionary ideology.

V. The French Lose a North American Empire

A. Prospects and Problems Facing French Colonists

By 1740, the size of French claims in North America above the Rio Grande exceeded those of Britain and Spain. Good relations with native tribes were a pivotal part of the fur trade empire. French trading forts dotted the interior, and explorers had also discovered the wealth of farmland that could be readily developed into thriving French towns and villages. Far fewer colonists immigrated to New France than to the British colonies, and the French government did not seriously back such immigration.

B. British Settlers Confront the Threat from France

England and France had long been in each other’s way in North America. American colonists, beginning to feel the crowding of immigration, began to gauge the potential of the bountiful land west of the Appalachian mountains and speculate about what means might be necessary to oust the French. A group of colonial land brokers formed the Ohio Company of Virginia, seeking permission from the English king to develop these western lands. The king obliged and the members of the company made plans to erect a fort on the site of present-day Pittsburgh.

In a skirmish in 1754, a group of colonial militia (headed by Major George Washington) killed ten French soldiers who would not leave the proposed fort site, aiming to claim the land for their own country. This skirmish launched fears of a French attack throughout the colonies. Benjamin Franklin proposed a joint coalition of colonial militia tasked with building defensive forts and actively repelling any French invasion. Further skirmishes pushed at the coalition soldiers, leaving the colonial governors no choice but to beg the crown for help in repelling the French and their Native American allies.
The crown dispatched General Edward Braddock and two regiments of infantry, which arrived in the colonies in 1755. The combined British and colonial armies marched west to meet the French.

C. An American Fight Becomes a Global Conflict

Unfortunately, the aging General Braddock proved to be incompetent. The French and Indian forces attacked his column at will, delivering a costly defeat. In England, the new ministry of William Penn helped to change British and colonial fortunes. His plan was to concentrate remaining British force on the under-populated, world-wide colonial holdings of the French.

The superior British Navy began bombardments in Asia, Africa, and North America. Diverted, the French turned their attention overseas while fresh supplies and troops arrived from England. The next spring found the British forces pressing the French into Canada, eventually conquering Fort Niagara, the easternmost French stronghold. This effectively choked the rest of the French arsenal in North America.

D. Quebec Taken and North America Refashioned

By 1760, France had lost Quebec and Montreal, signaling final French defeat in America. The war continued overseas, finally ending in the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Under the provisions of the treaty, the French ceded New Orleans and the Louisiana territory west of the Mississippi to Spain. Spain ceded East Florida to Britain. France ceded all claims between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River and all remaining claims in Canada in exchange for British return of the French sugar islands in the Caribbean. Unexpectedly, France made no provisions to protect the lands of its Indian allies. French presence in America effectively disappeared overnight.

**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. horses:

2. guns:

3. travois:

4. counting coup:
5. The Comancheria:

6. mazawakan:

7. Benjamin Franklin:

8. redemption contract:

9. Acadians:

10. The Great Wagon Road:

11. rice:

12. Moravians:

13. slave societies:

14. Overseers of the Poor:

15. Walking Purchase:

16. Bettering House:

17. The Great Awakening:

18. George Whitefield:
19. John Wesley:

20. Gilbert Tennet:

21. New Lights:

22. Old Lights:

23. Pierre Mallet:

24. The Ohio Company of Virginia:

25. William Pitt:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. The French Protestants who fled to English North America at the end of the seventeenth century were called  
   A. Jews.  
   B. Mennonites.  
   C. Quakers.  
   D. Lutherans  
   E. Huguenots.

2. Scottish immigrants distinguished themselves as  
   A. soldiers  
   B. merchants.  
   C. military leaders.  
   D. ship-builders.  
   E. farmers and traders.
3. Early colonial commerce was greatly facilitated by extensive
   A. river networks.
   B. roads.
   C. railroads.
   D. bridges.
   E. canals.

4. Many Scots-Irish and German families left the middle colonies for the Carolinas and Georgia via the
   A. Atlantic seaboard.
   B. Mississippi River.
   C. Great Wagon Road.
   D. Baltimore and Chesapeake Railroad.
   E. Cape Fear River.

5. After a long decline in market price, tobacco prices rebounded in the early 18th century because of its use as
   A. a stimulant.
   B. fertilizer.
   C. a painkiller.
   D. snuff.
   E. all of the above.

6. With few agricultural resources and increasing population pressures, New England's young men turned to ___________ to make a living.
   A. cotton production
   B. the sea
   C. the slave trade
   D. indentured servitude
   E. farming

7. The middle colonies' most reliable staple crop was
   A. grain.
   B. tobacco.
   C. grapes.
   D. indigo.
   E. oranges.
8. The religious revivalism that swept colonial America in the early eighteenth century was called the
   A. Great Revival.
   B. Family Values campaign.
   C. Great Awakening.
   D. Great Tolerance.
   E. Outpouring.

9. The “established church” of the English colonies was the
   A. Presbyterian church.
   B. Society of Friends.
   C. Mennonite church.
   D. Anglican church.
   E. Lutheran church.

10. The Seven Years War that ended in 1763 cost __________ its colonial empire.
    A. Holland
    B. France
    C. Spain
    D. England
    E. Portugal

MAP QUESTION:

Study Map 5.3 regarding the economic regions of the British colonies. Are there any specifics about the regions that still hold true today?

CONNECTING HISTORY

Why might a concerned government such as the federal government of the United States place few restrictions on the amount of noise we have to endure every day? What could be done to return our country to a state of high fidelity?

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Is the passage “Pastures Can Be Found Almost Everywhere” written objectively, or does it contain persuasive elements?
Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. E
2. E
3. A
4. C
5. D
6. B
7. A
8. C
9. D
10. B
Chapter 6
The Limits of Imperial Control,
1763–1775

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 6, you should be able to:

1. Explain the different challenges to expansion that Spain faced at the hands of the other European powers.
2. Discuss the expansion of the British Empire and what challenges were encountered.
3. Detail the problems England faced after the Seven Years’ War and what steps Parliament took to correct the economy.
4. Relate a timetable of events demonstrating the breakdown of relations between the colonies and the English Crown.
5. Discuss the colonial boycott of English imported goods and how the Crown reacted.
6. Explain colonial mob violence and the progression of events leading to warfare.

Time Line:

1741
Vitus Bering claimed Alaska for Russia

1760
French forces surrendered to British at Montreal in final skirmish of the Seven Years’ War

1763
Spain acquired Louisiana from France
Britain acquired Florida from Spain
Pontiac’s Uprising, Detroit

1764
Parliament passed the American Duties Act of 1764, also known as the Revenue Act or the Sugar Act
Parliament passed the Currency Act of 1764

1765
Parliament passed the Quartering Act
Stamp Act passed, resulting in the dissenting Stamp Act Congress in New York
1766
Louis Bougainville made first French circumnavigation of the world
Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, passed Declaratory Act, Revenue Act of 1766

1767
Parliament passed Revenue Act of 1767, Customs Act of 1767

1768
Massachusetts legislature, led by Samuel Adams, petitioned the king for redress of colonial complaints
Massacre of St. George’s Field, London

1769
Spain established an outpost at San Diego Bay on the California coast

1770
Townsend Duties repealed save for the one on tea
Boston Massacre

1772
Gaspee Affair

1773
Committees of Correspondence formed in 11 colonies
Tea Act of 1773
Boston Tea Party

1774
Four Coercive Acts passed by Parliament to punish Massachusetts:
- Administration of Justice Act
- Boston Port Act
- The Quartering Act
- Massachusetts Government Act
also passed Quebec Act; all five together constituted the Intolerable Acts
Minutemen formed
First Continental Congress

1775
Spain populated San Francisco Bay area
Second Continental Congress
Battles of Lexington and Concord
“Shot heard ‘round the world”
1778
British explorer James Cook discovered Hawaiian Islands

1781
Yuma Revolt near Colorado River

1812
Alexander Baranov established a Russian outpost on the California coast near San Francisco

Chapter Overview

As the European empires of Spain and Britain struggled with acute growing pains, American colonists bridled at imperial controls. The English Crown attempted to force the colonies to pay for themselves while colonists lashed out at the arbitrariness of central authority. By the 1770s, events began to spin out of control, carrying the American colonies towards revolution.

I. New Challenges to Spain’s Expanded Empire

With the vexing problem of refuting French claims to Louisiana settled, the Spanish regained nominal control of the American interior from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean. Tribes still controlled the land in reality, however, and it became clear that other nations remained interested in the region. Increasing problems with Russian, French, and British naval and trade expeditions along the Pacific coast prompted Spain to expand her mission/presidio system northward along the California coast.

A. Pacific Exploration, Hawaiian Contact

Burdened with a crushing war debt after the loss of the Seven Years’ War, the French looked to the South Pacific for other sources of revenue. In 1766, Antoine de Bougainville set out to search for new territory; while unsuccessful, he became the first Frenchman to circumnavigate the globe.

Always competitive, the British sent out their own series of explorers into the South Pacific. The most successful of these was James Cook, who came upon the populated Hawaiian Islands in 1778. The natives mistook the captain for a deity and welcomed him and his crew for an extended stay. A return visit in 1779 was not as successful; an angry crowd of Hawaiians killed Cook and four of his crew.
B. The Russians Lay Claim to Alaska

Using successful tactics developed in Siberia, Russian trappers used a combination of conquest and ransom to coerce Aleutian Islanders and Alaskan native peoples to hunt. In 1799, the czar gave the Russian-American Company exclusive rights to this trade. With strong outposts in Alaska, which had been claimed for Russia by Vitus Bering, the Russian-American Company worked south toward California, exploiting local trade opportunities and seeking appropriate climate and farmland to grow staples for the Alaskan trading posts. By 1812, Fort Ross, just north of San Francisco, became the southernmost Russian fort.

C. Spain Colonizes the California Coast

Franciscan priests established scattered Indian missions between San Diego and San Francisco. These settlements remained small, isolated, and difficult to supply. Provisioning by sea was not very successful, so Spanish expeditions sought for many years for a dependable overland route. By doing so, Spain was accumulating solid legal grounds for claiming the land. This might have been enough to prevent encroachment by the powerful British, but it was not tested by war. The tiny California settlements endured, and Spain continued to exercise some control over its expanded American empire.

II. New Challenges to Britain’s Expanded Empire

The peace at the end of the Seven Years’ War, which brought wealth to a few and misery to many, produced growing tensions between colonial conservatives who enjoyed the rewards of the English class system and the majority of colonists who struggled to make ends meet. Some of the wealthy, ambitious young men sought another way to power by decreasing their distance from the lower class. During the next decade, the uncertain coalition between working men and these wealthy young men strengthened as their sense of a separate American identity developed into a new vision of America free from British rule.

A. Midwestern Lands and Pontiac’s War for Indian Independence

On the frontier, the Delaware holy man, Neolin, and the influential Ottawa warrior, Pontiac, forged a coalition of Ottawas, Potawatomies, and Hurons, and attacked Fort Detroit and Fort Pitt. Eighteen other Indian nations joined the coalition to drive the British out of the native homelands. Britain lost all remaining forts in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes region, and tribes raided eastward into Pennsylvania and Virginia. Settlers responded with indiscriminate racial killing.

British General Amherst ordered a war of extermination, using all means available, including the intentional spreading of smallpox using contaminated blankets. Unable to win the siege when their ammunition ran out, the Indian coalition slowly collapsed. English losses were so significant
that the Crown forbade settlement west of the Appalachian Range to avoid further warfare. This so-called Proclamation Line of 1763 served mostly to anger upper class Virginians who made their living as land speculators. Additional treaties in following years only heightened the animosity of whites towards Indians.

B. Grenville’s Effort at Reform

During the 1760s, England tried to develop better control over the American colonies, where tax evasion had become a way of life. England’s war debt after the Seven Years’ conflict was staggering and as the post-war economic depression deepened, England looked to its colonies for increased revenue. Parliament, under the leadership of Robert Grenville, passed new customs regulations and tax laws to help pay the expenses incurred in defending the colonies and to turn a modest profit.

The ministers were not anticipating a powerful reaction from the colonies to these measures, which began with the American Duties Act (increased duties on colonial products), followed closely with the Currency Act of 1764 (prohibited colonies from printing money), as well as a Quartering Act (compelled colonists to assist the British Army).

C. The Stamp Act Imposed

Grenville’s most weighty reform, the Stamp Act (1765) was a complex measure of statutes requiring taxation stamps on a wide variety of articles sold in the colonies. This could include legal contracts and commissions, land deeds, liquor licenses, slave contracts, academic degrees, playing cards, and dice.

Designated colonial agents assigned by the Crown were intended to sell these stamps at a profit for themselves; however, the bulk of the revenue was intended for a separate account earmarked for the financial administration of America. Parliament was very pleased with this measure, which most ministers viewed as moderate and exceedingly fair. Better yet, revenue would grow with the colonial population since everyone used the taxed items from time to time.

D. The Stamp Act Resisted

American demonstrations against the Stamp Act were immediate and violent. Patrick Henry’s speeches set a philosophical precedent for self-taxation. Massachusetts called for a Stamp Act Congress of the colonies to be held in New York to beg relief from Parliament. Angry mobs determined the names of stamp distributors and harassed them aggressively, often forcing their resignation before the hated stamps even arrived from England. A few of these mobs began to organize and inflame the tempers of others. The most violent riot occurred in Boston, where Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson’s house was looted and vandalized. South Carolina workers harassed wealthy slave owners with demands for liberty. However, when blacks took
up the cry of liberty, white support for the demonstrations evaporated, lest white protests should fuel slave revolts.

III. “The Unconquerable Rage of the People”

A. Power Corrupts: An English Framework for Revolution

When discussions in England over the nature of monarchy turned to abuse of or the rise of tyranny, the assumption was that the empowerment of Parliament during the Glorious Revolution had ended these fears, yet constant vigilance was needed to protect citizens’ rights.

Englishmen congratulated themselves on having achieved the perfect balance of government. Ancient Greek political theorist Aristotle lent supporting evidence. However, a few dissenting voices in England published broadsides on the injustice of the patronage system for civil servants, a system rife with corruption. Although these writers were largely ignored in Britain, their message fell on eager ears in the colonies, where such discussions generated alarm and heated debate among those who saw class tyranny and malfeasance of office already evident in America.

B. Americans Practice Vigilance and Restraint

Fearing that every individual act of corruption represented a dangerous precedent, American colonists felt they must be alert if circumspect. First, all legal means of appeal and redress must be utilized. Even if forced to the streets, crowds should be orderly and threaten property before people. In the main, protests against the Stamp Act showed this restraint.

C. Rural Unrest: Tenant Farmers and Regulators

After 1765, local unrest seemed to explode in the more rural areas where most of the colonists lived. Numerous examples of uprisings are archived, all of which had to be suppressed by British troops. Tenant farmers seemed to carry the most anger, since taxation and the Stamp Act had hit them the hardest, and those with little have not much to lose.

Violence shook the Carolina Piedmont, where lawlessness ruled scant miles from the inhabited coast. In inland North Carolina, a corrupt elite developed with the fledgling circuit court system, an elite connected with political and financial muscle farther east and north. Appointed to various posts by the colonial governor, this elite seemed intolerable and self-serving to newcomers from Virginia and Pennsylvania.

These newcomers, in search of fertile land, grew in number and banded together to speak out for better representation for the backcountry areas in the colonial assemblies. They began organizing into groups called Regulators. Their worst suspicions about the corruption of government were confirmed with the news that public funds would go to build a stately mansion for the colonial
governor. Colonials like the Regulators would bear the cost of this mansion but few would ever see its location far east on the coast. Hundreds of backcountry families joined the growing Regulator movement in protest of this betrayal of the public wealth. In 1771, the governor finally called out a thousand men of the colonial militia and sent them into the Piedmont. Leaders of the Regulators were hanged and the majority of members were forced to sign loyalty oaths.

IV. A Conspiracy of Corrupt Ministers?

Class and religion continued to divide the colonists, sometimes leading to armed conflict. The biggest diversion to the infighting was the colossal corruption of the English government. Reflective colonists had to wonder if there existed a conspiracy against them and the few liberties they retained.

A series of weak ministries in London followed the administration of Grenville; however, Parliament was still keen on the colonial taxation issue. After repeal of the Stamp Act, the first outrage issued was the Revenue Act of 1766, which restructured the duty schedule for molasses. Grumbling, the colonists paid the duty, skeptically aware that doing so continued to set dangerous precedents.

They were correct, for Parliament was encouraged to impose additional hard-line measures, crafted by England’s Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townsend, in 1767. Taxation without representation was now a colonial reality.

A. The Townsend Duties

As always, the royal government was low on funds, prompting Townsend to initiate the first of the duties that bear his name. The Revenue Act of 1767 created new duties on imports to the colonies such as glass, paint, lead, paper, and tea. Proceeds were again earmarked for the administration of justice and support of the colonial civil government.

Colonial skeptics knew that administration of justice really meant license to search American shops and homes with hateful “writs of assistance” to uncover smuggled goods. “Support of civil government” actually meant that corrupt colonial administrators could draw arbitrary paychecks directly from the duties paid by colonists instead of relying on a system of local oversight.

Similar acts and outrages followed. Parliament directed colonial governors, now being paid directly from tax and duty funds, to ignore any colonial legislative measure regarding control of how members were chosen. The Customs Act of 1767 established a separate Board of Customs for all of British North America; with its new headquarters disquietingly near in Boston instead
of London, the British would now have their fingers firmly on the pulse of American commerce. Several other Parliament actions strengthened the royal government’s presence in the colonies and assured that the flow of revenue back to England would continue.

While most English subjects looked upon these Acts as efficient signs of good government, the colonists were outraged at the growing mountain of regulations set upon them. In 1768, the Massachusetts legislature, led by Samuel Adams, formally petitioned the king for redress of their complaints, prompted other colonial legislatures to do the same, and in a provocative “Circular Letter,” condemned the hated Townsend Duties as taxation without representation.

Although emotions were high, colonial leaders managed to control most outbreaks of mob violence. Instead, they initiated a series of British boycotts, appealing to colonial self-sufficiency and non-violent protest.

The effects of the boycotts proved damaging to the British, who began losing more in trade than was being made in duties. Wealthy English traders began pressuring Parliament for some relief, and in 1770, they were forced to repeal all the Townsend duties save the one on tea. This action defused the colonial boycotts but continued to confirm Parliament’s right to tax the colonies at will.

B. The Boston Massacre

Tensions continued to mount in the colonies during 1768, especially in Boston where a reinforced garrison of British regulars kept order. According to revolutionary beliefs, any appearance of a standing army in peacetime meant danger, and the issue of how to feed and house 4,000 unwanted soldiers became an inflammatory one.

In 1770, the tension reached a zenith. When a hostile crowd threatened a British informer, he fired back, killing an eleven-year-old boy. A subsequent funeral brought multitudes of colonists into the streets for demonstrations. This became the pattern for days to come, and it was clear to all that confrontation was unavoidable. A tense standoff on March 5, outside the Boston customs house, resulted in the deaths of five colonists at the hands of the British soldiers. The anti-British cause had gained its first martyrs.

C. The Gaspee Affair

As the 1770s wore on, Bostonians made a point of commemorating “Massacre Day” each year. The continued presence of the British troops and corrupt and overzealous customs officials helped fuel resentment of the British.

In June, 1772 the Gaspee, a customs boat rumored to harass local shipping, ran aground near Pawtucket, Rhode Island. That night, more than a hundred raiders rowed out to the stranded vessel, drove off its crew, and set her afire.
This incident renewed bitter relations between England and the colonies. The crown demanded an investigation of the incident and extradition of the accused to England. The investigation went nowhere; many of the raiders came from influential Rhode Island families and local citizens were loathe to become informants in a process that denied the accused fundamental judicial rights. Committees of Correspondence were created in most colonial legislatures to serve as watchdogs against further infringement of rights.

V. Launching a Revolution

In 1767, before the inception of the Townsend duties, the colonies had imported 870,000 pounds of tea. Subsequent boycotts cut this amount to 110,000 pounds as colonists turned to smuggling or making root-based teas. Retraction of the boycotts in 1770 led to the resumption of the colonial purchase of English tea, although a duty remained in effect. Encouraged by these developments, the British government made plans to bail out the failing East India Company by liquidating the 18 million pounds of unsold tea in London warehouses.

A. The Tempest over Tea

In May, Parliament passed The Tea Act of 1773, which let the struggling East India Company bypass the costly requirement that all colonial imports had to come through England first. Any warehoused tea earmarked for the colonies would have its English duties refunded.

The company recruited a few local colonists to handle and distribute a planned 600,000 pounds of tea, for which they would be awarded 6 percent. The Sons of Liberty and other revolutionary groups vowed to keep the British tea ships from docking at colonial harbors, protesting the British insistence on taxation without representation.

In Boston, where tensions ran especially high in light of the Boston Massacre of five years past, the royal governor was determined to dock three approaching British ships heavy with British tea. As private firearms were scarce, the governor anticipated little need for force in unloading and distributing the tea cargo.

On December 16, following a prearranged plan, 150 men disguised as Indians with war hatchets marched to the docks and boarded the ships. As most of the citizenry looked on, these “Indians” spent most of the evening systematically breaking open the many chests of tea and dumping them overboard into the harbor. This act became a unifying event in the colonies and spurred similar acts of defiance against the British.
B. The Intolerable Acts

Parliament responded to the Boston Tea Party with measures meant to punish the city and assert English authority. General Gage, the commander of colonial British forces, replaced Governor Hutchinson as governor, effectively placing Massachusetts under martial law. In 1774, Parliament published the Coercive Acts—four statutes directed squarely at Massachusetts. The Boston Port Act enclosed Boston in a naval blockade until the cost of the ruined tea was paid off. The Administration of Justice Act allowed extradition of British citizens (such as those soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre) to other colonies or to England.

The Quartering Act gave British officers extended powers to commandeer living quarters and supplies for troops throughout the colonies. Finally, the Massachusetts Government Act removed certain democratic rhetoric from the Massachusetts Charter of 1691. Colonists would now have to obtain written permission from the colonial governor to have town meetings. Parliament went further, issuing the Quebec Act the same year; this measure vastly increased the official size of the Canadian holdings of England, effectively nullifying the claims of the colonies to western lands. Taken together, the Quebec Act and the Coercive Acts were known in the colonies as the Intolerable Acts, and ushered in a new phase of open rebellion against the Crown. Pamphlets were issued throughout the continent condemning the British and publicizing the plight of the Massachusetts colonists.

Within a few months, Massachusetts called for a congress of all the colonies, establishing its own revolutionary base in Concord, 17 miles from Boston. This base, known as the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, reorganized the local militia into loyal units ready to respond quickly to General Gage’s repeated attempt to confiscate colonial gunpowder. This militia became known as the Minutemen.

C. From Words to Action

Extralegal organizations, representing a broad spectrum of political stances, began to vie for power in hundreds of colonial villages. Boycotts of English products continued in earnest and widespread support developed for Massachusetts’ call for a unified congress. In 1774, all colonies except Georgia participated in the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia. This Congress managed to produce a Declaration of Rights and passed a range of measures that seemed a compromise of the wide convictions of the 56 delegates.

Most important, the delegates signed an agreement to resist British imports and halt all exports to London save for rice. They adjourned, calling for a Second Congress in 1775. Just before the date of the Second Congress, General Gage received orders from his English superiors to arrest the leaders of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress using any means at his disposal.

On April 18, 1775, Gage ordered a full regiment of English troops to row across the Charles River at night, march ten miles overland to Lexington, and there seize John Hancock and Sam
Adams. Next, the soldiers were to march the seven miles to Concord to capture the colonial military supply depot.

Alerted by lanterns from the Old North Church, riders Paul Revere and William Dawes hurried along separate routes to Lexington to warn Hancock and Adams. By the time the English regulars arrived in Lexington, seventy Minutemen stood against them on the town green. Firing, the British felled eight militiamen in the skirmish.

The British column then turned west to Concord and searched for the military supplies concealed there. Four hundred Minutemen advanced from the overlooking hillside. At the small bridge over the Concord River, the British opened fire with “the shot heard ‘round the world.” The colonists returned fire and by noon caused the exhausted British to retreat with 73 killed and 100 wounded. The Americans—losing 49 men—had handed the British their first colonial defeat.

**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Louis Antoine de Bouganville:

2. James Cook:

3. Vitus Bering:

4. *promyshlenniki*:

5. The Russian-American Company:

6. Alexander Baranov:

7. Jose de Galvez:

8. Father Garces:

9. The Yuma Revolt:
10. Neolin:

11. Pontiac:

12. General Thomas Gage:

13. The Proclamation Line of 1763:

14. Robert Grenville:

15. American Duties Act of 1764:

16. The Currency Act of 1764:

17. The Stamp Act:

18. Exchequer:

19. Patrick Henry:

20. The Stamp Act Congress:

21. The Sons of Liberty:

22. Thomas Hutchinson:

23. Declaratory Act of 1766:
24. The Massacre of St. George’s Field

25. Levellers:

26. Regulators:

27. Tyron’s Palace:

28. Revenue Act of 1766:

29. The Townsend Duties:

30. The Boston Massacre:

31. The Boston Tea Party:

32. The Intolerable Acts:

33. Minutemen:

34. Concord, Massachusetts:

35. Paul Revere:
Multiple Choice Questions:

1. The goal of the Stamp Act of 1765 was to
   A. raise money to modernize the British navy.
   B. build cooperation with the colonial merchant class.
   C. raise money for the defense of the colonies.
   D. better control the colonial bureaucracy.
   E. none of the above.

2. The Virginia Resolves authored by ____________ rejected Parliament's right to levy taxes on the Virginia colony.
   A. George Wythe
   B. Thomas Jefferson
   C. Richard Henry Lee
   E. Patrick Henry

3. The repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766 was accompanied by
   A. a declaratory act that reaffirmed Parliament's prerogatives.
   B. a ban on the slave trade.
   C. an end to the whisky tax.
   D. religious restrictions on Catholics.
   E. a call for peaceful negotiation.

4. Colonial leaders borrowed many of their ideas about power and government from the
   A. “Real Whigs.”
   B. Native Americans.
   C. Ancient Greeks.
   D. Russians.
   E. none of the above.

5. Trenchard and Gordon's *Cato's Letters*:
   A. explained the official position of the British government.
   B. influenced American radicals with its critique of power.
   C. inspired the Stamp Act.
   D. offered a new plan of democratic government.
   E. was a defense of the slave trade.
6. The “Levelers” of the Hudson Valley were
   A. real estate speculators.
   B. political intriguers in the New York Assembly.
   C. merchants angry about the Stamp Act.
   D. angry tenant farmers.
   E. French traders.

7. The author of “Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania” was
   A. Patrick Henry.
   B. Charles Townshend.
   C. John Dickinson.
   D. Benjamin Franklin.
   E. William Penn, Jr.

8. The Townsend Duties were
   A. a guarantee of trial by jury.
   B. wildly greeted by colonial legislatures.
   C. the treaty that ended the Seven Years’ War.
   D. a list of responsibilities for English citizens.
   E. taxes on lead, glass, paint, and tea.

9. The repeal of the Townsend Duties ended all of those taxes except the tax on
   A. glass.
   B. lead.
   C. tea.
   D. paper.
   E. whisky.

10. The so-called Intolerable Acts included
    A. the Tea Act.
    B. a Religious Toleration Act.
    C. a Non-Importation Act.
    D. the Boston Port Act.
    E. all of the above.

**MAP QUESTION:**

Look at Map 6.3, specifically the numerous keys marked “British forts seized during Pontiac’s Rebellion in 1763.” Under the prophet Neolin, interior tribes united to remove the British colonists from tribal lands. Why was the attempt unsuccessful?
CONNECTING HISTORY

Protest tactics are numerous and show up often in the study of history. What protest tactics have been covered in the news recently? Are they much different from those of the past? Which seem to be most effective? What type of protest would you consider too radical for your own participation?

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Explain why Tyron Palace generated such outrage from this group of “Regulators.”

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1.  C
2.  E
3.  A
4.  C
5.  B
6.  D
7.  C
8.  E
9.  C
10. D
Chapter 7
Revolutionaries at War, 1775–1783

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 7, you should be able to:

1. Discuss why it took the Continental Congress 15 months after the bloodshed at Lexington to declare war against England.
2. Explain the problems encountered by Washington in forming a new army.
3. Understand the role of the Continental Congress during the Revolutionary War.
4. Evaluate the problems that faced the civilian population during the Revolutionary War.
5. Appreciate the value of America’s foreign allies during the Revolutionary War.
6. Understand the major events of the Revolutionary War and their consequences.
7. Explain why the Battle of Yorktown signaled the end of the Revolutionary War.

Time Line

1775
Second Continental Congress
George Washington appointed to command all continental forces, arrived in Cambridge to take command and oversee siege of Boston
Battle of Bunker Hill (Breed’s Hill)
Gen. Montgomery’s American troops seized Montreal
England’s annual war expenditures: four million pounds, sterling
Birth of the American Navy

1776
Common Sense produced in Philadelphia by Thomas Paine
Washington secured Dorchester Heights, used captured British artillery to bombard Boston
Congress voted to approve the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776
Battle of Long Island
Washington crossed the Delaware River to Trenton
Battle of Princeton
Holland first country to recognize American sovereignty
Virginia adopted first state constitution
1777
Battle of Brandywine Creek
Both Battles of Freeman’s Farm
Articles of Confederation approved (ratified by the states in 1781)
Washington at winter quarters in Valley Forge

1778
Friedrich von Steuben arrived at Valley Forge to train American troops
Congress approved alliance between America and France
English peace commission offered concessions to the Continental Congress
Battle of Monmouth

1779
Fort Wilson Riot
American alliance with Spain

1780
American alliance with Holland
Battle of King’s Mountain
Nathaniel Greene replaced Gates as head of southern command

1781
Battle of Cowpens
Battle of Guilford Courthouse
British naval force repulsed by French fleet
British surrender at Yorktown

1782
British negotiated preliminary terms for peace with America

1783
Final peace treaty at Versailles, France

Chapter Overview

American revolutionaries declared their independence from England in 1776 only after arduous debate. By that time, the rebellion was struggling for survival. This chapter discusses the early battles, efforts to win European recognition for the new nation, and the final military defeat of the British armies at Yorktown.
I. “Things are Now Come to That Crisis”

A. The Second Continental Congress Takes Control

In the two months after the 1775 skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, the second Continental Congress sent aid north to Boston, placed Philip Schuyler in charge of the newly formed Army Department, printed its own currency, and appointed George Washington as commander of the Continental forces. During the same time, rebel forces captured Fort Ticonderoga in the Hudson Valley, while others put siege to Boston. Congress also approved a plan to attack Canada, to be led by General Robert Montgomery.

B. Liberty to Slaves

The choice of plantation-owner Washington as commanding general put limits on the possibilities for any coalition of the races in America. The move sent a strong message to the half-million African Americans that the Patriot cause might not have a place for them; this prompted some to risk siding with the British.

Southern slave owners feared the possible response of African Americans to a war between rebels and Britain. Although Virginia governor Lord Dunmore offered freedom to slaves of rebel masters who would fight for England, the rebel government made no similar offer, and most slaves remained unsure how this struggle would affect them.

C. The Struggle to Control Boston

In June, the British army successfully engaged rebel forces outside of Boston in the Battle of Breed’s Hill (known popularly as Bunker Hill). Rebel forces under Montgomery and Arnold invaded Canada, taking Montreal but failing at Quebec. Other rebel forces under Washington continued to organize and train at Cambridge, waiting for the arrival of Henry Knox and the heavy siege guns captured from Ticonderoga in March. Unwilling to risk the destruction of Boston, the British fleet removed the army to Nova Scotia.

II. Declaring Independence

A. “Time to Part”

Thomas Paine’s pamphlet Common Sense, a widely popular piece of mass persuasion, was published in January 1776. The simple, plain-spoken arguments for independence that Paine wrote generated such support that one colony after another instructed its representatives to vote for independence. Surprisingly, despite these activities, the Continental Congress debated taking the final step of formally declaring war on Britain.
After much debate, most members of the Congress concluded that accommodation from England would not be forthcoming and assigned a Committee of Five to prepare the formal document severing their political alliance with the Crown. The Declaration of Independence was created and approved 15 months after the shots were fired at Lexington.

B. The British Attack New York

While Congress debated, the British formulated plans to crush the rebellion. One such plan involved a southern strategy, resting on the assumption that the strongest support for the Crown lay in the American South. If they could land enough troops below Chesapeake Bay, the British reasoned, the large amount of Loyalist support would aid a push through the northern colonies.

England’s alternate plan in the North consisted of troops taking New York City and dividing the rebel forces along geographical lines along the Hudson River. By advancing upriver while reinforcements pushed down from Canada, the British could take control of the entire Hudson Valley, effectively sealing off New England. Lord Germain, the new British minister of American affairs, favored this plan and began to organize an overwhelming strike.

Britain made its first thrust toward the mouth of the Hudson River in 1776 with nearly 450 ships and some 30,000 soldiers. On orders from Congress, Washington moved to defend New York, but weak numbers and bad terrain made his mission impossible. In the Battle of Long Island, Washington barely escaped having his forces wiped out. Remarkably, the British commander called off a direct attack, allowing Washington’s men to slip away.

C. “Victory or Death”: A Desperate Gamble Pays Off

After the defeat at the Battle of Long Island, rebel troops retreated south to avoid capture. The British government offered liberal pardons, and looked to end the rebellion without alienating the majority of the American population. Desertions mounted as Washington’s army, lacking supplies, faced starvation, biting winter weather, and the end of enlistments. The successful early-morning surprise attack on Hessian troops quartered at Trenton provided the rebels with desperately needed supplies. Without waiting, Washington advanced his army towards Princeton to surprise and defeat Cornwallis’ reinforcements. The successes of the New Jersey campaign gave new life to the American army as it took winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey.

III. The Struggle to Win French Support

A. Breakdown in British Planning

With his army still intact, Washington moved to change conditions in the army. Congress remained concerned about the consequences of having a “standing army” but reluctantly agreed to
Washington’s request for three-year enlistments, better pay, and greater authority over his troops.

In the midst of a slumping economy, many Americans, including immigrants and skilled laborers, volunteered for the cause. All lacked training, supplies, and immunity to smallpox, which ravaged the camps over the winter.

British plans for the 1777-fighting year centered on a complex plan to destroy the American forces in the North. Generals Burgoyne and St. Leger would lead two armies and strike southward from Canada, while Howe’s forces would move northward from New York, crushing the rebel forces between them. Howe, certain that his troops would not be needed to ensure a British victory, planned to attack Philadelphia. The two generals never integrated their plans and the results were disastrous.

B. Saratoga Tips the Balance

British delays in getting underway afforded Washington the chance to march south in defense of Philadelphia. But at the Battle of Brandywine, Howe caught Washington by surprise, using the same maneuvers tried at Long Island the year before. The British general succeeded in taking Philadelphia, only to discover that the Congress had escaped. Days later, an American defeat at Germantown closed the campaign season for the year. Washington went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, secretly pleased with the combat experience his troops had endured.

Meanwhile, in the Canadian north, Burgoyne had moved his large army south with small, fast-moving American units under Benedict Arnold falling back before them along the length of Lake Champlain. The British felt that their army was invincible, but as supply lines began to lengthen, valuable time had to be spent cutting new roads through near-virgin forest. Also, reinforcements expected from the west never arrived.

At this time American strength had grown to 7,000 troops in response to arrogant British rhetoric, and Congress had given the Hudson Valley command to Horatio Gates, a sworn enemy of Benedict Arnold. Burgoyne pushed towards Albany, hoping to find Howe’s nonexistent reinforcements. While the British crossed the Hudson at Saratoga, Gates’s American forces dug in. Once battle commenced, Horatio Gates refused to send his troops to support Benedict Arnold. Despite these problems within the Continental ranks, determined fighting by the Continentals and the capture of Burgoyne’s supply trains forced Burgoyne to surrender 5,800 troops at Saratoga.
C. Forging an Alliance with France

In light of the victory at Saratoga, Benjamin Franklin was able to convince the French government of Louis XVI to recognize the rebel government and support the American cause. The two parties sealed the deal in a formal treaty, which was approved by Congress in 1778. France promised to renounce all claims to English territory in North America, and Franklin promised that the Americans would help protect French holdings in the Caribbean. The next month, France entered the war against England, adding its enormous wealth and power to the American cause. A year later, Spain joined France against their common enemy, Britain, enlarging the “brush fire” in America to a broader European battlefield.

IV. Legitimate States, a Respectable Military

A. The Articles of Confederation

One month after the Battle of Saratoga, the Continental Congress completed and approved the Articles of Confederation and submitted the document to the individual states for ratification. After four years of debate and negotiation, the states finally voted to accept the Articles in 1781, formally agreeing to a weak confederation where the majority of power resided in the states. According to the Articles, Congress could not collect taxes or regulate trade; it could only requisition funds from the states.

B. Creating State Constitutions

It was then up to the individual states to create their own state constitutions. The 13 states, though diverse, shared practical needs. Each had just done away with a colonial system of government and needed to establish something new, drawing equally upon the unique models of English law and colonial charters. State citizens and lawmakers debated the rights and responsibilities of citizens, what forms of power the state could exercise, and the qualifications required to vote or hold office. As they were created, the most important aspect of these new constitutions was the need for all of them to be written, specific documents that spelled out the invested powers of the states. Additionally, three common threads ran through each one: limited powers of the governor, strengthening of the legislature, and the prevention of government officials holding multiple offices.

C. Tensions in the Military Ranks

As the war continued, local militias combined to form state militias, and the Continental army was more formally organized. Concerns over pay, discipline, tactics, distribution of supplies, election of officers, and privileges of rank were not easily solved, and these discussions mirrored the intense debate that occurred in the political realm. Two basic tensions were at the heart of all these debates. One involved the stresses inherent when educated gentry and citizen soldiers had
to combine their social classes to confront a shared enemy. The other involved the new position many members of the upper classes found themselves in during the war, positions often involving military rank systems considered unfair by persons accustomed to privilege. The invisible lines were many and often stepped upon. Debate also flared regarding the basic burdens of warfare, which always seemed to fall upon the shoulders of the poor.

D. Shaping a Diverse Army

Attempts to improve the army continued during the long winter months at Valley Forge, aided by the drilling expertise of the German volunteer officer, Friederich von Stueben. Improved discipline and fighting ability led to improved morale, though supply and pay problems, lack of new recruits, and civilian indifference remained constant frustrations.

Black volunteers served with the northern Continental forces and militia but were not accepted in the South. While most rebel women remained behind caring for homes, farms, businesses, and children, around 20,000 accompanied the rebel forces as cooks, laundresses, nurses, and water-bearers.

E. The War at Sea

As the rebel army was evolving, the American Navy continued to prove a hindrance. Official birth of the navy occurred in late 1775 when the Continental Congress voted to arm two ships to prey on British supply vessels in the Atlantic. However, the overwhelming opinion of the revolutionary leaders was that a navy would only act as a drain on America’s resources and provide little real help against the British. Even so, many states created free-standing navies of their own. Massachusetts’s state navy was easily routed and destroyed by the British in 1779.

Despite its legendary strength, the British fleet was spread very thin in its war with America as other European powers (France in 1778, Spain in 1779, and Holland in 1780) joined the battle. The English were wary of possible invasion of their homeland as France had a history of bombarding its shores. In all, the American Navy launched more than 50 ships that captured some 200 British vessels. Additionally, thousands of American privateers obtained licenses from Congress to seize enemy ships and keep the spoils.

V. The Long Road to Yorktown

By 1778, Clinton’s British forces had made the return march to base in New York City. Frustrated by the previous year’s events, Clinton revived the English southern strategy for winning the war, arguing the South’s benefits as a producer of staple crops, its sparse population, warm weather, and wide array of Loyalists. He hoped to wage a campaign from the recently acquired colonies of East and West Florida, striking north towards Virginia and
beyond. Also hopeful was the South’s large population of African American slaves and Indians, whom Clinton saw as potential allies against Washington.

A. Indian Warfare and Frontier Outposts

Because of settler pressures on tribal lands, the majority of the powerful native tribes sided with the British. In the Ohio region, the attempts to maintain peace were destroyed by the murder of several powerful peaceful chiefs during treaty talks, and the massacre of Christianized Indian men, women, and children at the peaceful Moravian mission town of Gnadenhutten. Sioux, Sauk, Fox, Chippewa, Ottawa, and Miami Indian tribes received British supplies, granted to reward and support their tribal warfare against American settlers.

In New England, those members of the Iroquois Confederation allied with Britain raided frontier settlements. George Rogers Clark organized Rangers who fought Indian-style and secured Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes. In 1779, American General John Sullivan led punitive raids against Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca villages, destroying 40 settlements, burning crops, and destroying orchards.

B. The Unpredictable War in the South

The Revolutionary War also moved southward beyond the Appalachian Mountains. In 1778, a Patriot group managed to slip down the Mississippi River unnoticed and take the town of Natchez. Living in New Orleans, the Spanish governor of Louisiana kept purposeful neutrality until Spain entered the war in 1779. Then, Spanish forces drove the British from the Mississippi River and seized Mobile and Pensacola, thereby cutting off supplies to Britain’s Creek and Cherokee allies.

Britain regained most of the Georgia colony in 1778, and by 1779, it was actively blocking American and French efforts to take the port city of Savannah. In 1780, British troops sailed south, taking Charleston and capturing 5,500 American troops. Loyalist Banastre Tarleton’s dragoons clashed with rebel guerrillas throughout the summer. Congress sent Horatio Gates to the area with fresh troops, but his defeat at Camden and hasty retreat back north left the South firmly in British hands. In a more successful rebel action in the southern back-country, rebel militia surrounded and destroyed over 1,000 Loyalist troops at King’s Mountain.
C. The Final Campaign

Nathaniel Greene was then sent south and took charge of rebel forces in North Carolina. During 1780 and 1781, Greene expertly coordinated guerrilla warfare and short confrontations, exhausting British forces in the field with little damage to the small rebel army. British General Cornwallis confidently expected to complete the southern campaign during the summer of 1781 after receiving reinforcements by sea at the Yorktown Peninsula. Instead, the French fleet, which had defeated the British Navy in the Chesapeake, guarded the Bay while 7,800 French troops and 9,000 Americans surrounded their 8,000 opponents. Cornwallis surrendered on October 19, 1781.

D. Winning the Peace

With such a major defeat on the battlefield, Britain agreed to treaty talks. Congress instructed the American treaty commission, headed by Benjamin Franklin, to sign no agreements without French approval. American negotiators, aided by distrust between the French and British negotiators, secured a favorable treaty that recognized American independence, established the Mississippi River as the western border, the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River as a northern border, and permitted American fishing in Newfoundland’s waters. Spain received East and West Florida. Similar to previous treaties, no European nation interceded on behalf of Native American rights.

Identification

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. General Philip Schuyler:

2. Green Mountain Boys:

3. General Richard Montgomery:

4. George Washington:

5. General Thomas Gage:

6. Henry Knox:
7. Bunker Hill (Breed’s Hill):

8. General William Howe:

9. Dorchester Heights:

10. General Benedict Arnold:

11. Thomas Paine:

12. The Committee of Five:

13. John Locke:

14. The Declaration of Independence:

15. General Henry Clinton:

16. British Northern Strategy:

17. British Southern Strategy:

18. Lord George Germain:

19. Hessians:

20. General “Gentleman Johnny” Burgoyne:

22. The Articles of Confederation:

23. The Fort Wilson Riot:

24. General Horatio Gates:

25. Fredrich von Steuben:

26. Molly Pitcher:

27. Bernardo de Galvez:

28. General Charles Cornwallis:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. The British hoped that, in the wake of their victory in New York, the Americans would
   A. retreat into Canada.
   B. surrender.
   C. divide their forces.
   D. sue for peace.
   E. reject the alliance with France.

2. Washington won a crushing victory against the Hessians at the Battle of
   A. Princeton.
   B. Long Island.
   C. Bunker Hill.
   D. Trenton.
   E. Cowpens.
3. Unlike the British troops, American recruits found themselves susceptible to ____________ in the camps.
   A. surprise attack
   B. smallpox
   C. scarlet fever
   D. scurvy
   E. all of the above.

4. The British general _____________ planned on invading the American colonies from Canada in hopes of dividing them.
   A. Burgoyne
   B. Gates
   C. Arnold
   D. Gage
   E. Howe

5. American General Horatio Gates accepted the credit for defeating Burgoynes forces at the Battle of
   A. Fort Ticonderoga.
   B. Trenton.
   C. Saratoga.
   D. Cowpens.
   E. none of the above.

6. After declaring independence, Congress maneuvered to win recognition for the new nation from
   A. Greece.
   B. Italy.
   C. France.
   D. Spain.
   E. Holland.

7. Benjamin Franklin was sent to _____________ to win support of the government there.
   A. France
   B. Jamaica
   C. Canada
   D. Holland
   E. Spain.
8. After recognizing American independence, France moved quickly to attack British holdings in places like
   A. South Africa.
   B. South America.
   C. Central Europe.
   D. Senegal in West Africa.
   E. New Zealand.

9. A British peace commission led by ______________ offered concessions to the Continental Congress in 1778.
   A. Sir William Castlerey.
   B. Lord Carlisle
   C. Comte de Vergennes
   D. General Howe
   E. King George III

10. The first constitution approved by the American Continental Congress was called
    A. the Articles of Confederation.
    B. the Iroquois Confederacy.
    C. the Declaration of Independence.
    D. the Peace of Saratoga.
    E. none of the above.

MAP QUESTION:
Consider Map 7.2, titled “Overview of the Revolutionary War.” What conclusions can you draw from this map about the mobility of warfare during this period? What part did geography or water play?

CONNECTING HISTORY
What other American historical connections can you think of on this scale? Why do you think society continues to repeat the mistakes of the past?

INTERPRETING HISTORY
What do the similarities between The Declaration of Independence and the grand jury declaration tell you about the time in which both were written? Had specific ideas traveled large distances in the colonies?
Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. C
2. D
3. B
4. A
5. C
6. E
7. A
8. D
9. B
10. A
Chapter 8
New Beginnings: The 1780s

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 8, you should be able to:

1. Explain the problems facing the young nation after the Revolutionary War that had to be solved immediately.
2. Discuss the value of George Washington’s leadership.
3. Detail the evolution of the Constitution of the United States.
4. Understand the conflicts in the Mississippi Valley.
5. Analyze the army’s role in the government after the war.
6. Discuss who had the right to vote in America during the 1780s and why.
7. Explain the continued presence of the European powers in America after the war.
8. Understand the difficulty involved in ratifying the Constitution.

Time Line

1780
Revolution Army officers are promised half-pay for life by Congress

1781
Articles of Confederation ratified

1783
Treaty of Paris finalized
Society of the Cincinnati founded
Webster’s American Spelling Book
Americans granted generous southern boundary by British at 31º parallel

1784
Columbia College (later University) chartered in New York
America established trade relations with Russia

1785
Society for the Promotion of the Manumission of Slaves founded
Land Ordinance of 1785
1786
Columbia, South Carolina founded
Ohio Company founded to purchase western lands

1787
Constitutional Convention of 1787 in Philadelphia
Northwest Ordinance of 1787

1788
*The Federalist* was released to the public

1790
Cincinnati, Ohio founded
Constitution finally ratified by all states

1791
Vermont became fourteenth state

1792
State of Kentucky founded
Columbia River discovered

1796
State of Tennessee founded

**Chapter Overview**

Greater than the destruction of the Revolutionary War, smallpox left a path of death throughout the continent from Mexico City to New Orleans to the Canadian interior. Losses were greatest among Native Americans, although few groups remained unaffected. In its eight-year course, the virus killed more than 130,000 North Americans.

As the epidemic subsided, immediate problems surfaced that needed the attention of the government. Still undecided was the nebulous question of what to do about lingering traces of the European powers. Britain still controlled much of Canada, and Spain controlled the western reaches of the continent. Russians were intruding on the coastline of Alaska, and some thought the French might reinsert themselves into American affairs.
I. Beating Swords into Plowshares

Victory over the British did nothing to eliminate the many internal conflicts afflictng the new nation. Foreign policy concerns, debtor/creditor conflicts, and trade wars brought the confederated states to the brink of ruin. In the face of all this, delegates from the states met in Philadelphia to craft a new plan of government.

A. Will the Army Seize Control?

After triumph at Yorktown and a quick march to repel lingering British troops from New York City, Washington’s army encamped near the Hudson River. Because the war had depleted the American treasury, most of them had not been paid in some time. It occurred to many that disbanding the army’s strength might not be a good idea until the government settled their back pay. In 1780, they received a promise from Congress that money was coming. Two years later, the disgruntled officers sent a delegation to Philadelphia to argue their claim.

At that time, Congress was working on a plan to impose a five percent duty on imported goods to generate revenue for the fledgling country to pay off war debts. Veiled threats of military takeovers and coups circulated in the New York camp. Congress finally found the revenue and offered assurances to the army. In April 1783, word came that articles of peace had been signed in France. By June, most of the Continental Army had disbanded.

B. The Society of the Cincinnati

A military coup had been averted. George Washington had pleaded with the army to respect the necessity of civilian control of the military in a democratic society. Thomas Jefferson later praised Washington’s words of liberty but still harbored fears that officers of the army might yet dabble in politics. These fears were seemingly realized when General Knox announced the formation of the Society of the Cincinnati. The new association bore the name of the famous Roman statesman and was open only to officers of the Continental Army serving at the end of the war, former officers, and honorary initiates.

Considered no more than a social club by many onlookers, the society lent itself to suspicion through its rites, secrecy, and sizable bank account. Most disturbing was the society’s policy of hereditary membership, so that eldest sons could perpetuate the society for years to come. Washington, an automatic member, was persuaded by members of Congress not to take over leadership of the society, which eventually changed some of its more disturbing policies.
C. Renaming the Landscape

To celebrate the new nation, towns and cities were renamed to wipe away the memories of the hated British and begin anew. Parents began giving their newborns the names of honored individual war heroes and foreign supporters of the American struggle.

D. An Independent Culture

New plays and poetry celebrated America’s virtues, extolling the heroic contest of war. A new country needed a unique approach to its language. In his *American Spelling Book* (1783), Webster endorsed a simple, straightforward approach to written English that avoided the stilted conventions of the British. The New England schoolteacher and war veteran followed this success with *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828) that listed some 5,000 new words, many reflecting Native American or Dutch origin. Webster also lobbied Congress to establish copyright legislature for the safeguarding of intellectual property.

The new land of America itself inspired many artists and intellectuals. Topography, botany, geography, and social theory became major fields of study. A desire to rebuild and improve society led to improvements in jails, assistance to debtors, and establishment of libraries. Some New Yorkers voiced early abolition opinions and Connecticut citizens protested the abuse of liquor. Regardless of the weakness or stability of the government, it was clear that American citizens knew they were no longer part of a European empire but instead lived in a new nation.

II. Competing for Control of the Mississippi Valley

A. Disputed Territory: The Old Southwest

American settlers moved across the mountains into the rich southern lands of Kentucky and Tennessee and to the northern Ohio River drainage. The Spanish government continued to develop its northern frontier of East and West Florida, New Mexico, and the Louisiana territory gained from France. It also debated about how to deal with the American settlers. Should they be encouraged and urged to become valued trading partners and/or Spanish citizens, or should they be driven out of Spanish territory?

B. American Claims and Indian Resistance

Since the United States was little more than a weak confederation of states, it had no effective control of citizens moving westward and did not try to prevent the expansion. State governments, with little money to pay off returning veterans from the war, issued vouchers for the distribution of frontier farmland. Populations west of the Appalachian Mountains grew so quickly that new states like Tennessee and Kentucky soon entered the union.
Strong southern confederacies of Native Americans like the Creek, Cherokee, and Chickamauga soon found themselves under continued pressure from land-hungry settlers and the competing claims of the Spanish. Damaged by the smallpox epidemic and the trials of war, these tribes tried a number of plans to coexist with the thieves of their land. Some tribes responded by naming new leaders with firm European-American ties. Other tribes followed a different approach and practiced guerrilla warfare against the frontier settlers. Strength, however, was in the vast number of Americans that kept coming from the east.

C. “We Are Now Masters”: The Old Northwest

Like their brethren in the South, the Native Americans of the American North had made a gamble and chosen sides with the British during the Revolutionary War. With the ousting of the British and the Treaty of Paris, American settlers lost no time in claiming northern territories that had traditionally belonged to the Indians. Although the English still occupied a few lonely forts on the Canadian border, they were ill-equipped and hardly able to support the Indians of the region who felt betrayed by the results of the war.

American “negotiators” used leverage and downright terrorism to force tribes to enter into treaties. The former colonies began to cede their claims west of the Appalachians to the Confederation government. However, Connecticut and Virginia held onto several million acres of western land earmarked for compensation of war veterans.

With a growing reserve of land, the Confederation government became more than a figurehead; it became a sovereign ruling body. Thomas Jefferson was tasked with the administration of the new western lands and, before leaving for France to replace an ailing Benjamin Franklin as the American ambassador, he formulated a plan for efficient western land distribution.

This statute became the Land Ordinance of 1785. To avoid the complications inherent in private surveys and the resulting overlap of claims, the Ordinance called for a grid of contiguous townships beginning where the Ohio River crossed out of Pennsylvania. Hoping to populate the West with yeoman farmers, Jefferson endorsed selling the western lands in small blocks rather than large spreads that only wealthy land speculators could afford. Jefferson also included provisions and parameters for these yeoman farmers to eventually join together regionally for self-government and statehood. Congress, however, dismissed some of Jefferson’s more idealistic proposals and modified the Ordinance greatly.
D. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787

The task of officially surveying the lands of the West would take years to complete. Almost immediately, a new law issued from Congress—the Northwest Ordinance of 1787—went further in changing Jefferson’s original plans regarding government and administration of the Northwest.

The new Ordinance opened up debate on the acceptability of slavery in the new territory and made arrangements to deport fugitive slaves back to the South. It increased property requirements for voting or holding office and also complicated the process of admitting new states to the union. Many members of Congress were also eastern land speculators and it was in their best interests to create a scenario in which the land could be controlled for profit.

III. Debtor and Creditor, Taxpayer and Bondholder

The end of the Revolutionary War ushered in a period of economic slowdown. The split with England had disrupted habitual modes of trade. Merchants were desperate to find new markets for their goods as the money supply shrank. Violent demonstrations across the new country prompted the Congress to hold closed-door sessions to plan a recovery scheme.

A. New Sources of Wealth

Throughout the 1780s, the overall economic theme of America was a desperate search for trade and new markets. Britain had imposed trade restrictions for the Americans with the lucrative British West Indies in the Treaty of Paris. American merchants sent feelers out to the world, establishing trade with Russia and China in 1784, while searching for profit in the African slave trade. Many New England ships took the middle passage to Africa for a cargo of slaves to replace those who had escaped from the southern rice plantations during the war.

Trade with China increased with time. The soft furs and ginseng roots of the American interior were highly prized by the Chinese who, in return, exported silks, teas, and chinaware. Expeditions up the western coast of the continent established later American claims in the Oregon region.

B. “Tumults in New England”

One of the schemes manufactured by the wealthy involved the buying of state loan certificates for a fraction of their face value. By 1790, relatively few people in the country controlled the debt of the combined states, and eventually these lien holders wanted hard currency in exchange for their certificates. The average citizen was loath to pay more taxes for the loan payoffs, so a national debate began about the wisdom of the individual states printing more money for the relief of farmers and the payment of state debt.
Local skirmishes over debt, credit, and currency had their biggest impact in the Northeast where a
generation of merchants had made a lucrative living trading with the British West Indies and
supplying visiting Europeans with a vast array of merchandise. Sudden exclusion from the
British markets sent New England’s economy into a depression. Many citizens declared
bankruptcy and watched as their land and livestock were sold at auction.

C. The Massachusetts Regulation

Wealthy merchants controlled the legislature in Massachusetts and had the power to resist the
arbitrary printing of additional money to relieve debt (as some states had done, with disastrous
results). As in other states, a small minority of the wealthy had bought up most of the securities
and public certificates issued during the war at bargain prices. They expected huge profits when
their government was solvent enough to pay off these securities in hard currency.

In 1786, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had levied a heavy tax on its citizens, demanding
that it be paid in hard currency. As most of the farmers in the state lacked any such currency,
they were forced to resist this tax and take matters into their own hands, “regulating” events as
the North Carolina Regulators had done 20 years before. The farmers focused on closing the
courts that instigated foreclosures on farms. This Massachusetts Regulation became known as
Shays’s Rebellion, named for the movement’s leader, Daniel Shays. Squashed by a private
militia, Shays’s Rebellion underscored the argument that many had put forward for a stronger
central government.

IV. Drafting a New Constitution

A. Philadelphia: A Gathering of Like-Minded Men

The road to a national constitution began at the plantation of George Washington in 1785, when
commissioners from Maryland and Virginia met there to resolve disputed state boundaries along
the Potomac River. Encouraged by the progress made to clarify political issues quickly, the
commissioners slated a trade meeting for delegates from all states in the hopes of creating healthy
dialogue. Although only five states sent delegates to this trade meeting the next year, news of the
unrest in the New England states persuaded those attending to call for an extended convention in
Philadelphia the following May. This time, Congress lent its approval and authority, making the
Philadelphia meeting a full-fledged Constitutional Convention, a closed-door meeting designed to
retool the governmental structure of the United States.

James Madison arrived in Philadelphia in 1787 and began composing drafts and lobbying
delegates, some of whom came early to attend a secret meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati.
On May 25, delegates from seven states had arrived and the convention was called to order by
Washington, the delegates’ chosen president. After some debate, members agreed the convention should operate behind closed doors with one vote per state. No public discussions or written records of the proceedings were permitted.

Soon, delegates from 12 additional states had joined; only Rhode Island elected not to send representation. All delegates were white males with above-average education and professional occupations. Most of the delegates favored a government empowered to keep revenue flowing through taxation and creditor-friendly fiscal policy. Many from large states believed governmental representation should be allotted in proportional accordance to population rather than by one vote per state.

Also, most believed that the single-house (unicameral) legislature of the Articles of Confederation should be replaced by a two-house (bicameral) system. John Adams had incorporated many of these forward-looking ideas into the Massachusetts constitution, including a system of checks and balances designed to restrict power from any one facet of government. It was to Adams and Madison that many of the delegates looked for a working blueprint of government.

B. Compromise and Consensus

The Philadelphia meeting, which was later dubbed the Constitutional Convention of 1787, lasted the entire summer and highlighted the myriad differences—personal, practical, and philosophical—amongst the delegates. Ultimately, the members were realists who were concerned above all else with producing a government that their respective constituents would approve.

Many times during the 16-week convention, the process of debate and compromise continued to lead these men to a practical consensus that would benefit everyone a little but give absolute power to no one. Governmental structure, voting rights and requirements, and a method for electing the chief executive were some of the issues concerning the group. The resulting system of electoral college nomination was unusual and seemingly too complicated, but it served to compromise all the varied concerns of the delegates and won prompt approval.

C. Questions of Representation

Two hot-button issues threatened to stifle the convention’s progress: political representation of citizens and slavery. Specifically, the question of proportionate representation versus the one-state-one-vote viewpoint caused much friction, pitting large states against smaller ones. The plan conceived by Madison outlining a government with three distinct branches came to be known at the Virginia Plan. This plan called for a bicameral legislature with proportional representation in each body. The House of Representatives would be chosen by popular election, the Senate by individual bodies of state legislators.
As Madison’s plan obviously favored populous states, small-state delegates proposed an alternative New Jersey Plan built on the existing framework of the Articles of Confederation. The plan called for a continuation of the unicameral system with one vote for each state. To compromise these two plans, the idea of a Senate was retained and fixed at membership of two delegates per state. Membership in the House of Representatives would be determined proportionately by state size to be determined by a national census that would be repeated every ten years. European countries had never tried a census, so a tricky question emerged: should slaves be counted along with free persons in the headcount?

Slaveholding states wanted the counts to be inclusive because that would give their states more representation. The convention finally considered an agreement on a “three-fifths” compromise, which equated every five slaves to three free people in the census.

D. Slavery: The Deepest Dilemma

In late August, the question regarding slavery was still undecided. Planter delegates from the Southern states refused to accept any document that made any attempt to curtail the slave trade, and most delegates refused to challenge these pro-slavery positions, fearful of losing their other compromises. Ultimately, the framers approved a clause that protected the importation of slaves for 20 years and dictated the methods of handling fugitives. The word *slave* never appears in the Constitution.

In September, members finalized the new Constitution and prepared to introduce it to the public. The majority of delegates had objected to the inclusion of the listing of specific freedoms (Bill of Rights) in the document. Although there were a few dissenting votes, the framers used a state roll call for final approval, not a member-based roster. This allowed them to debut the Constitution as a unanimous agreement on September 17, 1787.

V. Ratification and the Bill of Rights

Having created a blueprint for a new form of government, the framers faced the biggest hurdle of winning public acceptance for a document that would change many aspects of their lives.

A. The Campaign for Ratification

The Confederation Congress was taken aback by the results of the Constitutional Convention. Most of its members supposed the delegates would issue recommendations to improve the existing government, not discard it altogether. Not surprisingly, the sitting Congress refused to endorse it but did pass the document along to the states on September 28. In each state assembly, the various convention delegates used any persuasive technique at their disposals to convince their fellow statesmen to vote for ratification. Calling themselves “Federalists,” the framers and supporters of the Constitution created the name “Anti-Federalists” for any
dissenters. Alexander Hamilton and James Madison published collected essays in *The Federalist*, where Madison argued the value of diversification in a large country to preserve the opinions and rights of all.

B. Dividing and Conquering the Anti-Federalists

Opponents of the new Constitution found themselves labeled Anti-Federalists and had to argue defensively from the start of the ratification debate. They painted the framers as privileged elites, with few real ties to the needs of the common man. They bemoaned the fate of local political power and truly believed that a state government could be more responsive and supportive to the needs of its citizens compared to a distant national government. A number of indebted people worried that a national government would favor their creditors over their own well-being. These Anti-Federalist supporters were numerous in the countryside.

The Federalists, however, populated the coastal cities near the seats of government and used tactics of persuasion to leverage control of the state ratification assemblies. Approval of the Constitution came in Massachusetts in February 1788, Maryland in April, South Carolina in May, and New Hampshire in June. Other states followed, but several of them prefaced their approval by demanding the addition of a Bill of Rights.

C. Adding a Bill of Rights

James Madison had two distinct motives for agreeing to pen the Bill of Rights. He wanted to ensure his election by Virginia to the House of Representatives and he also wanted to avoid the possibility of discontented states calling for a second Constitutional Convention to reconsider the whole new government.

In compiling the Bill of Rights, Madison tried to reach a compromise between the need to pass a Federalist-dominated Congress without reducing any of the primary rights of citizens. He pushed 12 statements of political rights through Congress as constitutional amendments. In two years, three-fourths of the states ratified ten of these pronouncements and they became the first amendments to the Constitution.

**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. The Society of the Cincinnati:

2. *Columbia:*
3. Noah Webster:

4. Jedidiah Morse:

5. *Notes on the State of Virginia*:

6. Society for the Promotion of the Manumission of Slaves:

7. John Adams:

8. Cumberland Gap:

9. The 31st parallel:

10. Yazoo Claim:

11. Daniel Boone:

12. Dragging Canoe:

13. Land Ordinance of 1785:

14. Northwest Ordinance of 1787:

15. The Ohio Company:

16. Scioto Company:
17. “Rogue Island”:

18. Shays’s Rebellion:

19. Constitutional Convention of 1787:

20. bicameral:

21. “checks and balances”:

22. Electoral College:

23. The Virginia Plan:

24. The New Jersey Plan:

25. the “three-fifths” clause:

26. The Bill of Rights:

27. ratification:

28. Anti-Federalists:

29. The First Amendment:

30. The Articles of Confederation:
Multiple Choice Questions:

1. The renegade Cherokee warrior, ____________, led a band of guerrilla fighters called the Chicamaugas.
   A. Pontiac  
   B. George Walton  
   C. Squanto  
   D. Alexander McGillivray  
   E. Dragging Canoe

2. The Indian tribes of the Old Southwest included
   A. Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creeks, and Natchez.  
   B. Chickasaw, Creeks, Choctaws, and Wisconsin.  
   C. Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creeks and Sioux.  
   D. Cherokees, Choctaw, Creeks and Chickasaws.  
   E. Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creeks, and Blackfoot.

3. In the Old Northwest, the states of Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, and Virginia ceded lands to
   A. Britain.  
   B. the Confederation Congress.  
   C. Canada.  
   D. Spain.  
   E. Portugal.

4. The plan for the orderly distribution of land in the Northwest Territory was codified by the
   A. Judiciary Act of 1789.  
   B. Constitution of 1789.  
   C. Land Ordinance of 1785.  
   D. Township Act of 1783.  
   E. Proclamation of 1763.

5. The Land Ordinance of 1785
   A. criticized the continued British presence in the West.  
   B. gave free land to soldiers who fought in the Revolution.  
   C. forbade slavery in the Northwest Territory.  
   D. granted lands to various native tribes.  
   E. was rejected by the French government.
6. The economic travails of the postwar period led to increased American interest in
   A. the West African slave trade.
   B. land along the Mississippi River.
   C. Canadian farm land.
   D. whaling.
   E. trade with Cuba.

7. Debt pressures touched off ________________ in western Massachusetts.
   A. the Leveler crisis
   B. the Whisky Rebellion
   C. Shay's Rebellion
   D. the Great Uprising
   E. Bacon's Rebellion

8. The only state that rejected sending delegates to the Constitutional Convention was
   A. New Hampshire.
   B. Massachusetts.
   C. Pennsylvania.
   D. Ohio.
   E. Rhode Island.

9. The constitutional plan that called for the creation of a bicameral national legislature with
   proportional representation in both houses was called
   A. the Connecticut Plan.
   B. the Virginia Plan.
   C. the Pennsylvania Plan.
   D. the New Jersey Plan.
   E. the New Hampshire Plan.

10. Those who feared the centralization of power in the new national government demanded
    that a(n) __________ be included with the final document.
    A. Bill of Rights.
    B. Petition of Duties.
    C. Anti-Federalist petition.
    D. antislavery statute.
    E. section establishing a federal court system.

MAP QUESTION:

After studying Map 8.4, discuss how the grid system of survey was successful in populating the
Old Northwest. Who were the big winners?
CONNECTING HISTORY

Discuss why the article calls the Electoral College a “ticking time bomb.” What steps could be taken to make the electoral process more reflective of the people’s wishes?

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Why were the Confederation Congress and General Washington afraid of a military coup after the Treaty of Paris ended the Revolutionary War?

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. E
2. D
3. B
4. C
5. B
6. A
7. C
8. E
9. B
10. A
Chapter 9
Revolutionary Legacies,
1789–1803

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 9, you should be able to:

1. Understand the varied political viewpoints that were competing for prominence at this time.
2. Explain the continued dependence on slavery in the American South.
3. Identify and discuss the primary beneficiaries of the new country.
4. Understand that Republican ideology had profound effects on many aspects of America.
5. Discuss the presidency of George Washington and the problems he encountered.
6. Explain the effects of European political decisions on America.

Time Line

1787
Free African Society founded in Philadelphia

1789
The French Revolution began
George Washington assumed presidency of the United States
Judiciary Act of 1789
First U.S. tariff on imported goods

1790
Congress agreed to fund national debt
Naturalization law limited U.S. citizenship to free white persons

1791
Bill of Rights ratified by the states
Congress issued charter to Bank of the United States
Samuel Slater constructed first American cotton-spinning machine
1792
Washington was reelected to a second term
French revolutionaries beheaded the king and began “Reign of Terror”
America restricted membership in the militia to white men
*Vindication of the Rights of Women*, Mary Wollstonecraft

1793
France and England went to war over territorial claims in Europe and West Indies
Washington issued Neutrality Proclamation
British Navy seized 300 American merchant ships; sailors taken hostage under impressments
Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin

1794
Battle of Fallen Timbers
Whiskey Rebellions
Fall of the Ohio Confederacy
France outlawed practice of slavery

1795
Chief Justice John Jay dispatched to England to negotiate status of British forts in U.S.
Pinckney Treaty, also known as the Treaty of San Lorenzo
U.S. gained Ohio Territory and much of Indiana
Yazoo Act in Georgia

1797
John Adams became second president of the United States
XYZ Affair in France
American-French “Quasi War” began

1798
Alien and Sedition Acts passed by Congress

1800
Convention of 1800
Presidential campaign of 1800

1801
Judiciary Act of 1801
Thomas Jefferson became third president of the United States
Jefferson launched war against Barbary pirates in North Africa
Napoleon gained Louisiana Territory from Spain in secret negotiations
Indiana territory passed “black law” preventing African Americans from testifying in court
Louisiana Purchase and Senate approval
Marbury v. Madison

Chapter Overview

With the revolution won and the new Constitution ratified, Americans settled into the long struggle to define themselves and their society. This chapter surveys the competing political visions in the new nation, the difficulties for African Americans in a country that allowed slavery, and the efforts to define just what the legacies of the Revolutionary War were.

I. Competing Political Visions in the New Nation

Under the newly ratified Constitution, the Electoral College unanimously chose George Washington as president in 1789. Congress proposed ten amendments to the Constitution in response to popular demand that personal rights have written guarantees. By 1791, these amendments had been passed by the states. Believing that the existence of parties in England hampered free and open discussion of issues, the Federalists of the First Congress began to solve the problems facing the young nation. By the late 1790s, the supporters of Hamilton (Federalists) and Jefferson (Democratic-Republicans) represented two opposing viewpoints. The Federalists supported a strong central government that supported business and industry, while the Democratic-Republicans supported states’ rights and a dependence on the integrity of small farmers to guarantee the freedoms and obligations of a republic.

A. Federalism and Democratic-Republicanism in Action

Diplomatic relations became strained in 1793 at the outbreak of war between England and France when Washington declared United States neutrality. Despite this official position, citizens chose sides. Ambassador Edmund Genet of France attempted to raise American troops for the war, and England boarded over 300 American merchant ships to seize sailors and cargo. Britain also supplied guns and encouragement to native tribes in the Ohio Confederacy who fought to retain their lands.

As secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton developed the First Bank of the United States, modeled after the Bank of England, to fund the national debt and stimulate the economy. Jefferson opposed not only the national bank but all of Hamilton’s centralizing proposals aimed at creating financial stability by encouraging industrial growth.
B. Planting the Seeds of Industry

In 1791, New England was fast becoming an industrial region. Samuel Slater arrived from England and built the first American cotton-thread spinning machine. Although the bulk of manufacturing took place in individual households, innovations such as Eli Whitney’s cotton gin helped speed production. America’s Industrial Revolution was centered along a geographic fault line from New England to Pennsylvania that possessed plenty of falling water for power, capital from wealthy merchants, and a dense population as a resource for labor and consumption. Mining, fishing, and shipbuilding industries thrived. Innovations in transportation spurred faster growth.

C. Echoes of the American Revolution in the Countryside

Despite encouraging news about the future of the economy, in 1794, the Washington administration faced violent dissent from Indian nations in the West under the leadership of Little Turtle. That same year, grain farmers and distillers in Pennsylvania refused to pay their federal taxes, prompting Washington to send a detachment of 13,000 troops to squelch this Whiskey Rebellion.

Many of these farmers faced potential foreclosure due to the hard currency policies of Hamilton; money continued to become scarce, and loan repayment demanded hard money. Using techniques from the Revolution, these farmers spent their rage upon the hapless collectors of the whiskey tax. This rebellion and others like it revealed the deep resentment of rural America against the Federalists. Ultimately, the powers and position of the government stood unchanged.

D. Securing Peace Abroad, Suppressing Dissent at Home

In 1795, Chief Justice John Jay traveled to England under the direction of Washington to form a treaty with England. At issue were the lingering British forts in America, American debt still owed to English creditors, British impressments of American sailors and ships, and the rights of individual Americans to trade freely with European combatants in wartime. Pro-British, Chief Justice Jay had difficulty pressuring the English, and the resulting treaty lacked teeth. Another treaty, the Pinckney Treaty of 1795, provided America with Spain’s permission to navigate the Mississippi River tax-free for purposes of trade.

An election year, 1796 saw the campaigns of John Adams for the Federalists and Thomas Jefferson for the Democrat-Republican Party (Washington had decided not to run for a third term). Adams’s narrow win as president allowed Jefferson to become vice president. For his first act as president, Adams had to deal with the French, who were seizing American merchant vessels in response to America’s treaty with England. To open communications, Adams sent a delegation to Paris to negotiate a treaty with France. However, French courtiers to the king (referred to as X, Y, and Z in official communiqués) demanded the arrangement of a $12 million loan for the French government and a $250,000 cash bribe for themselves to speed negotiations. Outraged, Adams called the delegation home.
In 1800, the new ruler of France, Napoleon, signed a treaty with America called the Convention of 1800. This agreement dissolved the French-American alliance created during the American Revolution, provided restitution for the ships seized by the French Navy, and established a permanent peace between the United States and France.

On the domestic scene, a Federalist-dominated Congress pledged to stifle the dissent flowing from the nation’s countryside. To put an end to this perceived threat, Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1789. These new laws made the process of obtaining citizenship for immigrants much more difficult. Also new was the presidential power to deport or imprison aliens and the worrisome ability of the government to label any dissenters as official traitors.

Although unconstitutional, the Alien and Sedition Acts were upheld by the Federalist Supreme Court. Many politicians and newspaper publishers went to prison. The injustice continued until individual states set the legal precedent of nullifying any federal statute they deemed inappropriate.

II. People of Color: New Freedoms, New Struggles

The late 1700s saw an emerging pattern of Americans using race as a means of categorizing people and distinguishing groups from each other. No group suffered this discrimination more than the African Americans after the war; even free blacks faced an uphill struggle in the efforts to achieve economic independence. Employment options were limited and white prejudice, sanctioned by law, condemned many African Americans to lifelong poverty.

A. Blacks in the North

Between 1790 and 1804, all the northern states had abolished slavery. Some approached this decision gradually; others repealed the institution in one fell swoop. Although free, these northern blacks were seen by whites as a threat to the economic well-being of the population. At the state and national level, blacks were not considered citizens. Some states prevented blacks from voting, serving on juries, and moving freely within the state borders.

As slaves, blacks had experienced and mastered a wide array of skills and crafts, but as free people, they found it difficult to live independently. Many jobs connected with government remained closed to them and local guilds refused to license their trade skills. Unable to compete, most blacks worked in laborious, menial jobs. Undaunted, they established their own households and filled them with unique traditions. Independent black churches and communal societies began taking shape.
B. The Story of Ona Judge

Revolutionary ideas of freedom inspired African American slaves as well as free whites. In 1790, when Washington moved with his wife, Martha, to Philadelphia, they took their household slaves with them. Ona Judge, who had served as the First Lady’s personal attendant, escaped to New Hampshire. Ignoring the law which said that the owner of a fugitive slave must receive authorization from a local judge to reclaim the slave, Washington directly approached Judge Josiah Whipple, the U.S. Customs Collector in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Although Washington claimed Ona had been abducted, Whipple found that the young slave had fled out of a desire for liberty.

Missing her family, Ona Judge offered to return to the Washington household if she could remain free. The President refused to negotiate with her but did not want to create a public scandal by returning her by force. Ona settled in New Hampshire and married an African American sailor and started a family. Although Washington made a provision in his will to free his slaves after his death, he had felt duty-bound to try and retrieve the runaway.

C. Manumissions in the South

Between 1782 and 1792, more than 10,000 Virginia slaves gained their freedom through a process known as manumission, or the selective release of people from bondage. Some planters had come to believe that the Revolution and freedom were the will of God, and they could not justify the continuation of slavery within this religious scope.

Throughout the South, manumissions increased the free black population dramatically. Providing for manumissions in his will, George Washington arranged craft apprenticeships for younger slaves and pensions for the aged. Virginian Robert Carver granted his freed slaves small plots of land. These, however, were unusual situations; manumission was not a guarantee of freedom for the slaves, as individual state laws were careful to underscore. Some Southern slaves, seeing the example of manumissions around them, took the initiative and freed themselves, running away to the North.

III. Continuity and Change in the West

At the close of the war, some white Americans acted quickly to claim small amounts of new land, and land speculators like the Ohio Company took advantage of the state and national government decision to sell land in large lots. Slavery accompanied westward development, where new plantations emerged from timbered forests through backbreaking effort.
A. Indian Wars in the Great Lakes Region

In the 1790s, many of the Indians settled in the Great Lakes Region were victims of the Revolutionary War that had forced them to move west; some were long-time residents. These various tribes brought aspects of their many cultures to the region. Thousands died in Indian-white frontier battles as a result of the Northwest Ordinance. Beginning in 1790, in response to the stalemate between settlers and the tribes, Washington sent a succession of three military commanders to suppress the rebellious Miami Indian chief, Little Turtle. By 1795, the tribes were forced to cede a vast amount of Indian territory to the United States. The removal of the British as a supporting factor doomed the tribes to subjugation by the Americans.

B. Indian Acculturation in the West

Indian tribes differed in the ways they intermixed with whites. While some tribes chose to continue moving west to avoid prolonged contact, many tribes began a process of trading ideas and cultures with the frontier whites.

Liquor consumption—a practice learned from these frontier whites—was a quick path to destruction for many of the tribes. Alcohol became a prized trade item and European culture had long used it for social lubrication and celebration. Conflicts involving liquor consumption and trade became common, prompting the concern and protests of some tribal leaders.

The Five Civilized Tribes of the American Southeast had their hunting grounds systematically depleted by infringing settlers. After the Revolution, some of the tribes appealed to the government for aid, and some took up agriculture or simple production of consumer goods. Even livestock husbandry was gradually accepted as a replacement for the traditional hunting practices of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles. A willingness to adapt to the parameters of the European world allowed the Five Tribes to stay in their homelands and retain a great deal of their native cultural identity. In the West, the Spanish met opposition in their attempts, through the founding of California and Texas missions, to Christianize Indian societies and suppress their native cultures.

C. Land Speculation and Slavery

As settlers poured into the trans-Appalachian west after the Revolution, they brought with them guns and liquor—proven ingredients for violence and conflict. Land speculation forced new arrivals to purchase farms at inflated prices. Many European-American immigrants brought African slaves with them on their treks west. For these reasons, the West soon became indistinguishable culturally from the American East. Although slavery was soon abolished in many territories and states of the Old Northwest, blacks still would lack the right to vote or give court testimony against whites.
IV. Shifting Social Identities in the Post-Revolutionary Era

Revolutionary ideas also influenced unexpected areas of white society, like established churches, class privilege, the balance between political power and political responsibility, and power relationships within families. Reformers sought to promote an idealized society. The efforts might have been more effective had the various groups developed a common agenda, or if the citizens agreed on what needed to be fixed.

A. The Search for Common Ground

In this spirit of reform, a number of groups appeared to benefit various causes such as manumission, temperance, legal grievances, and tax resistance. Freed people of color created new churches designated as “African” to denote a connection with a specific cultural heritage that predated the diaspora and enslavement of the black race. Utopian sects began to flourish, with a religious message of inclusiveness and family.

B. Artisan-Politicians and the Plight of Post-Revolutionary Workers

Changes also occurred among workingmen. Craftsmen and tradesmen organized in societies that stressed equality and emphasized their revolutionary roots by marching in local celebrations to honor the Declaration of Independence, George Washington, or the Constitution. These organizations developed into quasi-political establishments and used their influence to exclude undesirables from their particular region or swing legislative opinions. The use of wage labor over indentured labor or slavery increased the mobility of male unskilled workers who were unable to find enough work in one location and needed to travel to find sufficient income to provide for their families. While the postwar period provided opportunity for some, the majority of small farmers and wage laborers encountered greater problems.

C. “Republican Mothers” and Other Well-off Women

Some women expecting greater freedom and opportunity in the new nation would be disappointed. Rather than acquiring the right to participate equally in the political sphere, own property, or act as legal persons, women were tied more fully to the patriarchal household and familial responsibilities than during the colonial period because of the new definition of a woman’s role within the nation. The concept of “Republican Motherhood” supposedly settled any gender issues among elite and middle-class women by identifying the role of mother as crucial to the creation of Republican sons, who would become the solid citizens that would guarantee the survival of the nation.

D. A Loss of Political Influence: The Fate of Non-elite Women

For the ranks of women in America that could not be considered elite, the Revolution had a very specific impact. Among the Cherokee nation, the traditional role of women as negotiators and
policy-makers became subdued after exposure to the male-oriented structure of the European-American culture. By the end of the century, women had no influence in negotiations or land transactions.

Impoverished whites and free black women had little recourse to working at a number of labor-intensive jobs to survive. In short, most women had neither the opportunity nor the resources for economic improvement on any level after the Revolutionary War.

V. The Election of 1800: Revolution or Reversal?

A. The Enigmatic Thomas Jefferson

Many Americans at the turn of the century recognized Jefferson as the writer of the Declaration of Independence, but he was also a staunch advocate of slavery and believed in the scientific superiority of the white race. Although idealistic, his views on private property and Indian relations would pave the way for the destruction of numerous tribal cultures.

B. Protecting and Expanding the National Interest: Jefferson’s Administration to 1803

The strongly contested election of 1800 removed the Federalists from control of the presidency, but it did not destroy their influence in the national arena. Federalist designates to the Supreme Court, appointed for life, interpreted the Constitution for the next generation. It would be reasonable to assume that Jefferson’s presidential leadership as a Democratic-Republican would significantly alter national direction. However, his narrow margin of victory dictated a more cautious approach.

In international affairs, Jefferson did not take the side of France and embroil the United States in the ongoing European conflicts. The purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France removed a potential threat to America’s western boundary and added 828,000 square miles to American territory. The four-year war with the “Barbary States” of North Africa demonstrated the determination of the new nation to protect both United States citizens and foreign trade. He was less successful in getting England and France to respect the sovereignty of American ships.

Identification

Explain the significance of each of the following:

1. The French Revolution:

2. George Washington:
3. The Judiciary Act of 1789:

4. Alexander Hamilton:

5. Democratic-Republicans:

6. John Adams:

7. Neutrality Proclamation:

8. Citizen Edmund Genet:

9. impressments:

10. Bank of the United States:


12. Eli Whitney:

13. The Lancaster Turnpike:

14. The Battle of Fallen Timbers:

15. The Whiskey Rebellion:

16. John Jay:
17. Pinckney Treaty:

18. XYZ Affair:

19. Quasi War:

20. The Convention of 1800:

21. The Alien and Sedition Acts:

22. mulatto:

23. Free African Society:

24. manumission:

25. Little Turtle:

26. liquor:

27. Handsome Lake:

28. The Five Civilized Tribes of the Southeast:

29. Yazoo Act:

30. The Louisiana Purchase:
Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Alexander Hamilton and his supporters believed that _____________ would protect local industries and lead to economic growth.
   A. commercial treaties  
   B. regional specialization  
   C. income taxes  
   D. protective tariffs  
   E. free market competition

2. In 1794, _____________ challenged the power of the federal government and underscored class conflicts.
   A. Shays's Rebellion  
   B. the Regulators  
   C. Bacon's Rebellion  
   D. the Burr conspiracy  
   E. the Whiskey Rebellion

3. The 1795 Treaty that was meant to stop hostilities between England and the United States was
   A. the XYZ Affair.  
   B. Jay's Treaty.  
   C. Pinckney's Treaty.  
   D. the Treaty of Paris.  
   E. the Treaty of Canada.

4. The Treaty of San Lorenzo gave the U.S. the right to
   A. expel English Catholics from the United States.  
   B. fish in the waters off Newfoundland.  
   C. navigate the Mississippi River.  
   D. relocate Indian tribes west of the Mississippi River.  
   E. control British forts in the West.

5. The XYZ Affair led to conflict between the U.S. and
   A. France.  
   B. Spain.  
   C. England.  
   D. the Iroquois.  
   E. Holland.
6. The Democratic-Republican congressman, ____________, was jailed by the Federalists under the Alien and Sedition Acts.
   A. John Quincy Adams
   B. Mathew Lyon
   C. Henry Knox
   D. James Madison
   E. Patrick Henry

7. The legal process by which slaves could be freed was called
   A. taxation.
   B. regulation.
   C. liberation.
   D. manumission.
   E. coronation day.

8. The general who defeated the Ohio Confederacy at Fallen Timbers was
   A. Horatio Gates.
   B. Arthur St. Clair.
   C. Josiah Hamar.
   D. William Harrison.
   E. Anthony Wayne.

9. The so-called Five Civilized Tribes of the southeastern United States included
   A. Creeks, Miamis, and Weas.
   B. Cherokee, Chickasaws, and Miamis.
   C. Cherokee, Choctaws, and Chickasaws.
   D. Potawatomies, Ojibways, and Cherokees.
   E. Creeks, Miamis, and Sioux.

10. The Election of 1800 brought ______________ to power and ended the Federalist control of the national government.
    A. John Adams
    B. Thomas Jefferson
    C. George Washington
    D. Aaron Burr
    E. James Madison

**MAP QUESTION:**

After studying Map 9.3, can you construct a time line that details the order of claims and territorial treaties that extended the borders of the United States to the Mississippi River?
CONNECTING HISTORY

Is the United States government guilty of potential violations of civil liberties today? List and discuss some examples. Are these violations necessary or largely arbitrary?

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Is the traditional participation of organized labor in politics still a factor in today’s government? Why or why not?

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. D
2. E
3. B
4. C
5. A
6. B
7. D
8. E
9. C
10. B
Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 10, you should be able to:

1. Understand the motivations behind America’s decision to declare war on Britain in 1812.
2. Explain the dynamics of the war: who fought who and the war’s outcome.
3. Discuss the role that Native Americans played in the War of 1812.
4. Analyze the economic effects of the War of 1812.
5. Understand the growth of the agricultural South and the associated growth in slavery.

Time Line

1804
Thomas Jefferson reelected president of United States
Alexander Hamilton killed in duel with Aaron Burr

1805
Battle of Trafalgar
Battle of Austerlitz

1806
Orders in Council passed by English Parliament
Congress authorized building of National Road

1807
Embargo of 1807 on all American exports to the European powers
American vessel *Chesapeake* came under attack
Aaron Burr tried for treason
Robert Fulton unveiled his steamboat, *Clermont*

1808
Prophet’s Town founded in Indiana
U.S. officially outlawed importation of new slaves

1809
James Madison became fourth president of the United States
Non-Intercourse Act

1810
Macon’s Bill No.2 passed by Congress
The United Society of Chimney Sweeps, New York City, founded

1811
U.S. campaign against Prophet’s Town movement
Charter of Bank of the United States expired

1812
War of 1812 began
U.S. unsuccessfully attacked Canada
British captured Detroit

1813
U.S. defeated British fleet on Lake Erie

1814
British defeated Napoleon
Battle of Chippewa
Battle of Bladensburg, Capitol building and White House burned
*The Star Spangled Banner* written by Francis Scott Key
Treaty of Horseshoe Bend

1815
Battle of New Orleans, final British defeat of the war
Treaty of Ghent

1816
Tariff of 1816

1817
Rush-Bagot Treaty of 1817

1818
Convention of 1818

**Chapter Overview**

Just because the British surrendered at Yorktown to end the Revolutionary War did not mean they ceased to be a political and military problem for the United States. In fact, conflicts with England and France led to hostilities with both nations. This chapter also discusses increasing
regional economic specialization, especially the transformative effect of the rise of the cotton economy in the South.

I. The British Menace

A. The Embargo of 1807

During the Napoleonic Wars, England sought to control American shipping by continuing the practice of seizing both crewmen and cargo from American merchant ships. In an attempt to force European nations to respect American sovereignty, President Jefferson requested an embargo on all exports to European destinations in 1807. Citizens in both New England and the South compared Jefferson to George III because he refused to lift the embargo that crippled their economies. As a result, privateers risked prosecution by circumventing the embargo, illegally routing goods north through Canada and then to Europe.

B. On the Brink of War

In 1809, newly elected president James Madison and the Congress replaced the embargo that banned shipment to all of Europe with a Non-Intercourse Act that excluded shipments to England and France only. England’s continued harassment of American shipping led western congressmen, nicknamed “war hawks,” to demand formal war against the British to protect American independence.

Land issues continued to trouble western settlers who broke treaties by settling on Indian land. Shawnee war leader Tecumseh built a coalition of tribes from Florida to Canada based on a vision from the Great Spirit received by holy man Tenskwatawa asking his people to drive the white men from their lands. The governor of Indiana led a U.S. army attack against Prophet’s Town, and soundly defeated the army led by Tenskwatawa, who believed that the whites were too weak to beat warriors.

II. The War of 1812

A. Pushing North

By 1812, the western congressmen succeeded in their demands for a war with England to halt the threat to American ships and eliminate Canadian trade with native peoples. The U.S. attack on Canada in 1812, similar to the Revolutionary War experience, failed because militias refused to leave their states. The American Navy won small engagements on the Great Lakes and Lake Champlain. The American attack on Montreal failed, and pursuing British troops burned Fort Niagara and surrounding towns. In Europe, Britain finally defeated Napoleon, which freed up
15,000 British regulars for the escalating war with America. American victories at Lake Erie and the Battle of Chippewa were not enough to relieve the American posture of defense.

B. Fighting on Many Fronts

As in the Revolutionary War, the majority of native tribes fought for the British because of the actions of land-hungry American settlers. Tecumseh joined the British effort, with the rank of brigadier general. In 1813, the most significant event in the Canadian theater was the death of Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames. In the South, the Creek nation divided its allegiance between the British and the Americans. Andrew Jackson, with 3,500 troops and Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creek warriors, wasted Creek villages, forcing the Creeks to cede 23 million acres of their homeland in the Treaty of Horseshoe Bend. Despite evidence of battlefield atrocities, Jackson praised his troops for bringing civilization to the area.

The British Navy controlled the Atlantic Ocean, British armies defeated poorly led and poorly motivated American troops, and all major American port cities were in British hands by 1814, except New Orleans. Andrew Jackson led an army to defend New Orleans, unaware that by the time he had reached the area the war was over. The battle on January 8, 1815, which lasted half an hour, was an astonishing American victory.

C. An Uncertain Victory

American and British negotiators had reached a war-ending peace agreement two weeks before the Battle of New Orleans. However, many veterans later wrongly associated “Old Hickory” Jackson with the decisive victory of the war. President Madison had decided to end the conflict in 1814 and sent an envoy to Ghent, Belgium to start negotiations with the British. Early on, the British insisted on the creation of an American Indian territory in the Great Lakes region as well as the relinquishment of Maine to England. The Americans refused, and negotiations wore on. Meanwhile, New England protested the ongoing drain of “Mr. Madison’s war” and provided little aid during the conflict; several states even threatened to secede from the union.

As events wore on, the British sensed their potential defeat in the American theatre and feared new threats from France. In the finalized Treaty of Ghent, they dropped their demands for an Indian buffer state and Maine territory. They also agreed to an armistice that relegated both combatants back to their original boundaries before the war.

III. The “Era of Good Feelings”?

By the time James Monroe became President in 1817, the bitter discord that had been so common in Congress and small-town America seemed to have disappeared. Optimism about the future of the country ran high, and the new president predicted an end to the long-standing Indian
troubles. Two new treaties set the U.S.-Canadian border at the 49th parallel and established joint occupancy of the Oregon Territory for ten years.

A. Praise and Respect for Veterans after the War

Veterans of the War of 1812 won the praise of a grateful nation and the grudging respect of the British military. To reward these veterans, Congress approved the distribution of 160-acre plots of land in the territory between Illinois and the Mississippi Rivers. This series of land grants did much to open a new frontier in the United States. Two military heroes would eventually become presidents of the United States B Andrew Jackson in 1824 and William Henry Harrison in 1840.

B. A Thriving Economy

New home industries became stronger as the impact of the embargo and war provided them with customers. Reliance on imports had finally given way to a reliance on those goods produced at home. Internal migration became a commonplace event during this period, with families moving in search of optimal standards of living. Toll roads and steamboats facilitated the movement of people and goods. The interruption of trade with Europe as a result of the embargo and the war resulted in a quick growth of industry throughout the United States. Craftsmen finally did not have to worry about foreign competition.

C. Transformations in the Workplace

In some crafts, like leatherwork, barrel making, newspaper printing, etc., large establishments replaced small shops. Skilled artisans were dismayed, while unskilled workers found steady employment. New England dominated textile production and, faced with a shortage of manpower due to the scarcity of slaves, hired women and children in the mills. There were early attempts at labor unions, complete with parades and small strikes, which neither factory owners nor the courts tolerated. Male and female free blacks did the heaviest and dirtiest jobs for scant wages. Slaves continued to labor at whatever jobs would bring their owners the most money or greatest prestige.

D. The Market Revolution

The rapid economic transformations of the early nineteenth century, called the market revolution, was driven by improvements in transportation, commercialization, and the growth of factories. By the middle of the century, the Untied States had become a very different place to live. Wage workers replaced family labor and indentured servants as the most important labor system in the North. Both private individuals and public institutions invested the money necessary for these changes. Americans in the North began to think in terms of buying products rather than making them at home. Still, traditional forms of inequality and hierarchy continued, particularly for slaves and hard pressed Western Indians.
IV. The Rise of the Cotton Plantation Economy

A. Regional Economies of the South

As rich lands opened up in the South, indigo production was replaced by cotton production. The widespread use of the new cotton gin made this staple crop profitable in many areas of the South’s interior. In the low country of coastal South Carolina and Georgia, rice production also flourished with the technical advances of tidal farming and the efficient consolidation of small farms into huge plantations. Despite its state ban on importation of African slaves, the demand for labor so exceeded the supply that South Carolina aggressively reopened the trade in 1803 until the federal government’s outlawing of import slavery in 1808.

B. Black Family Life and Labor

As most states depended on the internal slave market due to the 1808 federal ban on importation of new slaves, owners encouraged women to have children, with some owners supporting limited marriage arrangements because it improved the work done on the plantation and decreased the number of runaways. Black families supported each other in both kin and fictive kin arrangements that provided mutual support in raising families and surviving slavery. However, masters showed little inclination to take family into account when they parceled out specialized work assignments to men, women, and children alike; ultimately, slaves were property that could be inherited, sold, or killed at the whim of the white master. Ideally, a slave would find himself or herself at a large, stable plantation where there was little chance of separation from loved ones. Rice plantations were desirable as they usually operated on the task system of labor which afforded many slaves the ability to pursue private endeavors.

C. Resistance to Slavery

As the need for slaves increased, restrictions on slave activity also increased. Owners sought firmer control of slaves’ lives, afraid of slave retaliation. Harsh punishments were common, and both active and passive resistance to slavery became normal. Work slowdowns, feigned illnesses, accidental fires, breaking tools, misunderstanding directions, and running away for short periods of time were all common. Most whites understood intuitively that danger lurked behind every situation that included a slave, and the resulting fear may help to explain the colossal punishments and deprivations that were heaped upon these people.
**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. The Lewis and Clark Expedition:

2. The Battle of Trafalgar:

3. The Battle of Austerlitz:

4. The Orders in Council:

5. The Embargo of 1807:

6. Aaron Burr:

7. The Non-Intercourse Act:

8. “war hawks”:

9. Macon’s Bill No.2:

10. Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa:

11. Prophet’s Town:

12. William Henry Harrison:

13. Battle of Tippecanoe:
14. General Isaac Brock:

15. Commodore Oliver Perry:

16. The Battle of Bladensburg:

17. Francis Scott Key:

18. Andrew Jackson:

19. The Red Sticks:

20. Horseshoe Bend:

21. The Battle of New Orleans:

22. “Old Hickory”:

23. The Treaty of Ghent:

24. The Rush-Bagot Treaty of 1817:

25. The Convention of 1818:


27. “The Ridge”:

28. Robert Fulton:
29. United Society of Chimney Sweeps:

30. “Nat” and “Jezebel”:

**Multiple Choice Questions**

1. The treaty that ended the War of 1812 was  
   A. the Treaty of Paris.  
   B. the Rush-Bagot Agreement.  
   C. the Treaty of Fallen Timbers.  
   D. the Treaty of Ghent.  
   E. the Treaty of Liverpool.

2. The Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817  
   A. fixed tariffs between the U.S. and England.  
   B. settled the US-Canada border at the 49th parallel.  
   C. ended the War of 1812.  
   D. ended a boundary dispute with Spain.  
   E. rescinded the Alien and Sedition Acts.

3. To thank war veterans for their national service, Congress  
   A. invited many officers to Washington for a formal ceremony.  
   B. created Veterans' Day.  
   C. offered land between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers.  
   D. proclaimed a national day of prayer for the fallen.  
   E. set aside war bonuses.

4. The steamboat Clermont was piloted by  
   A. Henry Hudson.  
   B. Samuel Slater.  
   C. Chauncey Jerome.  
   D. Stanley Steamer.  
   E. Robert Fulton.

5. Thanks to the an extensive river system and improved infrastructure, a thriving textile industry sprang up  
   A. in New England.  
   B. in the Piedmont South.  
   C. near Baltimore.
D. along the Atlantic seaboard.
E. in the Great Lakes region.

6. The institution of slavery was redefined in the American South in the early decades of the 19th century by the
   A. expansion of the sugar economy in the Caribbean.
   B. growth and spread of the cotton economy.
   C. end of the slave trade in the United States.
   D. order of the federal government.
   E. all of the above.

7. The South Carolina ____________ economy recovered and became increasingly profitable in the first decades of the 19th century.
   A. tobacco
   B. indigo
   C. rice
   D. cotton
   E. sugar

8. The regional economy of south Louisiana emphasized the
   A. fishing industry.
   B. production of colorful dyes.
   C. production of textiles.
   D. production of cotton.
   E. production of sugar.

9. The increasing demand for slaves in the Old Southwest had a negative impact on
   A. westward migration into the Ohio Valley.
   B. the Caribbean slave trade.
   C. rice production in South Carolina.
   D. the slave family structure.
   E. all of the above.

10. In the South Carolina low country, slaves spoke a pidgin dialect called
    A. Senegalese.
    B. French Creole.
    C. English.
    D. Ghanian.
    E. Gullah.
MAP QUESTION:

After studying Map 10.3, consider the political and military importance of the territory controlled by England. Who actually won the war? Did the outcome of the Battle of New Orleans have much actual effect on the outcome of the war?

CONNECTING HISTORY

What are some of the dangers to national transportation today? How could those problems be solved in the future?

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Why was it so crucial at this time for the Cherokee nation to reverse decades of tradition and suddenly exclude women from a role in which they had excelled?

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. D
2. B
3. C
4. E
5. A
6. D
7. C
8. B
9. D
10. E
Chapter 11

Expanding Westward: 
Society and Politics in the “Age of the Common Man,”
1819–1832

Learning Objectives

After reading Chapter 11, you should be able to:

1. Understand Indian relocation policy in the United States during the Jackson Administration.
2. Discuss the special situation of the Cherokee Nation and how it retained its homeland while other tribes were removed.
3. Explain the skewed hierarchy of American society: white men held all political power while women, blacks, and Indians were virtually invisible.
4. Discuss the lure of fertile land in the West and the political problems western settlers faced.
5. Detail the growing incidents of slave revolts and rebellions of this period.
6. Understand the ways western immigrants maintained ties with family and friends “back east.”

Time Line

1818
General Andrew Jackson authorized to broaden his assault on the Seminole Indians

1819
United States consisted of 22 states
Territory of Missouri applied for statehood
Panic of 1819
Transcontinental treaty of 1819
McCulloch v. Maryland

1820
Missouri Compromise
Land Act of 1820
James Monroe reelected as president
1821
Spain approved petition of Moses Austin to move settlers into southeastern Texas
_Cohens v. Virginia_

1822
Andrew Jackson became first American governor of Florida territory

1823
Monroe Doctrine established

1824
John Quincy Adams elected president of the United States

1828
Andrew Jackson elected president of the United States
The “Tariff of Abominations”
The _Cherokee Phoenix_ began publication in Georgia
Sarah Hale became first woman in America to edit a periodical: _Ladies Magazine_

1829
Discovery of gold in Georgia’s northern mountains: the “Great Intrusion”
_Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World_, David Walker

1830
Indian Removal Act passed by Congress
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints founded by Joseph Smith

1831
Nat Turner’s Revolt

1832
_Confessions of Nat Turner_, Thomas Gray
President Jackson sent troops to Georgia to begin removal of the Cherokee Nation
Nullification Proclamation
Jackson vetoed renewal of Second Bank of the United States
Bad Axe River incident of the Black Hawk War
Black Hawk and White Cloud surrendered to federal troops

1835
_Democracy in America_, Alexis de Tocqueville
Chapter Overview

One of the most important political, economic, and social changes in the period of the early Republic was the opening up of the western lands for settlement. This process changed the political dynamics of the young nation and redefined conceptions of democracy. This chapter includes a particularly important discussion of the rise of Andrew Jackson as the symbol of his age.

I. The Politics behind Western Expansion

A. The Missouri Compromise

The right of territories to become states was established by the Northwest Ordinances of 1785 and 1787. In 1819, when the 22 states of the United States were evenly divided between slave and free states, Missouri applied for statehood as a slave state. The heated debate that followed finally ended in compromise in 1820, with Maine admitted as a free state to balance Missouri, and an agreement that in the future slavery above latitude 36 ‘30’ in the Louisiana Territory would be prohibited. Congressmen breathed a sigh of relief, but the Missouri Compromise only delayed the eventual conflict over slavery that was destined to erupt.

B. Ways West: The Erie Canal

Congress encouraged European Americans to push west and south by financing new methods of transportation and sale of cheap land. The number of steamboats on the Mississippi increased dramatically as canals linked western producers with eastern consumers and vice versa. In 1825, the completion of the 363-mile Erie Canal linked the New York cities of Troy and Albany with Buffalo on the tip of Lake Erie.

The canal was a marvel in engineering, financial and social terms. New York received a vast return on its investment. By making inexpensive manufactured goods accessible to people in rural New York and the Midwest, the canal raised the standard of living. Still, some opposed the changes as destroying traditional communities and bringing in unruly travelers who frequented places selling strong drink.

C. Spreading American Culture—and Slavery

The promise of the West continued to draw settlers to populate new lands. Settlers from the slave states crossed the Appalachian Mountains into Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. The wealthier of these settlers traveled with their human property, intending to establish slavery anywhere they went. New planter elites settled in the area and used slaves to drain swamps, to build levees to control the seasonal flood waters, and to plant and harvest cotton.
Newly independent Mexico granted 200,000 acres in the fertile river bottoms of the Mexican territory of Texas to Moses Austin, who accepted the responsibility of developing the area, bringing settlers who agreed to be law-abiding Mexican citizens.

The Mexican constitution prohibited slavery but supported debt peonage, providing a legal window for white Americans to use slave labor. During the 1820s, Moses’s son Stephen Austin brought 1,300 settlers to the region. However, an additional 4,500 uninvited white squatters also moved into Texas. Most of these were genuine settlers who developed the land with the expectation that they would eventually be accepted as citizens by the Mexican government and awarded title to their lands.

D. Migration and Its Effects on the Western Environment

By clearing land for planting and hunting animals, westward migrants like Davy Crockett had altered the backwoods ecology. By 1800, beavers were in danger of becoming extinct east of the Mississippi. New York and New England farmers and loggers caused a chain reaction by destroying the habitat of the bark-eating porcupine which in turn was a food source for the fur bearing fisher, much prized for its fur. When rivers were dammed and ponds and swamps drained, the places where animals lived were destroyed. Squirrels and passenger pigeons depended on nuts from trees that disappeared as forests were leveled. Some Americans, like naturalist John Godman, understood the long-term effects of settlement on the natural environment, while John James Audubon’s watercolors of bird and mammals showed the diversity of the nation’s wildlife.

E. The Panic of 1819 and the Plight of Western Debtors

In 1819, the Second Bank of the United States required greater financial responsibility from the hundreds of local “wildcat” banks that had extended credit to struggling farmers. Those unable to make regular mortgage payments faced foreclosure, loss of land, equipment, and crops, causing a market scare and subsequent depression known as the Panic of 1819. With fewer crops for the eastern market, food prices skyrocketed. Without the usual volume of trade and access to credit, many small businesses folded. Faced with the reduction in consumer spending and unable to access credit, even the elite plantation owners faced foreclosure.

F. The Monroe Doctrine

James Monroe won reelection in 1820 despite the Panic and depression of 1819. At this time, some of the European powers were claiming land and promoting territorial rights near the American border. Especially worrisome for the government was the Spanish presence on its southern and western borders. In 1818, the president authorized General Andrew Jackson to step up assaults on the Seminole Indian tribe in Florida territory. Suspecting Florida of harboring runaway slaves for the past two years, Jackson used this opportunity to seize the Spanish fort
at Pensacola and demand that Spain either suppress the Seminole population or sell the territory of east Florida to the United States. The Transcontinental Treaty of 1819 gave America the Spanish domains of both Florida and the Oregon territory.

Fearful of the devastation that an alliance of the European powers could mean for the United States, President Monroe devised a policy that thrust America forward as a power unto itself. The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 forbade all foreign powers to intervene politically or militarily in the realm of the Western Hemisphere.

G. Andrew Jackson’s Rise to Power

The election of 1824 produced no majority in the popular vote, and a close finish in the Electoral College threw the election to the House of Representatives. John Calhoun won the ballot for vice-president and promptly withdrew, changing his support from Andrew Jackson to John Quincy Adams, who the House subsequently elected. The Jackson camp charged Adams with corrupting the electoral process and making sinister deals behind the backs of Americans.

Adams faced Jackson again in the 1828 election, and this time events swung the other way. In an amazingly mean-spirited race, Jackson won a landslide victory. In office, Jackson immediately instigated a national spoils system which rewarded loyal supporters during a president’s campaign with administration jobs, while tossing out the preceding president’s appointed staff. This practice is still in use today.

II. Federal Authority and Its Opponents

A. Judicial Federalism and the Limits of Law

In a series of landmark cases, Chief Justice John Marshall and the Supreme Court sought to limit the powers of the states within their own boundaries. *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819) supported the Congressional decision to grant the Second Bank of the United States a 20-year charter. The state of Maryland had issued a high tax on the notes issued by the bank; this action was ruled unconstitutional by the Court in the first demonstration of federal judicial review, restated in *Cohens v. Virginia* (1821).

In 1832, a case involving the encroaching cotton production into the homelands of the Cherokee Nation in north Georgia aimed the Court on a collision course with President Jackson. The Cherokee Nation had undergone tremendous change in adapting to European ways of life. They did this in hope of retaining their traditional homeland. The discovery of gold in the heart of the Cherokee lands in 1829 led to the “Great Intrusion” of the whites. The Cherokees, who considered themselves a sovereign nation, reached out to the federal government for justice in the
face of this veritable invasion, but President Jackson considered the very existence of the Cherokee Nation an affront to his authority. In fact, Jackson favored the removal of the Cherokees to open up the gold fields to unchallenged mining.

With Congressional backing, the Indian Removal Act became law in 1830. This Act provided for the removal of Indians to designated areas west of the Mississippi River. Outraged, the Cherokees refused to sign the removal treaties required by the federal government, and took their case to the U.S. Supreme Court, hoping the Court would uphold the idea of the Cherokees as a sovereign nation. In two decisions, the Court declared Indian nations to be independent of the states in which they were based, but dependent on the government of the United States. President Jackson and the Governor of Georgia ridiculed the Court’s presumption of judicial authority. In 1832, Jackson sent federal troops to Georgia to begin forced relocation of the Cherokee people.

B. The Tariff of Abominations

The Tariff of 1828 (the Tariff of Abominations in the South) increased taxes on foreign products and raw material, thereby continuing the “protection” of American industry. Foreign governments retaliated with high tariffs of their own. In the wake of the Panic of 1819, this measure was economically damaging to the South, which had to trade its cotton on the world market to survive. Revived four years later, South Carolina declared the 1832 tariff “null and void” in the state. Jackson rejected the “nullifiers’” action as usurping federal power, issued a terse Nullification Proclamation, and proceeded to send troops to force South Carolina to alter its position. Henry Clay, a senator from Kentucky, brokered a compromise and both parties retreated for the time being.

C. The “Monster Bank”

Andrew Jackson vetoed rechartering the Second Bank of the United States which was due to expire in 1836, claiming that his view of the Bank as a tool for the enrichment of the wealthy represented the majority opinion of the nation. Economic chaos followed as local and state banks proliferated. Convinced the bank veto would spell Jackson’s political downfall, his opponents seized the issue and pushed Henry Clay into the race for president in 1832.

Clay and his supporters were shocked to learn the Supreme Court had upheld Jackson’s veto, stealing much of the thunder from Clay’s campaign. Also key was the introduction of an anti-Masonic candidate into the race that further drew away anti-Jackson voters from Clay. Jackson’s landslide victory surprised no one.
III. Real People in the “Age of the Common Man”

A. Wards, Workers, and Warriors: Native Americans

In the 1820s, Native Americans, blacks, and women comprised 70 percent of the American population. Consequently, universal white male suffrage provided political power to only one-third of the nation. Political decisions increasingly dehumanized Indians and ridiculed the idea that they had rights that must be respected. The so-called Five Civilized Tribes east of the Mississippi formed their own schools, published newspapers in their native languages, domesticated animals, established farms and plantations, and perfected craft and trade skills that showcased their degree of “civilization.” In the Old Northwest, tribes like the Peorias moved in response to increased white pressure on their land. Winnebagos, Sauks, and Fox tribes united under the Sauk chief Black Hawk and clashed with federal troops repeatedly in an unsuccessful attempt to keep tribal lands.

B. Slaves and Free People of Color

The decade of the 1820s saw a natural increase in the slave population of 25 percent, or 500,000 people. The free black population in the North made a similar percent increase, due more to manumissions, while the southern free-black population increased more slowly. Although the number of free blacks was insignificant, white southerners feared their lifestyle and attitudes would inspire slave rebellions. The reaction to rumors regarding the freed black man Denmark Vessey in 1822 demonstrated the depth of white fear. These rumors about intended rebellion led to arrests, torture, and eventually the hanging of 35 black men and the exile of 18 others. Witness testimony was contradictory, and historical evidence suggests no reliable proof ever existed that any kind of rebellion was planned.

Nat Turner’s Rebellion of 1831, which resulted in the deaths of 60 whites, prompted similar reactions and served to reinforce white fears. Slave owners subsequently implemented policies meant to fully control the slave and free black populations. Northern free blacks also dealt with white suspicions and restrictions on their freedom. Some became active in advocating the end of slavery, a few suggested leaving the country to settle in Africa, some advocated separation from whites, while others urged integration as the best means of protecting themselves and building a future. After the Nat Turner Rebellion a widely read biography of Turner shocked readers in the South. Portrayed as a thoughtful, religious man born and raised under the rule of a kind master, Turner did not fit the stereotype of the dangerous slave. This incident and the resulting hysteria served to solidify the institution of slavery until the American Civil War.

C. Legal and Economic Dependence: The Status of Women

Regardless of what region they lived in, Indian women and slave women had virtually no rights under either U.S. or Spanish law. A white woman also remained subordinate to the law and her husband, having no legal control over property, wages, her children, or herself. She could not
make contracts, vote, or serve on a jury. In contrast, a married woman in the Spanish southwest had many more rights.

Few white women worked outside their homes for wages and there were few respectable jobs available, though most made unappreciated contributions to family welfare through housework and child rearing. Well-to-do women redefined their role as managers of servants and the creators of a comfortable home environment for their husbands and children, becoming consumers rather than producers.

In Spanish settlements, women took the responsibility of household production of goods for the family. Indian women had long been traditionally responsible for the efficient operation of the tribe through manual labor.

Though few women worked for actual wages, one exception was in the New England textile mills that were constantly in need of labor due to the scarcity of slaves. Women lived together in boarding houses and followed the strict rules of the company towns.

IV. Ties That Bound a Growing Population

Seeking new opportunities often meant leaving hometowns, families, friends, and the network of one’s neighbors. The realm of politics provided one form of continuity for white males. Religion provided many with comforting answers as well as social networks that could fill the need for kin and friends. Increased literacy produced connections through common ideas and imagery. Newspapers, books, and pamphlets also promoted values claiming to represent the best individuals, reinforcing or creating gender roles, defining appropriate family relationships, and providing the rationale for or against slavery.

A. New Visions of Religious Faith

The turbulence of the times produced new methods of expressing religious faith, as chaos usually does. During the Indian Wars of the Old Northwest, a Winnebago prophet named White Cloud joined forces with Sauk Chief Black Hawk to bring together a coalition from several tribes. A medicine man and respected mystic, White Cloud sermonized against the white Americans and encouraged his Indian brethren to take action and defend some aspects of their way of life through submission before it was too late. White Cloud and Black Hawk surrendered together to federal troops in 1832 in an act of spiritual unity against the oppression of whites.

In the northern states, a Second Great Awakening prompted spiritual revivals and multitudes of new converts. A respected lawyer-turned-clergyman, Charles Finney preached a message of an independent relationship with God buttressed by works through political organizations. In the
South, white clerics turned away from their traditional role in the conversion of slaves and looked for the favor of the plantation/well-to-do class of followers. In 1830, Joseph Smith founded what would become The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

B. Literate and Literary America

A former hat maker and amateur writer in Boston blazed new ground for women in 1825 by becoming the first woman in America to edit a periodical. In Ladies Magazine, Sarah Hale hoped to better educate American women in the realms of motherhood, piety, and self-sacrifice. Hale and many other women writers believed in the silent, powerful influence women could have on the affairs of the world.

Sentimental poetry and fiction comprised the bulk of literature targeting women in this era. Men, however, began a literary tradition in America of regional histories, landscapes, and heroic struggle. Newspapers, books, and magazines began to flourish, all working to define and describe the quintessential traits of American character. Hard work, attention to family, and adherence to specific core moralistic values were the ideals of Americans as well as the Victorians of England.

Identification

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. The Missouri Compromise:

2. The Land Act of 1820:

3. coffles:

4. American canal system:

5. Moses and Stephen Austin:

6. The Panic of 1819:

7. “wildcat” banks:
8. Davy Crockett:

9. James Monroe:

10. General Andrew Jackson:

11. The Transcontinental Treaty of 1819:

12. The Russo-American Treaty of 1824:

13. The Monroe Doctrine:

14. John Quincy Adams:

15. Henry Clay’s “American System”:

16. spoils system:

17. *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819):

18. The “Great Intrusion”:

19. The Indian Removal Act:

20. *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831)

21. The “Tariff of Abominations”:
22. Nullification Proclamation of 1832:

23. Henry Clay:

24. Alexis de Tocqueville:

25. Sequoyah:

26. Bad Axe River Incident:

27. Denmark Vesey:

28. American Colonization Society:

29. Nat Turner:

30. Joseph Smith:
Multiple Choice Questions

1. The Chief Justice of the United States most responsible for carving out the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was
   A. James Madison.
   C. John Jay.
   D. James Monroe.
   E. Andrew Jackson.

2. The event that led to the forced removal of the Cherokee from Georgia was
   A. a legal challenge to tribal sovereignty.
   B. the murder of a settler family.
   C. a slave uprising in the Georgia low country.
   D. treaty violations by rum-soaked war parties.
   E. the discovery of gold.

3. The high tariff rates caused a great controversy in the southern states and led to the
   A. secession of South Carolina.
   B. expansion of the cotton empire.
   C. collapse of the Second Bank of the United States.
   D. Nullification crisis.
   E. Wall Street panic of 1819.

4. The politician who sought to exploit the discontent raised by Jackson's veto of the bank bill was
   A. Henry Clay.
   B. John C. Calhoun.
   C. William Wirt.
   D. Daniel Webster.
   E. Martin Van Buren.

5. The Cherokee responsible for crafting the famous syllabary was
   A. William Holland Thomas.
   B. Broken Arrow.
   C. Sequoyah.
   D. John Ross.
   E. Dragging Canoe.
6. The slave carpenter who was arrested and executed for plotting a rebellion in Charleston in 1822 was
   A. Gabriel Prosser.
   B. Nat Turner.
   C. Frederick Douglass.
   D. Denmark Vesey.
   E. Osceola.

7. The American Colonization Society was dedicated to
   A. American expansion into Texas.
   B. the return of freed blacks back to Africa.
   C. the transport of antislavery settlers westward.
   D. the return of territory to Canada.
   E. an American conquest of Cuba.

8. The black militant responsible for the pamphlet *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* was
   A. Gabriel Prosser.
   B. Maria Stewart.
   C. Denmark Vesey.
   D. Nat Turner.
   E. David Walker.

9. One of the major leaders in the spread of religious enthusiasm of the Second Great Awakening was
   A. Joseph Smith.
   C. Charles Grandison Finney.
   D. William Lloyd Garrison.
   E. Rev. Billy Sunday.

10. The author of the so-called “Leather-stocking Tales” was
   A. James Fenimore Cooper.
   B. Henry David Thoreau.
   C. Washington Irving.
   D. Herman Melville.
   E. John Greenleaf Whitter.

**MAP QUESTION:**

After studying Map 11.3, explain why the intricate system of canals was built in the northern United States and not in the South.
CONNECTING HISTORY

In your opinion, why has the United States allowed the communist regime of Fidel Castro to continue in Cuba, even after the breakup of the Soviet Union? Should the Monroe Doctrine apply in this case?

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Why does the author feel the *partido* way of tending sheep to be so rewarding? Why would a system like this not work everywhere in the United States regardless of the product?

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. B
2. E
3. D
4. A
5. C
6. D
7. B
8. E
9. C
10. A
Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 12, you should be able to:

1. Explain the reasons the United States went to war with Mexico.
2. Understand why there was less support for the rights of women in the South.
3. Discuss the impact of the various American reform movements on the country.
4. Analyze the movement of slavery into newly developed territories of the West.
5. Understand the impact of the end of legal slavery to the plantation aristocracy in the South.
6. Discuss America’s solution to the Native American problem.
7. Explain the major political divisions in American society.
8. Analyze the American utopian movement and its causes.

Time Line

1825
Utopian settlements of New Harmony and Nashoba founded

1829
Mexico abolished slavery

1831
The Liberator launched in Boston by William Lloyd Garrison

1832
Treaty of Payne’s Landing

1833
American Anti-Slavery Society founded

1834
National Trades Union founded

1835
President Andrew Jackson guaranteed safety and comfort of Cherokee Nation during removal
1836
Martin Van Buren became president of the United States
Siege of the Alamo: San Antonio, Texas

1837
Panic of 1837
Mt. Holyoke and Oberlin colleges founded, accepted women
Sam Houston became president of the Republic of Texas

1838
General Winfield Scott began rounding up members of the Cherokee Nation for removal

1839
Spanish ship *Amistad* illegally tried to import Africans into United States

1840
William Henry Harrison became president of the United States
John Tyler replaced Harrison, who died after less than one month in office

1843
“Great Migration” to Oregon

1844
Mormon founder Joseph Smith and brother Hyrum lynched in Carthage, Illinois
Modern telegraph invented by Samuel Morse
James Polk became president of the Unites States

1845
*Narrative of the Life of Fredrick Douglas*, eponymous
Texas granted statehood

1846
Great Britain repealed Corn Laws, opened country to American grain exports
American and England reached compromise on Oregon territory
U.S.-Mexican War began
Wilmot Proviso created regarding slavery in former Mexican territories

1847
New Mormon leader Brigham Young led his church west to Salt Lake City, Utah
Mexico City surrendered, ending U.S.-Mexican War

1848
European uprisings in France, Germany, and Italy
Chapter Overview

By the 1830s, the United States was a society on the move and under pressure. People from throughout Europe were flooding American shores and settlers continued their westward movement. Social change contributed to social ills and many citizens became involved in reform movements ranging from abolitionism to education reform. At the same time, America's foreign policy became increasingly aggressive. Many believed that it was our “manifest destiny” to spread from “sea to shining sea.” Expansion, however, was not without its costs and as occurs so often in U.S. history, those costs exposed racial and ethnic tensions.

I. Mass Migrations

A. Newcomers from Western Europe

European immigrants’ experiences varied as they entered the large cities of America. The motivations and destinations of the immigrants depended on their economic situation and the help of supportive enclaves of established immigrants from their home area. In the 1840s and 1850s, over 4.5 million poverty-stricken Irish immigrants fled the potato famine in Ireland. Arriving in America with nothing, these immigrants could rarely move beyond their port of debarkation.

Political instability in Europe increased the number of German families immigrating to America. Some moved inland and bought farms or started businesses. Others might work temporarily for an established fellow countryman, gaining experience, learning English, and earning money to buy land. Starting a business or, if a woman, providing her own dowry for marriage, were common financial aspirations of the newcomers.

In the East, some joined countrymen to form close-knit communities that built schools, churches, and aid societies. Others chose, or were compelled, to join highly mixed communities that encouraged mutual cooperation, the blending of customs, and the sheathing of old ethnic animosities. Some Americans continued to move west, hoping to take advantage of distant opportunities, and to remake themselves in a new environment.
B. The Slave Trade

Demand for slaves and the restriction on importing slaves since 1808 caused prices to quadruple between 1800 and 1860. One out of every ten slave children born in the Upper South was sold to western planters, with the majority never seeing their families again. This internal slave trade made fortunes for a few and paid the basic bills for plantation owners whose crops had not sold well or whose spending habits outreached their ability to meet their obligations. Traders shipped slaves down the Mississippi on riverboats, or chained slaves together in slow-moving coffles and force-marched men, women, and children to distant markets like New Orleans, Natchez, Charleston, or Savannah.

Black southerners, who moved north, whether they were runaways or free blacks, lived in neighborhoods of their own race where they would easily blend in. Many new immigrants and working-class whites resented the black competition for both skilled and unskilled jobs. Some elite and middle-class northern whites joined abolition societies and worked to keep runaways out of the hands of slave catchers.

C. Trail of Tears

Throughout the 1830s, the American government followed a policy of Indian removal from their traditional lands to pre-structured “Indian territories” in the Great Plains. The Florida Seminoles were ejected as a result of the Treaty of Payne’s Landing (1832), which promised the tribe money, blankets, and dresses for the women. The Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks met similar fates. Most Seminoles began the trek west three years later, but a determined few retreated deep into the Everglades to terrorize American troops for the next seven years.

The proposed removal of the Cherokee Nation also produced intense resistance. U.S. troops gathered the Indians into concentration camps before herding them westward in 1838. Of 16,000 natives beginning the journey, 4,000 died on the way from malnutrition and disease while soldiers systematically destroyed all physical remains of the ancient Cherokee culture in the South. The American government expressed its sympathy and respect for the natives during the removal, but the reality was a reversal of every point of agreement entered into between the two peoples. Many government agents became rich by selling food supplies and clothing intended for the Cherokees’ forced march.

D. Migrants in the West

Few groups faced as much united opposition from Protestant neighbors and few went as far west as the Mormons who settled in the Salt Lake Valley of Utah. The Mormons had been founded by Joseph Smith in New York State and had quickly moved to Nauvoo, Illinois. Here, the church’s unusual tenets of faith and self-supported militia made the local neighbors suspicious and nervous. Finally, civil authorities levied trumped-up charges upon Joseph Smith and his brother Hyram, who were arrested, taken from jail, and lynched by a mob in 1844. Three years
later, church leader Brigham Young pulled out of Illinois and led his followers across the plains to Utah. A number of religious groups traveled west to form new communities where they could practice their religion unmolested. A few couples, like the Whitmans and Spauldings, traveled west to build Indian missions and encouraged settlement of the Oregon territories. The Protestant missions had even less success inducing tribal members to change their religion than the Spanish priests who had worked in New Mexico.

E. Government-Sponsored Exploration

The Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-1806 was the forerunner to many other government-sponsored efforts to make maps and scientific discoveries. The South Seas Exploring Expedition of 1838, led by Lt. Charles Wilkes, lasted four years and ranged over 87,000 miles. Wilkes’ arrogance angered many foreign people he met and Fiji Islanders killed two of his men. In response, Wilkes systematically murdered island leaders.

Still, Wilkes’s expedition produced lasting scientific discoveries and the samples gathered formed the basis of the Smithsonian Institution established by Congress in 1846. Another expedition, led by John Charles Fremont in 1833-1844, surveyed the Northwest and helped the migrants who later settled there. His final report was of great practical value for people moving west as it mapped the way and gave information about pasture, water and climate.

F. The Oregon Trial

Beginning in 1834, Protestant missionaries settled Oregon and found themselves in the midst of hostile Native Americans. In 1843, 1,000 migrants arrived in Oregon, starting the Great Migration. “Oregon Fever” was spread by missionaries and government officials in the economically depressed Midwest, which was still reeling from the Panic of 1837. The Oregon Trail was 2,000 miles long and wagon trains took four to six months to complete the journey. Plains Indians resented the wagon trains which they believed were another group ready to take their land. By 1869, 50,000 people took the trail to Oregon.

G. New Places, New Identities

Many different cultures came together in the border towns where America met Spanish territory, causing some to question the relevance of race and skin color. Mingling of the traditional races ultimately produced households of widely blended cultures or religions. Migration to the West might mean a new identity or new racial assignment altogether. Blacks of lighter skin found they could qualify as white in the West.

H. Changes in the Southern Plains

Plains Indians saw their life transformed by the introduction of horses by the Spanish in the sixteenth century. By the early 1800s, the Comanche, Kiowa, as well as the Cheyenne and
Arapaho, had a large-scale trading empire with the horse both a method of transportation and a type of currency. The ecology was changed by the growing horse population as social change hit the Native Americans and new status distinctions emerged, with a small number of wealthy people dominating trade and leadership. As the Bison dwindled, partly because of the growth of horse populations, hardship hit the Plains Indians. By the 1860s, the Comanche population had fallen to only a quarter of what it had been in the 1820s.

II. A Multitude of Voices in the National Political Arena

As the population of the United States became more diverse, tensions emerged between various groups as specific interests sought to communicate their unique messages. American political parties refused to tackle explosive issues like slavery head-on, frustrating the bulk of Americans.

A. Whigs, Workers, and the Panic of 1837

In 1836 Andrew Jackson’s vice president, Martin Van Buren, took over the reigns of American government. The Jackson-haters, personified by Henry Clay, formed a political party called the Whigs. In the cities of the Northeast, political candidates from all parties were beginning to pay close attention to the formation of trade union movement.

The factory system had threatened a number of the traditional skilled trades. Tradesmen, seeking protection, joined forces to advance the interests of these skilled workers. Higher pay rates, payment in hard currency, abolition of debtor’s prisons, and a ten-hour workday were some of the reforms they sought through the establishment of the National Trades Union in 1834 to support strikes and organize the efforts of some 50 individual trade groups. A long struggle for political recognition lay ahead.

An economic depression—the Panic of 1837—was fueled by eager speculation in economic futures and finalized by a crop failure in the West. Cancellation of loans by the British and soaring unemployment caused this depression to continue until the early 1840s.
B. Suppression of Antislavery Sentiment

A radical voice energized the abolition movement when William Lloyd Garrison began publishing his new paper, *The Liberator*, providing a voice for those demanding black freedom immediately. A new, well-organized society that included blacks and whites, the American Anti-Slavery Society also vigorously campaigned against slavery in the midst of general indifference on the issue. Former slaves like William and Ellen Craft and Frederick Douglass joined free black leaders like Henry Garland and Charles Redmond and white former slave-owners Sarah and Angelina Grimke on speaking tours that vividly brought slavery to life for interested northern audiences.

The majority of northern Congressmen joined southern Congressmen to pass a gag rule to prevent anti-slavery petitions from being read or entered into the public record. Proslavery mobs attacked black schools, publicly threatened and humiliated Garrison, closed down presses, and harassed black laborers. Immigrants continued to make the connection between blacks with jobs and whites without jobs, and continued to support rioting in New York City, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati.

C. Nativists as a Political Force

The American Republican Party, labeled “Know-Nothings” by their enemies, represented the anti-immigrant voters, a much stronger political group than the abolitionists. Found throughout the Northeast and Old Northwest, these citizens were concerned about the impact of immigrants on jobs, housing, religion, and culture. They objected to immigrants working for lower wages, participating as voters or candidates in elections, and building churches, schools, or private clubs.

Anti-Catholic sentiment helped to justify territorial expansion. Many Protestant citizens of America (a majority) firmly believed in the right of their country to seize the land of the papist Spanish. In the large cities, Catholics and Protestants brawled in the streets.

III. Reform Impulses

A. Public Education

During the mid-1800s, crusaders looked at American society and found much that needed attention. Though committed and energetic, no ideology or plan united the reformers. Northern education advocates sought to create schools with similar programs so that children in mobile American families could fit smoothly into their classes wherever they went. Some viewed universal education as the key to uniting the country, making immigrant children good Americans, and teaching such American values as hard work, punctuality, and sobriety. Local school boards remained in control of their schools, resisting the demands of education reformers for universal standards. School boards hired less expensive unmarried female teachers (since women were naturally nurturing,) selected the books, and established the criteria for student behavior. More
immigrant and native-born northern white children received public education than southern white children. Few blacks had access to education. Unintentionally, the education effort actually increased class differences.

B. Alternative Visions of Social Life

A small number of reform groups tried to reorganize the family, change attitudes toward private property, or alter the wage labor system. Similar to the intentions of the early Puritan societies, utopian societies like New Harmony, Nashoba, or Oneida sought to create ideal societies that would become national models for solving modern problems. Other reformers joined the temperance movement, which sought to alter drinking habits by reforming drunkards or closing bars. Others advocated improving women’s rights, though this topic faced internal dissension over what rights should take priority.

There was fairly widespread northern and southern support for married women’s property laws to prevent husbands from squandering property and assets brought into the marriage by wives. There was much less enthusiasm for securing the vote, and the issue of abolition drove most southern supporters out of the slowly growing women’s rights movement, even as it galvanized others who saw too many resemblances between life under slavery and the treatment of women. As the fight for abolition gained support, the need to end slavery replaced the fight for women’s rights.

C. Networks of Reformers

Many reformers advocated multiple reforms. Many women’s rights advocates supported temperance. Dorothea Dix led a reform effort to change how the mentally ill were treated. This campaign was supported by people like Senator Charles Sumner, an abolitionist, and Horace Mann, the leader behind the common school system. It was common for abolitionists and women’s rights advocates to overlap, as many women compared their situation to that of slaves. Margaret Fuller was involved in many reform movements, writing about the plight of slaves, Indians and imprisoned women for the New York Tribune.

IV. The United States Extends Its Reach

A. The Lone Star Republic

Mexican concerns about the growing number of uninvited Americans in Texas reached a climax when a few influential Tejanos and Texans declared independence in 1836. The Mexican army, led north by President Santa Anna, defeated a small force of rebels at the Alamo, the Spanish mission in San Antonio. Two months later, the rebels defeated the Mexican army, captured Santa Anna, and declared a new nation, the Republic of Texas, making it the only Mexican state to successfully rebel. Sam Houston became the Republic’s first president in 1837. Texas
independence worried the abolitionist movement; although Mexico had abolished slavery, the new Texas constitution heartily endorsed the practice.

B. The Election of 1844

American interest in expanding westward included the Republic of Texas and Oregon. During the 1844 presidential election, the Democrats promoted James K. Polk with the campaign slogans “Reannexation of Texas” and “54’40” or fight.” Both Democrats and Whigs worked to avoid the looming slavery question despite the presence of the Liberty Party and its outspoken candidate, William Lloyd Garrison. Polk chose diplomacy rather than war with Britain over the issue of control of the Oregon Territory, negotiating for one-half of the claimed territory, with the 49th parallel being the mutually undefended border between Canada and the United States.

C. War with Mexico

One of the last decisions of the incumbent president Tyler was the admittance of Texas to U.S. statehood in December 1845, despite the clear warnings from Mexico that any attempt by the U.S. to annex Texas meant war. The boundary between Mexico and the United States remained undefined. Diplomatic overtures to purchase California and New Mexico were rejected by the Mexicans. War broke out in January 1846.

Not all Americans were in support of the war with Mexico, which some saw as an unabashed land grab; others worried about the subsequent influx of Catholics and Spaniards if the U.S. annexed all of Mexico. Abolitionists also objected to the war. In the Wilmot Proviso, an amendment attached to a congressional bill appropriating money for the war, legislative abolitionists declared that no slavery of any sort would exist in whatever lands America acquired from Mexico as a result of the war. In 1847, Mexico City surrendered, and the war ended. Mexico had been no match for superior American military might. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) forced Mexico to give up its claim to Texas, New Mexico, and California.
Identification

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Ireland:

2. “The Hub of Gaelic America”:

3. Diasporas:

4. Revolutions of 1848:

5. Fredrick Douglass:

6. The Treaty of Payne’s Landing (1832):

7. Oklahoma:

8. The Second Seminole War:

9. General Winfield Scott:

10. The *Cherokee Phoenix*:

11. Joseph Smith:

12. Salt Lake City:

13. The “Great Migration” of 1843:
14. John Charles Fremont:

15. *Tejanos*:

16. Martin Van Buren:

17. The National Trades Union:

18. The Panic of 1837:

19. William Lloyd Garrison:

20. The American Anti-Slavery Society:

21. “Irish confetti”:

22. William Henry Harrison:

23. *Amistad*:

24. Samuel Morse:

25. The Know-Nothings:

26. public education:

27. New Harmony:

28. British Corn Laws:
29. Sam Houston:

30. The Wilmot Proviso:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. The Boston journalist who launched the antislavery newspaper, The *Liberator*, was
   A. Charles Lenox Remond.
   B. William Lloyd Garrison.
   C. David Walker.
   D. Frederick Douglass.
   E. Sojourner Truth.

2. The abolitionist murdered at Alton, Illinois in 1837 was
   A. Prudence Crandall.
   C. William Lloyd Garrison.
   D. Elijah P. Lovejoy.
   E. Frederick Douglass.

3. The Whig presidential candidate who went by the nickname, “Old Tippecanoe,” was
   A. Henry Clay.
   B. Andrew Jackson.
   C. John Quincy Adams.
   D. Martin Van Buren.
   E. William Henry Harrison.

4. The 1839 rebellion aboard the slave ship ________ caused a national controversy.
   A. *Amistad*
   B. *Chesapeake*
   C. *Liberty*
   D. *Mexico*
   E. *Enterprise*
5. The anti-Catholic American party was also known as the
   A. Liberty party.
   B. Free Soil party.
   C. Know-Nothings.
   D. Whig party.
   E. Republican Party.

6. The education reformer who focused national attention on public education was the Massachusetts educator
   A. Margaret Fuller.
   B. Catharine Beecher.
   C. Benjamin Roberts.
   D. Noah Webster.
   E. Lydia Child.

7. Scottish industrialist/socialist Robert Owens’s experiment in “cooperative labor” was called
   A. Oneida Community.
   B. Nashoba.
   C. Utopia.
   D. New Harmony.
   E. Seneca Falls.

8. Those New England intellectuals who believed in the primacy of the spirit and the essential harmony between people and the natural world were called the
   A. Oneida Community.
   B. Owenites.
   C. Transcendentalists.
   D. Shakers.
   E. Harmonists.

9. The president of the newly formed Republic of Texas was
   A. Santa Anna.
   B. Sam Houston.
   C. Davy Crockett.
   D. Stephen Austin.
   E. Jim Bowy.
10. The Treaty of ____________ ended the Mexican war and touched off a new debate over slavery in the territory of the Mexican cession.
   A. San Lorenzo
   B. Austin
   C. Mexico City
   D. New Mexico
   E. Guadalupe Hidalgo

MAP QUESTION:

After studying Map 12.4, consider why the government of the United States set aside the particular land that it did for the relocation of the Native Americans. Why that particular area?

CONNECTING HISTORY

Have there been any examples of diasporas in the 1990s or later? If so, what prompted them?

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Imagine that you are tasked with presenting the opposing side to Senator Calhoun’s remarks. What ideas would your argument use?

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. B
2. D
3. E
4. A
5. C
6. B
7. D
8. C
9. B
10. E
Chapter 13
The Crisis Over Slavery, 1848–1860

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 13, you should be able to:

1. Understand how the United States was a collection of regional economies in the 1850s.
2. Explain the ethnic and economic diversity of people in the Midwest.
3. Discuss the northern ideology of “Free Labor.”
4. Contrast ideologies of social inferiority with the belief in individualism.
5. Detail the paradox of southern political power and how it promoted the destruction of the political party system.
6. Explain the rise of the Republican alliance in the North.
7. Discuss the ever-deepening conflict over slavery.
8. Understand the significance of Harpers Ferry and the presidential election of 1860.

Time Line

1848
United States defeated Mexico and takes over 500,000 square miles of territory
Gold discovered in California

1850
Compromise of 1850 on slavery

1852
American party (Nativists) formed

1854
Kansas-Nebraska Act

1857
Dred Scott decision by Supreme Court

1858
Lincoln-Douglas debates in Illinois

1859
John Brown attacked Harpers Ferry arsenal in attempt to spark slave uprising
1860
Lincoln elected president
South Carolina seceded from the Union

Chapter Overview

California, which had been seized from Mexico, reneged on the promise to give Mexican residents equal rights. At the 1849 California Constitutional Convention, the delegates limited voting to whites and prohibited Indians and blacks from testifying against whites in court.

Indians were reduced to the status of indentured servants and called “lazy” and “uncivilized.” Blacks were often kept (illegally) as slaves or arrested and sent to the South for re-enslavement. Workers originally imported from China were used as forced labor and later discriminatory laws pushed many of them out of mining.

Women were a relatively small part of the population in the West and so used this scarcity to gain more power.

I. Regional Economies and Conflicts

In the 1850s, the United States was a collection of regional economies with distinctive physical landscapes, mixes of peoples, and different labor systems. The emerging national economy was being molded by new transportation (railroads), manufacturing (factories), and machines (farm equipment).

The development from regional economies to a national economy pushed the country toward national growth and economic interdependence, while the social/political conflict over slavery pushed it towards civil war.

A. Native American Economies Transformed

By the 1850s, the U.S. had signed treaties with the Plains Indians that enabled European Americans to push westward without fear of attack. Despite their promises, European Americans overran Indian lands without regard for treaties.

B. Land Conflicts in the Southwest

A large number of Mexicans continued to live in lands taken from Mexico. This caused fear that Spanish-speaking people would dominate any new states admitted to the Union from this area; therefore the new territories did not become states until the twentieth century.
European Americans were in conflict with Tejanos over land in Texas. In the resulting battle, they were able to monopolize political institutions, although Tejanos retained much cultural influence.

In the California of the 1850s, authorities battled Mexican social bandits like Juan Cortina, who raided European American settlements and fought Robert E. Lee in the years before the Civil War.

C. Ethnic and Economic Diversity in the Midwest

The northern portions of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and all of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota made up a “Yankee strip,” while Germans, Belgians, and Swiss resided in Wisconsin and Scandinavians in Minnesota.

The lower Midwest B southern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois B had strong cultural ties to the southern states. Since many residents of these areas originated in the South, many supported the institution of slavery. In 1851, the Indiana Constitution prohibited blacks from entering the state, making contracts with whites, voting, or testifying in trials involving whites.

Most rural Midwesterners were involved in traditional systems of agriculture. By the mid-nineteenth century, family farmers became increasingly dependent on expensive machinery and hostage to national/international grain markets.

D. Regional Economies of the South

Slave plantations prospered in the Black Belt because of the high price of cotton on the world market. Many slaves previously involved in non-agricultural labor were reduced to cotton hands as planters concentrated their efforts on “king cotton.”

Immediately before the Civil War, the South showed increased concentration of wealth in both land and slaves. About half of Southern whites were yeoman farmers with an average of only 50 acres, mainly producing for their own consumption.

Although slavery discouraged immigrants from moving to the rural South, southern port cities showed relative ethnic diversity. For example, in Mobile, Alabama in 1860, 54 percent of skilled workers and 64 percent of unskilled labor were immigrants.

Slaves fought back against their owners by stealing and secretly selling the stolen goods to poor whites. Highly skilled slaves were often allowed to hire themselves out and keep part of their wages. Also, there was an increasing number of free blacks in the South, so the situation was not as clear cut as the concepts of white/free and blackslave.
E. A Free Labor Ideology in the North

The popular Northern idea of “Free Labor” that held that workers should reap what they sowed was undercut by economic reality. Many New England farmers were forced off the land, while hand workers were hit hard by such industrial developments as the mechanization of the shoe industry. In seaport cities, wage earning, rather than being self-employed, became the norm.

Poor Irish Catholics sought to distance themselves from African Americans by claiming their white skin as a badge of privilege in comparison with former slaves. Women worked hard but in the home where they were not paid. White workers began to condemn their oppression in a system of wage slavery.

II. Individualism Versus Group Identity

Economic growth and new technology helped spawn group identities that labeled some people as inferior due to their nationality, language, religion, legal status, or skin color. While Plains Indians resisted these developments, African Americans and women fought for more rights within the emerging system.

A. Putting into Practice Ideas of Social Inferiority

Custom and economic competition led to ideas of gender and “racial” inferiority that then became codified in law. Social status in the United States can be seen in patterns of work. Anglos stereotyped all Chinese, Mexicans, and African Americans as promiscuous, crafty, and intellectually inferior to whites.

B. “A Teeming Nation” —America in Literature

Ideologies of ethnic/racial difference coexisted with the idea of American individualism, which stressed universal equality.

Some literature, like that written by Emerson, began to critique American materialism. Thoreau’s *Walden* (1854) was eco-centric, while Walt Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass* (1855) captured the nation’s restlessness.

C. Challenges to Individualism

New American egotism had little meaning for Native Americans, who continued to celebrate the primacy of kinship and village over that of the individual.

African Americans in the North knew their fate was linked with southern slaves, since whites continued to lump all people of African descent together as “black.”
Some women took to a collective identity of womanhood, although this took many varied forms. At the Seneca Falls Convention (1848), women linked their plight with that of slaves since both were exploited.

There was no single American identity in the middle of the nineteenth century.

**III. The Paradox of Southern Political Power**

In the early 1850s, the pro-slavery forces controlled all the branches of the federal government but increasingly felt insecure as the United States expanded westward.

A. Party System in Disarray

In 1848, the Free Soil Party attacked the idea that Whigs and Democrats could smooth over the question of slavery in the new territories. The new party stood for a no-slavery-in-the-new-lands policy. The Free Soil Party also supported aid for internal improvements, free land for settlers, and tariff protection for northern manufacturers.

By 1849, the South saw power slipping out of its hands and shifting toward an increasingly slavery-hostile North. Meanwhile, Abolitionists and blacks were helping slaves escape through a series of safe stops on the way north. This route became known as the Underground Railroad.

B. The Compromise of 1850

Crisis over the admission of non-slave California to the Union resulted in a compromise fashioned by Henry Clay and Daniel Webster with the rigidly pro-slavery John C. Calhoun.

California was admitted as a free state while New Mexico and Utah would later hold referendums to determine if they would allow slavery. In return, the South got a new harsher fugitive slave law, which required local and federal lawmen to return runaway slaves no matter where in the country they had escaped to.

Although the election of 1852 was relatively lackluster, it marked the beginning of a split in the national political parties.

C. Expansionism and Political Upheaval

Southern planters looked beyond the U.S. border in their quest to expand the slave system. Cuba, a Spanish colony, was a particular target and two “filibustering expeditions” made unsuccessful assaults on the island.
In 1855, pro-slavery mercenaries led by William Walker seized control of Nicaragua. Walker promoted slavery and was recognized by the U.S. government in 1856, although he was driven from power a year and a half later.

In 1853, Commodore Perry sailed a U.S. Naval fleet into Tokyo harbor and forced Japan to open up relations with the West.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) allowed the two territories to determine whether or not slavery would be allowed. This law also took away half of all the land that had been granted to the Plains Indians by treaty. Fearful that slavery would roll westward, northern Free Soilers were enraged.

The American Party, or “Know-Nothings” (1852), was established as a backlash against the increasing political power of immigrants, especially Irish Catholics.

D. The Republican Alliance

The Republican Party was established in 1854 by disaffected Whigs on the core belief that there should be no slavery in the new territories. The Republicans were an alliance of some northern Democrats and various anti-slavery elements. Many Republicans were racist and opposed black migration to the North, since their opposition to slavery was economic rather than moral.

In the 1856 presidential election, Republican John C. Fremont won 11 of the 16 northern states despite his defeat by Democrat James Buchanan.

Slavery had to expand to survive, as intensive cultivation was exhausting the soil of southern cotton fields while the planter elite needed new slave states admitted to the Union to preserve their power in Washington.

IV. The Deepening Conflict Over Slavery

Although adult white males were only a minority of the population, they were directly involved in establishing new political parties and in the congressional debates over slavery. In the 1850s, more and more ordinary people were drawn into the battle over slavery that was drawing America towards armed conflict.

A. The Rising Tide of Violence

The Fugitive Slave Law caused fear and alarm among many northerners as some African-Americans fled to Canada. African Americans often staged dramatic rescues like that of Shadrach Minkins, who was freed from a courtroom and spirited to Montreal.
Women were not welcome in the various African American conventions called in response to slave owners’ ever-increasing attempts to capture runaways. At the same time, black and white women became prominent supporters of abolitionism.

Publication of anti-slavery literature like *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852) began to spread the abolitionist argument to wide sections of the population, as did Frederick Law Olmsted’s reports in the *New York Times*.

The territory of Kansas became engulfed in a regional Civil War as pro-slavery settlers fought Free Soilers and terrorism was employed on both sides.

Pro-slavery forces drew up the Lecompton Constitution that stated that even if voters rejected slavery, slaves already in the state would remain slaves. When President Buchanan supported this action, the Democratic Party began to split into Northern and Southern factions.

In 1856, when Senator Charles Sumner condemned the pro-slavery crimes against Kansas, a South Carolina congressman beat him into unconsciousness.

B. The Dred Scott Decision

In 1857, Dred Scott, a former slave, sued in federal court, maintaining that he had become free once his master had taken him into a free state. The Supreme Court ruled that even in free states, slaves remained slaves. This decision destroyed previous compromises and threatened free people of color while potentially expanding slavery to the North.

Even those Northerners who were not abolitionists feared that jobs and farms might be lost to an expanding slave plantation system.

C. The Lincoln - Douglas Debates

As political conflict increased, the 1858 congressional elections were seen as especially important. The most notable contest was between Democrat Stephen R. Douglas and Republican Abraham Lincoln for a Senate seat from the state of Illinois. Although Lincoln lost, his campaign established him as one of the best-known leaders of the new Republican Party.

D. Harpers Ferry and the Presidential Election of 1860

Abolitionist John Brown and 19 others attacked a federal arsenal in Harpers Ferry, Virginia in October 1859. Brown planned to take the weapons he captured there and distribute them to slaves, thereby causing a general slave rebellion. Captured by Marines under the command of Robert E. Lee, Brown was condemned and hanged, but before he died, he predicted “that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away, but with blood.”
In 1860, the Democratic Party split, with Northerners nominating Stephen Douglas while Southern Democrats nominated John C. Breckinridge. Meanwhile, a group who still thought compromise was possible formed the Constitutional Union Party and selected John Bell to run for president.

Republicans meeting in Chicago chose moderate Abe Lincoln, who promised something for all white men, even recent European immigrants, but held out no promises for Spanish speakers, Chinese, free blacks, Indians, or women.

In the 1850s, more Northerners came to fear the slave system as an attack on their way of life even if they held little sympathy for the African American slaves themselves. In the same manner, in the South, whites, including both planters and the poor, united behind an ill-defined sense of white skin privilege known as the “Southern way of life.”

**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848):

2. Fugitive Slave Law:

3. “Coolies”:

4. “Great American Desert”:

5. Gadsden Purchase:

6. Tejanos:

7. Texas Rangers:

8. “Cortina’s War”:

9. John Deere’s steel plow:
10. Black Belt:

11. “Free Labor”:

12. Frederick Douglass:

13. “Wage slavery”:


15. *Leaves of Grass* (1855):

16. Seneca Falls Convention (1848):

17. Free Soil Party:

18. Harriet Tubman:

19. Underground Railroad:

20. John C. Calhoun:

21. William Walker:

22. “Manifest Destiny”:

23. Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854):
24. Know-Nothings:

25. *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852):

26. John Brown:

27. Lecompton Constitution:


29. Constitutional Union Party:

30. “Southern way of life”:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. Which of the following is NOT a result of the Mexican War?
   A. The United States gained over one-half million square miles of territory.
   B. Thousands of Mexicans and Indians found themselves in U.S. territory.
   C. The territories of Arizona and New Mexico quickly became states.
   D. Free passage to and from the U.S. was guaranteed.
   E. By treaty, Mexicans living in the new territories were guaranteed U.S. citizenship rights.

2. In the 1850s, European Americans tended to call all Indians
   A. Native Americans.
   B. Diggers.
   C. First Peoples.
   D. “pale faces.”
   E. all of the above.

3. European Americans’ predominant attitude towards Chinese immigrants was
   A. admiration for their hard work and cleanliness.
   B. respect for their ancient culture.
C. a desire to emulate Chinese family values.
D. fear of competition.
E. thinking of them on terms of complete equality.

4. In the mid-nineteenth century, the United States was
A. more economically powerful than Great Britain.
B. without any major canals.
C. a collection of regional economies.
D. economically uniform throughout the nation.
E. without railroads.

5. People mainly avoided settling in the “Great American Desert,” which was in
A. the Great Plains.
B. southern California.
C. Florida.
D. Oregon.
E. Georgia.

6. Conflicts over land in Texas and the area westward often pitted
A. Mexicans against Tejanos.
B. Tejanos against European Americans.
C. Indians against African Americans.
D. African Americans against European Americans.
E. Germans against Irish immigrants.

7. The “Yankee Strip” in the Midwest includes
A. Michigan.
B. Wisconsin and Minnesota.
C. northern Ohio.
D. northern Illinois and Indiana.
E. all of the above.

8. By the mid-nineteenth century, family farming in the Midwest became
A. successful because of tariff reform.
B. dependent on expensive machinery.
C. profitable because of Mexican migrant labor.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.
9. In the decades before the Civil War, the Southern economy
   A. moved away from cotton production.
   B. was weakened by a disastrous fall in world cotton prices.
   C. saw a decline in the concentration of wealth in land and slaves.
   D. moved away from the use of slave labor.
   E. became more and more focused on “king cotton.”

10. European immigrants in the years before the Civil War:
    A. mainly avoided the rural South.
    B. always stayed away from southern cities.
    C. were increasingly welcome additions to southern plantations.
    D. preferred the “Southern way of life.”
    E. all of the above.

11. In the slave states, black people challenged white supremacy by
    A. marrying white people.
    B. filing federal lawsuits.
    C. swapping pilfered goods with poor whites.
    D. refusing to go to church.
    E. none of the above.

12. The ideology of “Free Labor” held that
    A. workers should not be paid.
    B. everyone should reap what they sow.
    C. family farms should be abolished.
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.

13. With the growth of mechanization, white workers began to complain about
    A. minimum wage laws.
    B. cheap Chinese-imported products.
    C. high tariffs.
    D. wage slavery.
    A. too-powerful labor unions.

14. Ideologies of Social Inferiority were based on the
    A. concept of “white blood.”
    B. ideas of the French Revolution.
    C. fear that “non-whites” were intellectually superior to whites.
    D. new scientific evidence that God favored the white race.
    E. all of the above.
15. Which of the following was an important American writer in the nineteenth century?
   A. Herman Melville
   B. Walt Whitman
   C. Ralph Waldo Emerson
   D. Henry David Thoreau
   E. all of the above

**MAP QUESTION**

After looking at Map 13.2, analyze the impact of the Underground Railroad on the slave system.

**INTERPRETING HISTORY**

Discuss what you agree and disagree with in the essay by Professor Howe. What do you think explains his views?

**CONNECTING HISTORY**

Detail various forms of unfree labor, while explaining how each restricts the freedom of the individual in very specific ways. What do you think accounts for the continued existence of unfree labor in the contemporary world? How, if at all, is this different than the past?

**Answers to Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. C
2. B
3. D
4. C
5. A
6. B
7. E
8. B
9. E
10. A
11. C
12. B
13. D
14. A
15. E
Chapter 14
Fight to Gain a Country: The Civil War

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 14, you should be able to:

1. Detail the reasons behind the secession impulse.
2. Explain the preparations the South undertook to fight the North.
3. Understand what factors inhibited the South from successfully mobilizing for war.
4. Discuss the problems the Confederacy had in enlisting the support of Indians and immigrants.
5. Analyze the contradictions in the early Republican war policy.
6. Detail the ravages of war in the summer of 1862.
7. Explain the reasons behind and the effect of the Emancipation Proclamation.
8. Discuss the continuing obstacles to the Confederacy’s overall strategy.
9. Understand how African Americans struggled for liberation during the Civil War.
10. Comprehend the significance of the continuing fight against prejudice in North and South.
11. Understand how disaffection grew within the Confederacy as the war went on.
12. Discuss what caused the tide of war to turn against the South.
13. Analyze the reasons for civil unrest in the North.
14. Detail the desperation of the South by 1863.
15. Understand the nature of the “hard war” towards African Americans and Indians.
16. Discuss the last days of the Confederacy.

Time Line

1860
Abraham Lincoln elected president
South Carolina seceded from the Union

1861
Abraham Lincoln sworn in as president
Attack on Fort Sumter
Battle of Bull Run
Lincoln gave General Scott power to suspend writ of habeas corpus

1862
Democrats picked up strength in Congressional elections
1863
Emancipation Proclamation freed slaves in rebel territory
North abandoned policy of conciliation towards South
Battle of Gettysburg
General U.S. Grant captured Vicksburg
Anti-black draft riots in the New York City by mainly Irish mobs

1864
Lincoln reelected over Democratic candidate George McClellan
General Sherman’s march to the sea took Atlanta and then Savannah

1865
Confederate General Lee surrendered to Grant, Civil War Ends
Lincoln assassinated by John Wilkes Booth, a Confederate supporter

I. Mobilization for War, 1861-1862

A. The Secession Impulse

Although political support for newly elected President Lincoln seemed slim and his party controlled neither Congress nor the Supreme Court, the Southern elite felt threatened by the new president’s promise to halt the expansion of slavery into the western territories. Slave owners thought it was only a matter of time before the North encouraged any number of attacks on the Southern way of life. Two last ditch attempts at compromise failed and Lincoln’s pleas for national unity fell on deaf ears. When Lincoln continued to supply Fort Sumter a union fort in South Carolina, Confederates began firing on the federal facility and forced its surrender in 33 hours. In response, Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to put down the rebellion and ordered a blockade of southern ports. These actions pushed the hesitating states of the upper South to join the Confederacy.

The manner in which the southern states left the union would reveal the political differences that would plague the Confederacy. Most states left after conventions dominated by slave owners with little regard for the desire of poor Southerners for compromise. The Border States of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware remained in the Union despite sizable pro-Confederate sentiment.

B. Preparing to Fight

Both sides faced problems as they prepared to fight. North and South alike had to find large numbers of men to fight and produce massive amounts of cannon, ammunition, and food. With huge stockpiles of cotton and food, Southerners were confident they could force the North into accepting secession by fighting a defensive war that would bleed Union armies that advanced into
Confederate territory. The North, without much of a strategy, counted on its superior numbers. It controlled 90 percent of manufacturing and three-quarters of the railroads, while its population of 22 million was far larger than the South’s nine million. Both sides appealed to their common Revolutionary heritage, with the South stressing unfair taxation and states’ rights as the North put forth the glories of the Union.

C. Barriers to Southern Mobilization

While the South won the first battle of 1861 at Bull Run, Southerners only gradually realized that they needed to industrialize their economy and centralize their government if they were to ultimately win. As the Northern blockade of Southern ports disrupted established trade, the Confederacy found itself without money from customs duties and was forced to raising taxes and selling bonds. The Confederate Treasury also responded by printing money at such a fast rate that the real value of Confederate dollars declined steadily until they were worth only 1.6 cents near the war’s end.

Raising an army and forcing slaves to work for the military met strong resistance from many parts of Southern society. Yeoman farmers resented the draft of their sons while slave owners resisted parting with their slaves even in a fight to save slavery. When the Confederate call for volunteers failed to produce enough men, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, received the power to conscript men between the ages of 18 and 35 for up to three years. Wealthy men could avoid the draft by paying $300 for a substitute. This was the first draft in the history of North America.

D. Indians in the Service of the Confederacy

The South was unable to fully mobilize Native Americans as only gradually and reluctantly did most Southern tribes agree to join the fight. Those who fought often frustrated their Confederate commanders by their desire to continue with traditional battle tactics rather than line up in long straight lines. Many Native Americans, resentful of broken promises made by the Confederacy, joined up with the Union forces.

E. The Ethnic Confederacy

The Confederacy claimed that their army was composed of native-born soldiers while the Union ranks were filled with the Irish, Dutch, Scotch and, most of all, Germans. This is misleading, as immigrants were actually under-represented in the Northern army while the South was more multicultural than many white Southerners realized. Immigrant workers from southern cities filled the ranks of the Confederate Army and a Jewish slaveholder served in the cabinet.

On the other hand, many immigrants in the South remained suspect, particularly Germans in Texas. Although 2,500 men of Spanish descent joined the Confederate Army, many claimed they were Mexican citizens and therefore not required to participate.
II. The Course of the War, 1862-1864

A. The Republicans’ War

On April 27, 1861, Lincoln gave General Winfield Scott the power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in Baltimore. By the end of the year, this measure, which was designed to target Southern sympathizers, was applied to most of the North. Democrats denounced the president as a tyrant, yet abolitionists were frustrated with Lincoln’s conciliatory policy toward the South and Union slaveholders. Wartime business was a blessing for enterprising Northerners like McCormick and Rockefeller who made fortunes as war profiteers. The South likewise had speculators who enriched themselves by selling goods at extremely high prices.

Republicans centralized wartime operation and in 1861 created the U.S. Sanitary Commission, which recruited medical personnel. During the war, as many as 20,000 white and black women served as nurses, cooks, and laundresses in Northern military hospitals. Republicans used their control of the federal government to promote economic development and education by establishing homesteads, subsidizing railroads, and creating a system of land-grant colleges. For the first 18 months, the Northern military strategy reflected an indifference to the rights or welfare of African Americans. Slaves who ran to Union lines would be returned to their masters if the slave owner was a Unionist.

B. The Ravages of War

While the Confederacy was successful on the battlefield in 1862, it suffered from some 20,000 slaves fleeing to the North and helping the Union with information and manual labor. The North suffered from the incompetence of General George McClellan and an overly forgiving attitude towards the South. The summer of 1862 showed the problems both sides faced in fighting the war during warm weather, when disease killed twice as many soldiers as bullets. In the West, the Union Army conducted savage campaigns against Indian tribes. In the East, the Union won a victory at Antietam at the cost of 20,000 lives. Women increasingly served as nurses in the South, tending the wounded despite prejudice that this was work too horrible for a woman.

C. The Emancipation Proclamation

On January 1, 1863, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which freed slaves in Confederate territory. By this act, Lincoln hoped to infuse the war with a moral purpose while, at the same time, encouraging Southern blacks to join the U.S. army. Ironically, nearly one million African American slaves were excluded from this act since they lived in loyal Border States. The Emancipation Proclamation excited abolitionists but the growing death toll and higher taxes caused dissent to grow.
D. Persistent Obstacles to the Confederacy’s Grand Strategy

By the end of 1861, the North had established beachheads in Confederate territory all along the East Coast. The Confederacy pinned great hopes on gaining the support of, or at least the recognition from, European powers, particularly England. They were unsuccessful, as the South’s cotton proved not to be indispensable and English workers fought fiercely and successfully against recognition of the South. The Confederacy also failed to win the support of Mexican President Benito Juarez, who kept Mexico a friend of the Union. All hope for diplomatic recognition of the South faded with Union victories at Antietam and Perryville, combined with the powerful effect of the soon-to-be announced Emancipation Proclamation.

III. The Other War: African American Struggles for Liberation

A. The Unfolding of Freedom

African Americans fought in ways that whites could neither understand nor expect. Georgia slave Nancy Johnson and her family are a noteworthy example. Nancy and her husband Boston harbored an escaped Union prisoner of war and later marveled at having a white man sit in their house. By the end of the war, Nancy and Boston Johnson had sheltered and fed others they saw as allies, from deserters from the Confederate Army to poor whites opposed to the war and without any slaves.

As the war approached the end, Johnson told her mistress she would no longer work without wages. Instead of being able to order Nancy to work, the slave owner was reduced to cajoling, intimidating, and making promises in order to get her to labor. Still, Johnson’s experience with the Union Army was not positive. In January 1865, Union troops raided the plantation and stole most of the family’s possessions in an orgy of looting. Neither Nancy nor Boston could believe that Yankees could be so mean.

B. Enemies Within the Confederacy

Slaveholding whites were shocked to discover that they could not always count on the loyalty of their slaves. Soon after the war began, many white slave owners wondered if their slaves would one day kill them in their beds. African American slaves waited for a chance to steal away at night or even in broad daylight, as slaves fled their plantations to seek safety and paid labor behind Union lines. In July 1862, the Union’s Second Confiscation Act held that slaves of Confederates would be considered captives of war and shall be forever free.
C. The Ongoing Fight Against Prejudice

The Emancipation Proclamation inspired black men in the North to join the Union armed forces. Although until late in the war they were paid less than whites and denied advancement, African American soldiers wore their uniforms proudly as they were fighting for freedom. Typically, blacks were barred from taking up arms and relegated to dangerous fatigue work. As a result, for every black soldier killed in action, ten died of disease. Southern blacks welcomed the Northern army but often suffered from harsh treatment by their liberators, who considered them less than equal.

IV. Battle Fronts and Home Fronts in 1863

A. Disaffection in the Confederacy

The war deeply affected Southerners, who saw their land destroyed by fighting and their lives disrupted by war preparations. Throughout the South were communities resentful of what ordinary whites saw as the Richmond elite, that is, the leaders of the Confederacy. As many as one-third of all Confederate soldiers were absent without leave at any time during the war. Poor women resisted the orders of the Jefferson Davis administration while resentful of the extravagant wartime lifestyle of the Southern elite. In April 1863, hundreds of Richmond women ransacked stores in search of food and were only dispersed when President Davis threatened to have the army shoot them. Other white women leaped to give their aid to the Confederacy in a variety of roles, ranging from spies to textile factory workers.

B. The Tide Turns Against the South

In December 1862, Union General Burnside blundered into a major defeat at Fredericksburg, Virginia. Burnside was replaced by General “Fighting Joe” Hooker, who fought Confederate Generals Lee and Stonewall Jackson at Chancellorsville, Virginia. Although Hooker lost, the battle claimed the life of the Confederate General Jackson, an important loss for the South. Hoping to follow up his victory, Robert E. Lee led Confederate troops into Pennsylvania, a move he thought would encourage Northern Peace Democrats and impress foreign powers. In a three-day battle at Gettysburg in July 1863, 23,000 Union and 28,000 Confederate troops were killed. Lee saw one-third of his men killed or wounded. The following day, Ulysses S. Grant captured Vicksburg for the Union.

C. Civil Unrest in the North

Not all of the North joined in the celebration over the victory at Gettysburg. Even strong Union supporters were tired of high taxes, inflated prices, and the ever-growing death toll. Following a military draft begun on July 1, northern white workers, particularly the Irish, rose up both in angry protest over the wealthy being able to buy substitutes and in not wishing to fight for their
black workplace competition. Laborers in New York City, Hartford, Troy, Newark, and Boston went on a rampage and 105 people died before the anti-black riots were suppressed by federal troops. To prevent further outbreaks, 20,000 Union soldiers were stationed in New York so that on August 19, the draft could continue.

D. The Desperate South

The South had to deal not only with dissent at home but also with the terrible losses suffered at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. Confederate President Jefferson Davis urged his supporters to call upon God for mercy. Although Confederate military leaders shunned guerilla warfare, William Clarke Quantrill attacked Lawrence, Kansas and 450 Southerners under his command killed 150 civilians. The Quantrill raid showed how desperate some Confederates had become. The victories of Grant and the Union at Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain in Tennessee caused both France and England to draw back from selling the Confederacy warships or giving diplomatic recognition.

V. The Prolonged Defeat of the Confederacy, 1864-1865

A. “Hard War” Toward African Americans and Native Americans

“Hard war” is not the same as “total war”, where the entire civilian population is a target. Yet, Confederate actions toward black soldiers and Union policies toward Native American rebels showed elements of total war. Black soldiers who surrendered to Confederate forces were systematically murdered, while wounded African American troops were bayoneted or burned alive. Meanwhile, Northern forces in the west attacked Native Americans without any regard for the conventions of warfare. Union Col. John M. Chivington made it a policy to kill all Native Americans, even children.

B. “Father Abraham”

Lincoln was indifferent to the plight of Native Americans but made a noble defense of democracy among white men. His reelection in 1864 was made easier by a string of Union military victories and the Democratic peace program, which alienated Northern troops who gave Lincoln three-quarters of their votes. Although Lincoln had little military experience, he had a superior grasp of strategy and was popular with the average Northern soldier.

C. Sherman’s March from Atlanta to the Sea

The South’s physical environment had shaped the course of the Civil War. In turn, the war changed the environment, as demonstrated by Sherman’s March to the Sea. After taking Atlanta in the summer of 1864, Union General William Tecumseh Sherman marched an army of 60,000 infantry and 5,500 cavalry to the coast. Utilizing runaway slaves to assist his engineers, Sherman
was able to clear the obstacles left behind by retreating Confederates. He also destroyed all the railroads he came upon while forgoing long supply trains and having his men live off the land. With the capture of Savannah, the Southern cause was all but lost.

D. The Last Days of the Confederacy

The Confederacy, which had begun the war as a loose collection of rural states, was now a centralized war machine. It was, however, a war machine running out of men. The South was so desperate that it considered freeing the slaves in order to turn them into Confederate soldiers. Meanwhile, the Union went from victory to victory as Sherman seized Atlanta in 1864 on his march to the sea. Along the way, Sherman liberated Andersonville, the infamous Confederate POW camp where 13,000 Union prisoners had died of starvation and neglect. The Commander of Andersonville was to be the only Confederate officer to be executed for war crimes.

By April 1865, the war was all but over, with Grant seizing the Confederate capital of Richmond on April 3. Finally, General Lee surrendered what remained of his army on April 9. The amazingly generous surrender terms, which allowed the rebels to keep their horses and promised no trials for treason, showed a mutual respect which would later allow Northern and Southern whites to unite against people of color. Lincoln was not to play a part in the future of the nation as he was murdered by John Wilkes Booth, a Confederate supporter who feared the president would give blacks citizenship.

**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Stephen A. Douglas:

2. Fort Sumter:

3. Jefferson Davis:

4. Suspension of writ of habeas corpus (1861):

5. U.S. Sanitary Commission:

6. Ulysses S. Grant:
7. Land-grant colleges:

8. Stonewall Jackson:

9. Emancipation Proclamation:

10. *Trent* affair:

11. Second Confiscation Act (1862):

12. 54th Massachusetts regiment:

13. General George McClellan:

14. Copperhead:

15. Vicksburg:

16. 1863 Riots in New York City:

17. William Clarke Quantrill:

18. Fort Pillow:

19. Col. John M. Chivington:

20. Admiral David G. Farragut:
21. Andersonville Prison:

22. Sherman’s march to the sea (1864-1865):

23. General Robert E. Lee:

24. Henry Wirz:

25. “Father Abraham”:

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Abraham Lincoln was elected president in 1860 although
   A. he lost in the electoral college.
   B. 60 percent of voters supported other candidates.
   C. Congress passed into the hands of the Republicans.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

2. The Southern states began to leave the Union because
   A. they welcomed the new Republican president.
   B. lower tariffs were destroying their state finances.
   C. the North had a clear majority on the Supreme Court.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

3. The Southerners who dominated the conventions held to vote on secession were mainly
   A. slave owners.
   B. yeoman farmers.
   C. immigrants.
   D. abolitionists.
   E. none of the above.
4. The newly formed Confederacy had the advantage of
   A. a larger population.
   B. more naval warships and experienced sailors.
   C. more experienced military leaders and trained soldiers.
   D. more developed industry.
   E. all of the above.

5. During the Civil War, the North had the advantage of having
   A. 90 percent of manufacturing capacity.
   B. a diversified economy that produced grain as well as textiles.
   C. control of the federal government and its bureaucratic infrastructure.
   D. a much larger population.
   E. all of the above.

6. To finance the Confederate government, the South turned to
   A. lower taxes to stimulate the economy.
   B. printing money at a furious rate.
   C. the always large sums raised by custom duties.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

7. Short of volunteers, the Confederacy in March 1862
   A. began to allow free blacks to serve in the Confederate armed forces.
   B. began to draft women.
   C. started to accept immigrants into their military.
   D. established the first military conscription on the North American continent.
   E. all of the above.

8. Wartime manufacturing and commerce proved to be
   A. unable to supply the Union army as well as the Confederates.
   B. unable to use new technologies.
   C. a boon to enterprising Northerners who made their fortunes due to war.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

9. The major cause of death among soldiers in the Civil War was
   A. disease.
   B. the use of rapid fire cannons.
   C. from charges into cannon fire.
   D. bad food.
   E. none of the above.
10. The Emancipation Proclamation would, it was hoped, cause
   A. Southern blacks to join the Union army.
   B. Copperheads to become more supportive of Lincoln.
   C. an end to slavery in the Border States.
   D. rally Southern slave owners to the Union cause.
   E. all of the above.

11. England came close to recognizing the Confederacy but did not because of
   A. fierce opposition from workers back in England.
   B. fear the North was going to defeat the South.
   C. the Emancipation Proclamation proving the North was ready to fight.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

12. African-American soldiers fighting for the Union enraged the Confederacy who
   A. had already used African Americans as soldiers.
   B. typically killed them if they were taken prisoner.
   C. none the less treated them as well as they did white Northerners.
   D. imprisoned those captured.
   E. none of the above.

13. Among the reasons for disaffection in the Confederacy was
   A. a ten percent tax-in-kind on produce.
   B. food shortages.
   C. resentment at the extravagant wartime lifestyle of the wealthy.
   D. support for the North among some poor whites.
   E. all of the above.

14. There was civil unrest in the North in 1863 particularly because of
   A. food shortages.
   B. the defeat at Gettysburg.
   C. resentment over military conscription.
   D. shock that General Sherman burned Atlanta.
   E. all of the above.
15. In the 1864 Presidential election, Lincoln was reelected
   A. with three-quarters of the votes from soldiers.
   B. because people feared Democrat General McClellan was too warlike.
   C. despite losing the states of the Confederacy.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

MAP QUESTION:

After looking at Map 14.5, discuss the contribution of African American soldiers in the Union cause. How would the war have been different if blacks had not become soldiers for the North? What if the South had abolished slavery and armed its black residents?

CONNECTING HISTORY

Discuss the history of civil disorder in wartime. Why are protests violent at some times but peaceful at others? Give examples.

INTERPRETING HISTORY

What were the motivations that caused John B. Spiece to object to the impressment of slaves? Do you think his arguments reveal the contradictions of the Southern slave system? Why or why not?
Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. B
2. E
3. A
4. C
5. E
6. B
7. D
8. C
9. A
10. A
11. D
12. B
13. E
14. C
15. A
Chapter 15

In the Wake of War: Consolidating a Triumphant Union, 1865–1877

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 15, you should be able to:

1. Understand how the Civil War set the stage for postwar policies.
2. Explain the significant aspects of presidential Reconstruction policies, 1865-1867.
3. Discuss the southern postwar labor problem and how it affected freed slaves and poor whites.
4. Contrast Congressional or Radical Reconstruction with policies of President Johnson.
5. Detail the situation of isolated Indian territories in the West.
6. Explain the interaction of labor and land in the West.
7. Discuss the origins of the Woman Suffrage Movement.
8. Understand the significance of political corruption and the decline in Republican idealism.

Time Line

1865
Civil War Ended
Freedmen’s Bureau established
Thirteenth Amendment approved

1866
National Labor Union (NLU) established
Equal Rights Association formed to link rights of women with African Americans
President Andrew Johnson vetoed Civil Rights Bill and expansion of Freedmen’s Bureau

1867
Alaska purchased from Russia

1868
Ulysses S. Grant elected president

1871
Ku Klux Klan Act punished conspiracies to deny rights to citizens
1872
U.S. Grant reelected president over Democrat Horace Greeley

1873
Nationwide depression hit U.S.

1876
General George Custer defeated at Little Big Horn in Montana
Republican Hayes became president after deal with Southern Democrats

1877
Compromise between Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats ended Reconstruction

Chapter Overview

In March 1865, the federal government agreed to help set up schools for blacks under the auspices of the newly created Freedmen’s Bureau.

Republican congressmen wanted to reconstruct the South by having African Americans own land and become full citizens. Freedmen sought to free themselves from white control while establishing control over their work, families and churches. President Andrew Johnson wished to restore prewar power relations that placed blacks in the position of being dependant labor.

The Republican Party stood for strong national government while the Democrats argued for states rights.

The U.S. Army attacked the Plains Indians when some Native Americans refused to abandon their nomadic way of life.

Between 1862 and 1872, the federal government gave the railroads millions of dollars in cash and a hundred million acres of public land. Meanwhile in the South, the scars of war were visible everywhere as economic growth unleashed after the conflict transformed the physical landscape of the country.

There was dissent from those who felt that Republicans would serve white men of property only. Women wanted the right to vote, while workers believed themselves at the mercy of employers and so formed a national labor union in 1866.
I. The Struggle Over the South

Republicans argued among themselves over how far government should go to protect the freedmen. President Johnson did not want blacks to become independent of white landowners.

Blacks sought socio-economic self-determination and many traveled around looking for family members lost during slavery.

A. Wartime Preludes to Postwar Policies

In November 1861, Northern forces captured the Sea Islands (off the Carolinas). When the planters fled, ten thousand slaves stayed behind and began to fish and raise corn to feed their families. White teachers, missionaries, and investors came, as well. The blacks welcomed the first two groups but resisted the capitalists’ attempts to get them to grow cotton. In southern Louisiana, the Union Army forced blacks back to work on plantations (supposedly now for wages). The former slaves resisted and even some Northern soldiers contested the policy. These two examples show Republican commitment to preserving the plantation economy as blacks fought to free themselves from white control.

Lincoln proposed a ten percent plan whereby a state could form a new government if ten percent of those who voted in 1860 pledged allegiance to the Union. In 1864, Congress passed the Wade-Davis bill which would require a majority of voters to take a loyalty oath. Lincoln vetoed this law.

B. Presidential Reconstruction, 1865-1867

President Johnson pushed the ten percent plan and wanted blacks to remain as dependent farm laborers. His policies caused resentment among congressional Republicans who thought them too lenient.

Readmitted Southern states passed “Black Codes,” which sought to reduce the freedmen to neo-slavery by forcing them to work on the land while denying them the right to vote, to serve on juries, and a number of other civil rights. In January 1865, Congress approved the 13th Amendment, which abolished slavery.

President Johnson vetoed two important bills: an extension of the Freedmen’s Bureau and the Civil Rights Bill of 1866. Congress overrode both vetoes and in June 1866 passed the 14th Amendment, which guaranteed former slaves citizenship rights, denied many former rebels the right to hold office, and voided the Confederate debt.

Many Northerners moved south to invest in land, while some former southern white Whigs allied with northern Republicans. Southern Democrats called these men “Scalawags.”
In 1866, the Ku Klux Klan was formed and later grew into a white supremacist terrorist organization which used murder and violence to reassert white power.

In the November 1866 Congressional elections, the Republicans won a two-thirds majority in both houses of Congress. They hoped that this would enable them to override President Johnson and his expected vetoes.

C. The Southern Postwar Labor Policies

This period saw a struggle over who should toil in the fields and under what conditions. Whites complained that black women stayed home with their children rather than work in the fields.

The Freedmen’s Bureau served as a mediator between freed people and southern whites while encouraging a free labor system with annual labor contracts. Yet it was understaffed and under-funded. Blacks had to negotiate with white landowners, although the former slaves had little to offer but their own labor.

General Sherman issued Field Order #15, dividing the Sea Islands and the coastal region south of Charleston into forty-acre plots for freed families. He also lent mules to help with planting. A few months after the Civil War ended, the War Department gave in to white pressure and repealed the order.

The Freedmen’s Bureau varied greatly in effectiveness. It helped blacks a good deal in some areas but had little impact elsewhere.

Within a few years after the war, the sharecropping system began to develop. Poor families would get supplies and the use of land. At harvest, they were to repay the landowner, but often the sharecroppers remained in debt.

D. Building Free Communities

Some black communities were divided by class, with formerly free, skilled and literate people assuming leadership over the illiterate field hands. Light-skinned free people of color, who often spoke French, were more likely to own property and have an education then English-speaking, dark-skinned freedpeople. Most black communities united around the demand for full citizenship rights enforced by the federal military.

Freedpeople in some areas allied with poor whites who had also suffered at the hands of the planter class. Networks of freedpeople created their own churches and schools.
Black families took care of elderly or poor relations and chose to have mothers stay home with their children.

Resentment against black advancement and pride caused many whites to form white supremacist organizations: Young Men’s Democratic Clubs, White Brotherhood, Knights of the White Camelia - and, of course, the Ku Klux Klan.

E. Congressional, or “Radical” Reconstruction

The Reconstruction Act of 1867 stripped thousands of former confederates of the right to vote. Former confederate states would not be readmitted until they ratified the 14th Amendment and guaranteed black men the right to vote. The South was divided into five military districts. The Tenure of Office Act was passed by Republicans to protect Secretary of War Edwin Stanton from being dismissed by the President, while the Command of the Army Act required President Johnson to have approval from Ulysses S. Grant for all military orders.

Republicans threw their support behind an insurgent Southern Republican party which they hoped could take over the South with the votes of freed black men and white Republicans. Southern Republican organizations, called Union Leagues, gave a political voice to many black leaders. About two thousand black men were elected to local office during Reconstruction, including sixteen congressmen, all of whom showed interest in being active, engaged citizens.

Newly reconstructed Southern legislatures established public schools, fairer taxation, bargaining rights for plantation workers, and integrated public transportation and accommodations as well as public works like railroads. Although Southern Democrats and some historians have accused Reconstruction governments of being corrupt, they were as honest as those before or after their tenure.

In early 1868, President Johnson fired Secretary of War Stanton in violation of the Tenure of Office Act. Shortly afterward, Congress impeached Johnson. Johnson survived the removal motion by one vote but afterwards withdrew from policymaking.

In November 1868, U.S. Grant was elected president. By the end of 1868, Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Tennessee, Alabama and Florida were readmitted to the Union, followed by Mississippi, Virginia, Georgia and Texas two years later.

Democrats in the South soon resorted to wholesale election fraud and violence against freedpeople. In 1871, Congress passed the Ku Klux Klan Act, which punished conspiracies to deny rights to citizens. Despite this, many blacks continued to be terrorized.
II. Claiming Territory for the Union

Joining the nation together both economically and politically was the Republican goal. To achieve this, both technology and military power would be utilized. Railroads became a vital part of national integration. In 1869, railroads from the East and West Coasts joined together in Utah. Meanwhile, the U.S. Cavalry attacked the Plains Indians. Between 1865 and 1890, the U.S. Army mounted a dozen different campaigns against western Native Americans, resulting in more than a thousand engagements.

A. Beleaguered Indian “Islands” in the West

In 1871, the federal government stopped seeking treaties with various Native Americans groups as part of a more aggressive effort to subdue the natives. In the Southwest, clashes continued after the Civil War. In 1875, Apache leader Geronimo was tracked down and momentarily surrendered. The 1867 treaty with an alliance of Plains Indians did not last long because of railroad expansion. In 1868, General Custer butchered a Cheyenne settlement led by Black Kettle.

Indians attacked surveyors, supply caravans, and military escorts that preceded railroad work crews. In 1874, General Custer went into the Black Hills of the Dakotas in unceded Indian land. Although supposedly off-limits to whites, Custer announced that Indian lands were filled with gold. By 1876, fifteen thousand miners had flooded into Indian lands. Finally on June 25, 1876, Custer and 264 soldiers attacked twenty-five hundred Sioux and Cheyenne at the Little Big Horn River in Montana. Foolishly attacking without backup, Custer and his men were destroyed.

The western Indians struggled to preserve and adapt their lifestyles. Despite brutal repression, Native American culture survived and sometimes flourished.

B. Postwar Western Labor Problems

The Central Pacific Railroad expanded eastward from California in 1865. Although subsidized by the government, the railroad had trouble keeping workers, so in 1866 the Central Pacific imported thousands of Chinese men. These Chinese workers amazed whites with their hard work and skill while working for only $1 a day. When a strike by five thousand Chinese workers broke out in 1867, it was broken when the railroad cut off food supplies. By 1870, forty thousand Chinese lived in California, representing twenty-five percent of all wage earners.

Landless California Indians were deprived of hunting/gathering lands and wracked by disease and starvation. By 1870, California Indians had decreased from 100,000 to only 30,000 in a twenty-year period.
C. Land Use in an Expanding Nation

The Civil War had caused new conflicts over land use while making old disputes worse. White Southerners easily kept their land, but Hispanic land titles were at risk of being ignored by Euro-American settlers. In the 1870s, over eighty percent of original Spanish land grants in New Mexico were wrested from their original Hispanic landowners.

The growing railroads made it possible to mine minerals profitably and also spurred the growth of cattle ranching. Railroad connections between the Midwest and East made it profitable for Texas cattlemen to drive herds to railheads in order to ship cattle to stockyards in Chicago or St. Louis. Between 1865 and 1890, as many as ten million heads of cattle were herded north from Texas. The cowboys who drove them were not all white, as a quarter of them were African-American and fifteen percent were Hispanic.

Federal land policies were vital to pulling together regional economies. Land use laws had a mixed legacy. For example, the Apex Mining Act of 1872 legalized traditional mining practices in the West and contributed to wholesale destruction of certain areas. Naturalist John Muir fought for the federal government to regulate land use and create a national park system. In the late 1860s, the Pullman Sleeping Car helped encourage tourism, which pitted tourist interests against those companies that profited from destroying the wilderness.

D. Buying Territory for the Union

U.S. Secretary of State William Seward bought Alaska from Russia in 1867. For about two cents an acre, the U.S.A. gained 591,004 square miles of land that would provide fish, timber, minerals, and water power. In 1870, some Republicans joined Democrats to call for the annexation of the Dominican Republic. Charles Sumner blocked this effort while arguing that it was immoral not to consider the wishes of the Dominican people.

III. The Republican Vision and its Limits

The Republican vision of a government-business partnership faced two problems: persons agitating for civil rights and people attempting to reap personal gain from political activities.

A. Postbellum Origins of the Woman Suffrage Movement

After the end of the Civil War, the middle class continued to grow. Many of these middle-class Americans, particularly Protestants, felt a deep cultural tie to England. One belief of America’s “Victorians” was the ideal of domesticity - a happy family living in a comfortable home and guided by a pious mother and paid for by a successful businessman father.
Still, the Civil War only made some women more anxious to participate in politics. Many thought they deserved the vote. In 1866, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone founded the Equal Rights Association to fight for the rights of women and African Americans.

Frederick Douglass devoted himself to black male suffrage and left women out of his call for equal rights. African-American activist Sojourner Truth warned white women not to claim to speak for all women at the same time as she told black men not to fight only for themselves.

The National Woman Suffrage Association was formed in 1869 to fight for married women’s property rights, liberalized divorce laws, and admission of females to colleges and trade schools. Victoria Woodhull was expelled from the organization because she pushed for more radical causes such as free love, legalized prostitution, and labor rights. In 1872, Woodhull formed the Equal Rights Party and ran for President. Susan B. Anthony tried to vote in this election to test the law but was arrested.

B. Workers’ Organizations

Growing wealth did not necessarily help workers in either agriculture or industry. In fact, many working people fell ever more deeply in debt. In 1867, Oliver H. Kelly formed the Grange, which promoted farm cooperatives and fought unfair railroad rates that favored big business.

Founded in 1866, the National Labor Union (NLU) formed a collection of craft unions and had as many as six hundred thousand members by the early 1870s. The NLU promoted reforms like the eight-hour day. Although the organization favored “consolidation” of black and white workers, they defended excluding blacks from leadership both in the union and on the job.

In 1873, a nationwide depression destroyed the NLU. Another organization emerged to fight for labor: the Knights of Labor. They aimed to unite workers in industry and agriculture, self-employed and wage workers, blacks and whites, men and women.

Depression led to the rise of the Greenback Labor Party in 1878 that fought against the withdrawal of paper money from the economy, since this made debts harder to repay. Although they had many reasons to unite, workers faced difficulties in building coalitions. A major problem was how employers divided the laboring classes by ethnicity, religion, and race.

C. Political Corruption and the Demise of Republican Idealism

The new government-business partnership led to an extensive system of bribes and kickbacks. Boss Tweed’s Tammany Hall political machine in New York City used bribery and extortion to fix elections and steal millions of dollars until a New York Times expose’ led to Tweed being
arrested and convicted. Another example of corruption was Credit Mobilier, which gave
Congressmen stock to gain influence.

The federal government seemed ready to withdraw from the South and hand freedpeople over to
unrepentant rebels. The presidential election of 1876 saw Republican Hayes out-poll by
Democrat Tilden in the popular, vote only to have Hayes became president after he promised an
end to Reconstruction in the South.

During the dozen years after the end of the Civil War, the Northern Republicans remained in
control of national economic policy while white Southern Democrats re-established their control
over local and state governments.

**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Freedmen’s Bureau:

2. National Labor Union (1866):

3. Wade-Davis Bill:

4. Vigilantes:

5. Black Codes:

6. Thirteenth Amendment:

7. Civil Rights Bill (1866):

8. “Scalawags”:

9. Ku Klux Klan:
10. “Forty acres and a mule”:

11. Knights of the White Camelia:

12. Charles Sumner:

13. Tenure of Office Act:

14. Command of the Army Act:

15. William Tecumseh Sherman:

16. Union Leagues:

17. Geronimo:

18. Lieutenant-Colonel George Custer:

19. Central Pacific Railroad:

20. Timber Culture Act (1873):

21. Apex Mining Act (1872):

22. Pullman sleeping car:

23. John Muir:
24. William Seward

25. Elizabeth Cady Stanton:

26. Equal Rights Association:

27. Sojourner Truth:

28. National Woman Suffrage Association:

29. Knights of Labor:

30. Tammany Hall:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. Which of the following was NOT welcomed by Sea Island blacks in 1862?
   A. teachers
   B. missionaries
   C. Boston investors who wanted to re-establish cotton production
   D. none of the above
   E. all of the above

2. The Wade-Davis Bill would have required
   A. the North to allow the southern states to leave the Union.
   B. African Americans to take a loyalty oath before voting.
   C. a majority of southern voters to take a loyalty oath.
   D. African Americans to emigrate to Africa.
   E. none of the above.

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3. During Reconstruction, President Andrew Johnson
A. believed that blacks should continue to toil as agricultural laborers.
B. thought that no pardons should be given to former Confederate soldiers.
C. never vetoed legislation passed by Congress.
D. agreed to take on the debt of the former Confederate States of America.
E. resigned to avoid impeachment.

4. The “Black Codes” established after the Civil War typically forbade blacks from
A. becoming ordained ministers.
B. marrying whites.
C. working for white employers.
D. moving back to Africa.
E. all of the above.

5. The Freedmen’s Bureau was significant, although it
A. lacked enough money to fulfill its mandate.
B. was short of staff.
C. had to face determined resistance from white plantation owners.
D. wasn’t supported by many southern whites.
E. all of the above.

6. The sharecropping system which developed in the South after the Civil War
A. allowed landlords to exploit poor farmers.
B. was applied exclusively to African Americans.
C. established a particularly favorable situation for single women.
D. was fair to both laborer and landowner.
E. was applied exclusively to poor whites.

7. The rise of paramilitary groups like the Klu Klux Klan
A. helped spur Congressional Republicans to action.
B. showed that the southern planter class would attempt to regain control.
C. resulted in terror and violence directed against freedpeople.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

8. Growing southern Republican Party organizations were known as
A. Young Men’s Democratic Clubs.
B. a forum for bitter whites who refused to accept black equality.
C. Union Leagues.
D. the most conservative (States Rights) wing of the Republican Party.
E. Young Republicans.
9. Reconstruction-era southern state governments were
   A. almost all made up of African Americans.
   B. no more corrupt or incompetent than those in the North.
   C. for “white men only.”
   D. opposed to public school systems.
   E. targets of Northern resentment against big business.

10. Buffalo Soldiers were
    A. Native Americans from the Great Plains region.
    B. African Americans serving in the U.S. Cavalry.
    C. unable to launch attacks against the Plains Indians.
    D. part of the Native American religious belief system.
    E. part of the U.S. Army detailed to hunt buffalos for food.

11. Lieutenant-Colonel George Custer commanded the Seventh U.S. Cavalry
    A. formed to ward off native attacks on the Union Pacific Railroad.
    B. that was massacred at Little Big Horn in Montana.
    C. which he led on to the Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado.
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.

12. Workers brought to the U.S.A. from China
    A. were paid more than native white workers.
    B. struck in 1857, asking that Irish workers be dismissed.
    C. mainly picked cotton in the South.
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.

13. Which of the following was NOT the result of the growth of the railroads?
    A. growth of the cattle industry
    B. unification of regional economies into a national economy
    C. cheap Chinese-imported products
    D. mining of minerals
    E. the growth of tourism as an industry

14. Which of the following was NOT welcome in the Knights of Labor?
    A. lawyers
    B. black workers
    C. the self-employed
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.
15. The presidential election of 1876 saw
   A. Democrat Tilden receiving the majority of votes from citizens.
   B. Republican Hayes becoming president.
   C. the “Compromise of 1877,” which ended Reconstruction.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

MAP QUESTION:

After looking at Map 15.3, discuss what the presidential election of 1876 reveals about regional voting patterns. What accounts for the disputed areas in the South? Compare and contrast with more recent presidential elections.

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Explain how the southern labor contract presented preserved the power of the landowner. How would YOU have felt if you had been presented with a contract like this and told to sign?

CONNECTING HISTORY

Evaluate the key differences between the impeachments of Andrew Johnson and Bill Clinton.
Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. C
2. C
3. A
4. B
5. E
6. A
7. D
8. C
9. B
10. B
11. D
12. E
13. C
14. A
15. D
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Chapter 15
In the Wake of War: Consolidating a Triumphant Union, 1865–1877

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After reading Chapter 15, you should be able to:

1. Understand how the Civil War set the stage for postwar policies.
2. Explain the significant aspects of presidential Reconstruction policies, 1865-1867.
3. Discuss the southern postwar labor problem and how it affected freed slaves and poor whites.
4. Contrast Congressional or Radical Reconstruction with policies of President Johnson.
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6. Explain the interaction of labor and land in the West.
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In March 1865, the federal government agreed to help set up schools for blacks under the auspices of the newly created Freedmen’s Bureau.

Republican congressmen wanted to reconstruct the South by having African Americans own land and become full citizens. Freedmen sought to free themselves from white control while establishing control over their work, families and churches. President Andrew Johnson wished to restore prewar power relations that placed blacks in the position of being dependant labor.

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The U.S. Army attacked the Plains Indians when some Native Americans refused to abandon their nomadic way of life.

Between 1862 and 1872, the federal government gave the railroads millions of dollars in cash and a hundred million acres of public land. Meanwhile in the South, the scars of war were visible everywhere as economic growth unleashed after the conflict transformed the physical landscape of the country.

There was dissent from those who felt that Republicans would serve white men of property only. Women wanted the right to vote, while workers believed themselves at the mercy of employers and so formed a national labor union in 1866.
I. The Struggle Over the South

Republicans argued among themselves over how far government should go to protect the freedmen. President Johnson did not want blacks to become independent of white landowners.

Blacks sought socio-economic self-determination and many traveled around looking for family members lost during slavery.

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C. The Southern Postwar Labor Policies

This period saw a struggle over who should toil in the fields and under what conditions. Whites complained that black women stayed home with their children rather than work in the fields.

The Freedmen’s Bureau served as a mediator between freed people and southern whites while encouraging a free labor system with annual labor contracts. Yet it was understaffed and under-funded. Blacks had to negotiate with white landowners, although the former slaves had little to offer but their own labor.

General Sherman issued Field Order #15, dividing the Sea Islands and the coastal region south of Charleston into forty-acre plots for freed families. He also lent mules to help with planting. A few months after the Civil War ended, the War Department gave in to white pressure and repealed the order.

The Freedmen’s Bureau varied greatly in effectiveness. It helped blacks a good deal in some areas but had little impact elsewhere.

Within a few years after the war, the sharecropping system began to develop. Poor families would get supplies and the use of land. At harvest, they were to repay the landowner, but often the sharecroppers remained in debt.

D. Building Free Communities

Some black communities were divided by class, with formerly free, skilled and literate people assuming leadership over the illiterate field hands. Light-skinned free people of color, who often spoke French, were more likely to own property and have an education then English-speaking, dark-skinned freedpeople. Most black communities united around the demand for full citizenship rights enforced by the federal military.

Freedpeople in some areas allied with poor whites who had also suffered at the hands of the planter class. Networks of freedpeople created their own churches and schools.
Black families took care of elderly or poor relations and chose to have mothers stay home with their children.

Resentment against black advancement and pride caused many whites to form white supremacist organizations: Young Men’s Democratic Clubs, White Brotherhood, Knights of the White Camelia - and, of course, the Ku Klux Klan.

E. Congressional, or “Radical” Reconstruction

The Reconstruction Act of 1867 stripped thousands of former confederates of the right to vote. Former confederate states would not be readmitted until they ratified the 14th Amendment and guaranteed black men the right to vote. The South was divided into five military districts. The Tenure of Office Act was passed by Republicans to protect Secretary of War Edwin Stanton from being dismissed by the President, while the Command of the Army Act required President Johnson to have approval from Ulysses S. Grant for all military orders.

Republicans threw their support behind an insurgent Southern Republican party which they hoped could take over the South with the votes of freed black men and white Republicans. Southern Republican organizations, called Union Leagues, gave a political voice to many black leaders. About two thousand black men were elected to local office during Reconstruction, including sixteen congressmen, all of whom showed interest in being active, engaged citizens.

Newly reconstructed Southern legislatures established public schools, fairer taxation, bargaining rights for plantation workers, and integrated public transportation and accommodations as well as public works like railroads. Although Southern Democrats and some historians have accused Reconstruction governments of being corrupt, they were as honest as those before or after their tenure.

In early 1868, President Johnson fired Secretary of War Stanton in violation of the Tenure of Office Act. Shortly afterward, Congress impeached Johnson. Johnson survived the removal motion by one vote but afterwards withdrew from policymaking.

In November 1868, U.S. Grant was elected president. By the end of 1868, Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Tennessee, Alabama and Florida were readmitted to the Union, followed by Mississippi, Virginia, Georgia and Texas two years later.

Democrats in the South soon resorted to wholesale election fraud and violence against freedpeople. In 1871, Congress passed the Ku Klux Klan Act, which punished conspiracies to deny rights to citizens. Despite this, many blacks continued to be terrorized.
II. Claiming Territory for the Union

Joining the nation together both economically and politically was the Republican goal. To achieve this, both technology and military power would be utilized. Railroads became a vital part of national integration. In 1869, railroads from the East and West Coasts joined together in Utah. Meanwhile, the U.S. Cavalry attacked the Plains Indians. Between 1865 and 1890, the U.S. Army mounted a dozen different campaigns against western Native Americans, resulting in more than a thousand engagements.

A. Beleaguered Indian “Islands” in the West

In 1871, the federal government stopped seeking treaties with various Native Americans groups as part of a more aggressive effort to subdue the natives. In the Southwest, clashes continued after the Civil War. In 1875, Apache leader Geronimo was tracked down and momentarily surrendered. The 1867 treaty with an alliance of Plains Indians did not last long because of railroad expansion. In 1868, General Custer butchered a Cheyenne settlement led by Black Kettle.

Indians attacked surveyors, supply caravans, and military escorts that preceded railroad work crews. In 1874, General Custer went into the Black Hills of the Dakotas in unceded Indian land. Although supposedly off-limits to whites, Custer announced that Indian lands were filled with gold. By 1876, fifteen thousand miners had flooded into Indian lands. Finally on June 25, 1876, Custer and 264 soldiers attacked twenty-five hundred Sioux and Cheyenne at the Little Big Horn River in Montana. Foolishly attacking without backup, Custer and his men were destroyed.

The western Indians struggled to preserve and adapt their lifestyles. Despite brutal repression, Native American culture survived and sometimes flourished.

B. Postwar Western Labor Problems

The Central Pacific Railroad expanded eastward from California in 1865. Although subsidized by the government, the railroad had trouble keeping workers, so in 1866 the Central Pacific imported thousands of Chinese men. These Chinese workers amazed whites with their hard work and skill while working for only $1 a day. When a strike by five thousand Chinese workers broke out in 1867, it was broken when the railroad cut off food supplies. By 1870, forty thousand Chinese lived in California, representing twenty-five percent of all wage earners.

Landless California Indians were deprived of hunting/gathering lands and wracked by disease and starvation. By 1870, California Indians had decreased from 100,000 to only 30,000 in a twenty-year period.
C. Land Use in an Expanding Nation

The Civil War had caused new conflicts over land use while making old disputes worse. White Southerners easily kept their land, but Hispanic land titles were at risk of being ignored by Euro-American settlers. In the 1870s, over eighty percent of original Spanish land grants in New Mexico were wrested from their original Hispanic landowners.

The growing railroads made it possible to mine minerals profitably and also spurred the growth of cattle ranching. Railroad connections between the Midwest and East made it profitable for Texas cattlemen to drive herds to railheads in order to ship cattle to stockyards in Chicago or St. Louis. Between 1865 and 1890, as many as ten million heads of cattle were herded north from Texas. The cowboys who drove them were not all white, as a quarter of them were African-American and fifteen percent were Hispanic.

Federal land policies were vital to pulling together regional economies. Land use laws had a mixed legacy. For example, the Apex Mining Act of 1872 legalized traditional mining practices in the West and contributed to wholesale destruction of certain areas. Naturalist John Muir fought for the federal government to regulate land use and create a national park system. In the late 1860s, the Pullman Sleeping Car helped encourage tourism, which pitted tourist interests against those companies that profited from destroying the wilderness.

D. Buying Territory for the Union

U.S. Secretary of State William Seward bought Alaska from Russia in 1867. For about two cents an acre, the U.S.A. gained 591,004 square miles of land that would provide fish, timber, minerals, and water power. In 1870, some Republicans joined Democrats to call for the annexation of the Dominican Republic. Charles Sumner blocked this effort while arguing that it was immoral not to consider the wishes of the Dominican people.

III. The Republican Vision and its Limits

The Republican vision of a government-business partnership faced two problems: persons agitating for civil rights and people attempting to reap personal gain from political activities.

A. Postbellum Origins of the Woman Suffrage Movement

After the end of the Civil War, the middle class continued to grow. Many of these middle-class Americans, particularly Protestants, felt a deep cultural tie to England. One belief of America’s “Victorians” was the ideal of domesticity - a happy family living in a comfortable home and guided by a pious mother and paid for by a successful businessman father.
Still, the Civil War only made some women more anxious to participate in politics. Many thought they deserved the vote. In 1866, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone founded the Equal Rights Association to fight for the rights of women and African Americans.

Frederick Douglass devoted himself to black male suffrage and left women out of his call for equal rights. African-American activist Sojourner Truth warned white women not to claim to speak for all women at the same time as she told black men not to fight only for themselves.

The National Woman Suffrage Association was formed in 1869 to fight for married women’s property rights, liberalized divorce laws, and admission of females to colleges and trade schools. Victoria Woodhull was expelled from the organization because she pushed for more radical causes such as free love, legalized prostitution, and labor rights. In 1872, Woodhull formed the Equal Rights Party and ran for President. Susan B. Anthony tried to vote in this election to test the law but was arrested.

B. Workers’ Organizations

Growing wealth did not necessarily help workers in either agriculture or industry. In fact, many working people fell ever more deeply in debt. In 1867, Oliver H. Kelly formed the Grange, which promoted farm cooperatives and fought unfair railroad rates that favored big business.

Founded in 1866, the National Labor Union (NLU) formed a collection of craft unions and had as many as six hundred thousand members by the early 1870s. The NLU promoted reforms like the eight-hour day. Although the organization favored “consolidation” of black and white workers, they defended excluding blacks from leadership both in the union and on the job.

In 1873, a nationwide depression destroyed the NLU. Another organization emerged to fight for labor: the Knights of Labor. They aimed to unite workers in industry and agriculture, self-employed and wage workers, blacks and whites, men and women.

Depression led to the rise of the Greenback Labor Party in 1878 that fought against the withdrawal of paper money from the economy, since this made debts harder to repay. Although they had many reasons to unite, workers faced difficulties in building coalitions. A major problem was how employers divided the laboring classes by ethnicity, religion, and race.

C. Political Corruption and the Demise of Republican Idealism

The new government-business partnership led to an extensive system of bribes and kickbacks. Boss Tweed’s Tammany Hall political machine in New York City used bribery and extortion to fix elections and steal millions of dollars until a New York Times expose’ led to Tweed being
arrested and convicted. Another example of corruption was Credit Mobilier, which gave Congressmen stock to gain influence.

The federal government seemed ready to withdraw from the South and hand freedpeople over to unrepentant rebels. The presidential election of 1876 saw Republican Hayes out-poll by Democrat Tilden in the popular, vote only to have Hayes become president after he promised an end to Reconstruction in the South.

During the dozen years after the end of the Civil War, the Northern Republicans remained in control of national economic policy while white Southern Democrats re-established their control over local and state governments.

**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Freedmen’s Bureau:

2. National Labor Union (1866):

3. Wade-Davis Bill:

4. Vigilantes:

5. Black Codes:

6. Thirteenth Amendment:

7. Civil Rights Bill (1866):

8. “Scalawags”:

9. Ku Klux Klan:
10. “Forty acres and a mule”:

11. Knights of the White Camelia:

12. Charles Sumner:

13. Tenure of Office Act:

14. Command of the Army Act:

15. William Tecumseh Sherman:

16. Union Leagues:

17. Geronimo:

18. Lieutenant-Colonel George Custer:

19. Central Pacific Railroad:

20. Timber Culture Act (1873):

21. Apex Mining Act (1872):

22. Pullman sleeping car:

23. John Muir:
24. William Seward

25. Elizabeth Cady Stanton:

26. Equal Rights Association:

27. Sojourner Truth:

28. National Woman Suffrage Association:

29. Knights of Labor:

30. Tammany Hall:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. Which of the following was NOT welcomed by Sea Island blacks in 1862?
   A. teachers
   B. missionaries
   C. Boston investors who wanted to re-establish cotton production
   D. none of the above
   E. all of the above

2. The Wade-Davis Bill would have required
   A. the North to allow the southern states to leave the Union.
   B. African Americans to take a loyalty oath before voting.
   C. a majority of southern voters to take a loyalty oath.
   D. African Americans to emigrate to Africa.
   E. none of the above.
3. During Reconstruction, President Andrew Johnson
   A. believed that blacks should continue to toil as agricultural laborers.
   B. thought that no pardons should be given to former Confederate soldiers.
   C. never vetoed legislation passed by Congress.
   D. agreed to take on the debt of the former Confederate States of America.
   E. resigned to avoid impeachment.

4. The “Black Codes” established after the Civil War typically forbade blacks from
   A. becoming ordained ministers.
   B. marrying whites.
   C. working for white employers.
   D. moving back to Africa.
   E. all of the above.

5. The Freedmen’s Bureau was significant, although it
   A. lacked enough money to fulfill its mandate.
   B. was short of staff.
   C. had to face determined resistance from white plantation owners.
   D. wasn’t supported by many southern whites.
   E. all of the above.

6. The sharecropping system which developed in the South after the Civil War
   A. allowed landlords to exploit poor farmers.
   B. was applied exclusively to African Americans.
   C. established a particularly favorable situation for single women.
   D. was fair to both laborer and landowner.
   E. was applied exclusively to poor whites.

7. The rise of paramilitary groups like the Klu Klux Klan
   A. helped spur Congressional Republicans to action.
   B. showed that the southern planter class would attempt to regain control.
   C. resulted in terror and violence directed against freedpeople.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

8. Growing southern Republican Party organizations were known as
   A. Young Men’s Democratic Clubs.
   B. a forum for bitter whites who refused to accept black equality.
   C. Union Leagues.
   D. the most conservative (States Rights) wing of the Republican Party.
   E. Young Republicans.
9. Reconstruction-era southern state governments were
   A. almost all made up of African Americans.
   B. no more corrupt or incompetent than those in the North.
   C. for “white men only.”
   D. opposed to public school systems.
   E. targets of Northern resentment against big business.

10. Buffalo Soldiers were
    A. Native Americans from the Great Plains region.
    B. African Americans serving in the U.S. Cavalry.
    C. unable to launch attacks against the Plains Indians.
    D. part of the Native American religious belief system.
    E. part of the U.S. Army detailed to hunt buffalos for food.

11. Lieutenant-Colonel George Custer commanded the Seventh U.S. Cavalry
    A. formed to ward off native attacks on the Union Pacific Railroad.
    B. that was massacred at Little Big Horn in Montana.
    C. which he led on to the Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado.
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.

12. Workers brought to the U.S.A. from China
    A. were paid more than native white workers.
    B. struck in 1857, asking that Irish workers be dismissed.
    C. mainly picked cotton in the South.
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.

13. Which of the following was NOT the result of the growth of the railroads?
    A. growth of the cattle industry
    B. unification of regional economies into a national economy
    C. cheap Chinese-imported products
    D. mining of minerals
    E. the growth of tourism as an industry

14. Which of the following was NOT welcome in the Knights of Labor?
    A. lawyers
    B. black workers
    C. the self-employed
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.
15. The presidential election of 1876 saw
   A. Democrat Tilden receiving the majority of votes from citizens.
   B. Republican Hayes becoming president.
   C. the “Compromise of 1877,” which ended Reconstruction.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

MAP QUESTION:

After looking at Map 15.3, discuss what the presidential election of 1876 reveals about regional voting patterns. What accounts for the disputed areas in the South? Compare and contrast with more recent presidential elections.

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Explain how the southern labor contract presented preserved the power of the landowner. How would YOU have felt if you had been presented with a contract like this and told to sign?

CONNECTING HISTORY

Evaluate the key differences between the impeachments of Andrew Johnson and Bill Clinton.
Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. C
2. C
3. A
4. B
5. E
6. A
7. D
8. C
9. B
10. B
11. D
12. E
13. C
14. A
15. D
Chapter 16

Standardizing the Nation: Innovations in Technology, Business, and Culture, 1877–1890

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 16, you should be able to:

1. Explain how new systems of production arose in the late nineteenth century.
2. Understand how the new shape of business impacted average American workers and farmers.
3. Discuss how the natural environment was altered by the new system of production.
4. Analyze the significance of the birth of a national urban culture.
5. Detail the emergence of a consumer culture and the rise of mass merchandising.
6. Explain the contradictory politics of laissez-faire.
7. Discuss what mechanisms were used to defend the new order.

Time Line

1877
Federal troops withdrawn from the South—Reconstruction ended

1878
San Francisco Workingmen’s Party had anti-Chinese protests

1879
Telephone connected two cities for the first time

1880
New York City lit by electricity

1881
President Garfield assassinated
1882
Chinese Exclusion Act passed
Standard Oil Trust formed

1883
Reform of civil service

1886
Haymarket radicals tried and convicted
Geronimo sent to Fort Marion, Florida

1887
Interstate Commerce Commission created

1889
National Farmers Alliance founded

1890
Sherman Anti-Trust Act passed
Wounded Knee Massacre

1891
People’s Party (Populists) formed

1892
Homestead steel strike against Carnegie

1893
Pro-U.S. coup against the Queen of Hawaii
Nationwide depression hit U.S.

1894
Pullman strike
Coxey’s Army marched on Washington, D.C.

1896
W.E.B. DuBois was first African-American to receive Harvard Ph.D.

1898
U.S. annexed Hawaii
U.S. defeated Spain in war
1899
Filipino revolt against 70,000 U.S. troops occupying the Philippines

1900
U.S. troops sent to China to crush the Boxer Rebellion

Chapter Overview

Between 1880 and 1900, clerical workers tripled in number, while managers increased from 68,000 to over 318,000. The rise of mass marketing and new forms of leisure activity took place during this period. Mass advertising heightened distinctions between Euro-Americans and those they thought inferior, exotic, or foreign. America’s story was part of a larger history of nations-states centralizing their power at home and expanding their influence abroad.

I. The New Shape of Business

The exploitation of natural resources like gold became an industrialized transcontinental enterprise. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the United States grew from 50 million to almost 63 million people and six new states entered the union.

Vital to industrial innovation were engineers, Americans both trained in Germany and at home at colleges like M.I.T. American engineers became the vanguard of American capitalism throughout the world. Business stressed building goods quickly, widely, and cheaply with a premium placed on technology, effective use of labor, and reducing the uncertainties of the competitive market.

A. New Systems and Machines—and their Price

American capitalism thrived on innovation. During the 1880s, new machines, technology, engineering, and factory-organization fueled the growth of business efficiency. Between 1880 and 1892, the U.S. Patent Office registered 125 patents for shoe “lasting” machines alone.

More and more businesses perfected the so-called American system of manufacturing, which was based on mass production of interchangeable parts. In the early 1880s, the Singer Sewing Machine Company was selling 500,000 machines a year, while McCormick Reaper Works was making over 21,000 units. The new technology facilitated the mass production of the modern bicycle as well as food and other consumer goods.
Farming benefited from engineering advances with improvements in irrigation and new labor-saving devices. The federal government continued to lead in the field of applied science, for example, organizing and disseminating information useful to farmers.

While new farm machines benefited consumers, they disrupted traditional labor patterns. As new technology boomed, the need for hired hands evaporated. In the early nineteenth century, producing an acre of wheat required 56 hours of labor, whereas by 1880 it needed only 20 hours.

B. Alterations in the Natural Environment

All this technological innovation altered the natural landscape and depleted certain natural resources. From trees to oysters, over-harvesting led to massive reductions in natural resources. Pollution from industry and mining led to the poisoning of fish and befouling of rivers.

Railroads made all these great transformations possible. Railroads consumed 20-25% of all lumber produced. Railroad tourism promoted the sport shooting of buffalo, which almost destroyed the entire species.

C. Innovations in Financing and Organizing Business

To avoid the competition which made profits slim, railroads came together in informal pools to share equipment and set prices. During the 1880s, railroads merged to form ever-larger companies. U.S. business grew ever larger and more quickly compared with western Europe because of America’s population growth, rich natural resources, and U.S. government support while bankers aggressively promoted growth.

Large enterprises conquered not only local markets but national ones as well. For example, Bell Telephone, Kroger Grocery, Marshall Field and the Boston Fruit Company all became giants during this period. By combining their operations, large companies cut costs and monopolized markets with the result that many small businesses folded.

Vertical integration, as practiced in Carnegie’s Steel Companies, consists of a single firm controlling all aspects of production and distribution. Horizontal integration, a method used in Rockefeller’s oil companies, is when a number of companies producing the same product merge to reduce competition and control prices. Still, many small businesses survived, particularly within local markets.
D. New Labor Supplies for a New Economy

Expanding industries needed increased supplies of labor to grow crops, mine, and work in manufacturing. Many of these workers were immigrants. In the period 1880-1890, over 5 million people entered the United States from abroad. During this time, traditional immigrant groups--Germans, Scandinavians and English--kept arriving in the U.S.A. but were supplemented by many Italians, Russians and Poles. At this stage, forty percent of all newcomers were “birds of passage,” that is, men who came to earn money and then return to their homeland.

Most newcomers worked in machine shops and sweatshops in New York City, Philadelphia, and Chicago, while some immigrants settled in various far-flung parts of the country. Although southern planters sought to replace blacks with European or even Asian immigrants, most newcomers quickly fled the plantation economy.

The influx of such a large number of foreign-born workers changed the U.S. labor market, with the recently arrived taking the lowest, unskilled or semi-skilled jobs as native born Protestant men moved into the white collar ranks. By 1890, ninety percent of the New York City public works employees were Italian-born as were ninety-nine percent of Chicago street workers. Women and children were concentrated in textile, garment making, and food processing industries.

Specific immigrant groups often gravitated towards certain types of employment, such as Poles in Pittsburgh Steel or Russian Jews in the NYC garment industry. Referred to as ethnic niches, these concentrations of workers from the same culture proved important for many immigrant communities, as newcomers would receive help in finding employment from their countrymen.

E. Efficient Machines, Efficient People

Employers used machines producing uniform parts and increasingly tried to mold workers in a like manner. In the 1880s, so-called efficiency experts attempted to cut labor costs by standardizing plant procedures for machine operation, maintenance, and the organization of workers.

In the South, factory work was reserved for whites, while blacks who had worked in industry before the Civil War were limited to farm labor.
II. The Birth of a National Urban Culture

From 1875 until the end of the century, American cities developed ever more complex systems to transport people and provide residents with services. Moreover, cities now represented a new cultural diversity in American life.

A. Economic Sources of Urban Growth

New England and the Mid-Atlantic cities became centers of concentrated manufacturing, while New York City’s Wall Street and Boston’s State Street financed the main streets of the Midwest and West. Chicago, rivaled only by New York City, supplied the interior with processed food, raw materials, and manufactured goods. San Francisco commercially encompassed much of the western part of the nation.

Cities like San Francisco, Chicago, and New York attracted both foreign immigrants and native-born citizens fleeing the hardships of farm life.

B. Building the Cities

As wealth accumulated in the cities, new technology allowed adequate water supply, transportation, garbage disposal, and nighttime lighting of major streets. New towns emerged as industrialists sought to lure and retain workers. These industrialists sought to link housing, education, and commerce to a specific company. One of the most famous of these towns was the one built by George M. Pullman just outside Chicago.

Cities grew upward as well as outward as elevators extended living and office spaces towards the sky. Streetcars allowed cities to expand outward, as many wealthy and middle class residents moved to the greener suburbs while being within reach of downtown jobs. New technology reduced epidemics; for example, Chicago reversed the flow of the Chicago River so that sewage would flow downstream rather than into Lake Michigan, the city’s drinking water source.

C. Local Government Gets Bigger

New city services and growing immigrant neighborhoods combined with political corruption to cause rising taxes and municipal debts. Urban political machines, known for their corruption, secured jobs for loyal supporters while leaders grew rich. These machines received pay-offs from outlawed forms of entertainment like prostitution and gambling while promoting legal professional sports and other leisure time activities.
III. Thrills, Chills and Bathtubs: The Emergence of Consumer Culture

The late nineteen-century saw the emergence of consumer culture as industries created novel services, goods, and experiences. There were now people with cash available to purchase them.

A. Shows as Spectacles

More and more Americans craved new and stimulating forms of entertainment, such as athletic events. During this time, three major sports began to attract attention: baseball, football, and boxing. In 1882, “Buffalo Bill” Cody produced a traveling road show with Annie Oakley, cowboy musicians, and Sioux warriors. By the 1890s, Cody was performing in Europe. One form of traveling road show, the Medicine Show, sought to sell so-called health tonics.

B. Entertainment Collides with Tradition

After 1865, mass entertainment gained huge followings. A good example is the traveling circus with wild animals, gravity-defying gymnasts, rollicking brass bands, and funny clowns. Sideshows featured people with unusual physical characteristics while on the circus grounds, people were sold a variety of exotic foods. Although wildly popular with many people, conservative religious types often disliked circuses as places with foul language, lightly clothed entertainers, and massive alcohol abuse. Further, the circus encouraged school children to cut class and workers to take off work. Such concerns were particularly strong in the rural South.

C. “Palaces of Consumption”

Late in the nineteenth century, shopping became an adventure in and of itself. New shopping stores promoted a pleasurable experience which appealed to middle-class women. The department store became a regular part of urban life. In rural areas, Americans could consume products through mail-order catalogues issued by Montgomery Ward and Sears.

Mass production of consumer goods depended on mass advertising, which was in its infancy in the 1880s. L. Frank Baum, author of *The Wizard of Oz*, understood that Americans were eager to buy fantasy wherever they could find it.
IV. Defending the New Order

By the late 1870s, Democrats and Republicans disagreed about little on the national level except the tariff. Both parties mainly sought office to give jobs and favors to their supporters.

A. Contradictory Politics of Laissez-Faire

The 1880 presidential election pitted two former Union generals, James A. Garfield (Republican) and Winfield S. Hancock (Democrat), against each other. The campaign was mainly notable for its indifference to the national depression which had badly hurt industrial workers and farmers.

Garfield narrowly won and his victory set off a scramble for patronage jobs among Republicans. On July 2, 1881, Garfield was shot by an enraged unsuccessful office seeker. When he died a few months later, the presidency passed to Chester A. Arthur.

In 1882, under President Chester, the government outlawed polygamy and sent a commission to oversee elections in heavily Mormon Utah. Pressure from West Coast Euro-Americans pushed Congress to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act, which banned immigration from China. Members of both parties scapegoated the Chinese by blaming them for unemployment in California. The real cause of western joblessness was the flood of cheap east coast-made industrial goods.

In 1883, The Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional and thus allowed discrimination against blacks by private individuals. President Chester supported civil service reform and Congress passed a law requiring a merit system for federal job applicants and created the federal Civil Service Commission.

Grover Cleveland was elected president in 1884 over the corruption-tainted James G. Blaine. Cleveland was the first Democrat to become president in twenty-eight years. Federal policy towards Native Americans resulted in intensifying their plight. Between 1887 and 1900, the amount of Indian land declined from 138 million to 78 million acres.

In response to popular pressure, Congress passed the Inter-State Commerce Act in 1887 that outlawed secret combinations and required that all shippers be charged the same rates. The idea of laissez-faire did little to deal with the reality of big business destroying competition. In 1890, Congress passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act to outlaw trusts and large combinations. This law lacked effective enforcement mechanisms, so many industrialists simply ignored it. In fact, the act was used mainly against labor unions.
B. Social Darwinism and the “Natural” State of Society

By the late nineteenth century, a new social order had emerged, consisting of a few extremely wealthy individuals, a growing middle class and an increasingly diverse workforce of ill-paid field and factory workers. To justify this order, some invented the theory of “Social Darwinism” which claimed inequality was both natural and good. Middle-class ministers preached the virtues of poverty and the evils of labor unions. People even claimed that white Anglo-Saxons would displace “barbarous” dark-skinned people as a part of destiny.

White, rich, native-born Protestants contended that they set the standards for the entire nation. Although some historians argue that the great industrialists like Carnegie and Rockefeller were the chief representatives of American values, a case can be made that engineers were the true representatives of the age. They spoke the language of rationalism.

Identification

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Thomas A. Scott:

2. “Great Labor Uprising” (1877):

3. Andrew Carnegie:

4. Thomas A. Edison:

5. “American system”:

6. John D. Rockefeller:

7. vertical integration:

8. “birds of passage”: 
9. Pullman, Illinois:

10. Boss Tweed:

11. National Baseball League:

12. William Cody:

13. The Wizard of Oz (1900):

14. J. P. Morgan:

15. Grand Army of the Republic:

16. laissez-faire:

17. Chinese Exclusion Act:

18. Mormon polygamy:

19. Civil Service Commission:

20. Interstate Commerce Act (1887):

21. Sherman Anti-Trust Act (1890):
22. Social Darwinism:

23. Henry Ward Beecher:

24. road show:

25. Statue of Liberty:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. Which of the following was NOT part of being a standard “normal” American?
   A. native-born
   B. Catholic
   C. middle-class
   D. white
   E. heterosexual

2. Many American engineers were trained in
   A. Germany.
   B. England.
   C. France.
   D. Canada.
   E. none of the above.

3. The American system of manufacturing depended on
   A. highly skilled American craftsmen.
   B. American “know-how.”
   C. mass production of interchangeable parts.
   D. cheap imported Chinese goods.
   E. unique artisan design superior to mass-produced European products.
4. New agricultural machinery benefited consumers but also
   A. increased the need for “hired hands.”
   B. made wheat production more time-consuming.
   C. decreased the size of the average American farm.
   D. made farming less profitable.
   E. disrupted traditional labor patterns.

5. Railroads made which of the following possible?
   A. large scale copper mines in Arizona
   B. textile mills in Georgia
   C. cattle ranches in Texas and Kansas
   D. all of the above
   E. none of the above

6. Horizontal integration takes place when a number of companies
   A. compete freely within the market place.
   B. are all owned by different individuals.
   C. which produce the same product merge to reduce competition.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

7. Which groups came to the U.S. in the greatest numbers in the late nineteenth century?
   A. Italians, Russians, Poles
   B. Chinese, Mexicans, Africans
   C. Irish, Mexicans, French
   D. Germans, Puerto Ricans, Chinese
   E. Japanese, English, Canadians

8. Southern textile mills were noted for
   A. high wages and good working conditions.
   B. equal treatment of black workers.
   C. employing only whites.
   D. promoting American ideals of free trade unionism.
   E. their concern for the welfare of their workers.
9. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, American cities were
   A. losing population to the countryside.
   B. known for their cultural diversity.
   C. for “white men only.”
   D. occupied by only about ten percent of the population.
   E. unable to establish transportation systems.

10. New York City’s Tammany Hall is often cited as an example of
   A. good old-fashioned Yankee know-how.
   B. the corruption of urban political machines.
   C. the problems which continued to plague the Plains Indians.
   D. the miracle of the free enterprise system.
   E. the new American style of architecture.

11. Which of the following was NOT a major spectator sport by 1900?
    A. baseball
    B. basketball
    C. boxing
    D. football
    E. all of the above

12. The act of shopping for goods, especially luxury goods, became
    A. an adventure in itself.
    B. a patriotic duty, according to President Grover Cleveland.
    C. difficult, as cities lacked department stores with central heating.
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.

13. The Grand Army of the Republic
    A. was expanded to 500,000 men because of the Communist threat.
    B. became the mainstay of the Democratic Party.
    C. later became the 1st Airborne Division.
    D. replaced the Army of the Potomac.
    E. favored high import duties and kept “waving the bloody shirt.”

14. “Laissez-faire” is a French term which was used to mean
    A. equality for black workers.
    B. government regulation, if not ownership, of all basic industry.
    C. absence of government interference in the economy.
    D. a living wage for all workers.
    E. none of the above.
15. Social Darwinism was a theory which held that
   A. labor unions and social welfare legislation were dangerous.
   B. humans evolved from apes.
   C. the meek shall inherit the earth.
   D. the new social order was opposed to the God-ordained natural order.
   E. trade unions were a natural part of evolution.

**MAP QUESTION:**

After looking at Map 16.2, explain the reason for the concentration of Chinese in certain areas of the South.

**CONNECTING HISTORY**

Discuss how and why advertising became such a vital part of American life. Give examples from your own personal experience.

**INTERPRETING HISTORY**

If you were able to meet Andrew Carnegie, what would you say to him about his “Gospel of Wealth”? What positive/negative aspects of his theory would you stress?
Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. B
2. A
3. C
4. E
5. D
6. C
7. A
8. C
9. B
10. B
11. B
12. A
13. E
14. C
15. A
Chapter 17

Challenges to Government and Corporate Power: Resistance and Reform, 1877–1890

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 17, you should be able to:

1. Explain the importance of lawsuits filed by Chinese residents in California.
2. Understand why there were particular types of protests against the Jim Crow system.
3. Discuss the significance of the Ghost Dance for the Plains Indians.
4. Analyze the reasons there was trouble in the rural areas among the farming population.
5. Detail the emergence of militancy among factory workers and miners.
6. Explain the Haymarket bombing and what it revealed about America.
7. Discuss what was the goal of Indian assimilation.
8. Know the basic elements of the Trans-Atlantic Reform networks.
9. Explain the significance of Women Reformer-Missionaries.

Time Line

1869
Knights of Labor formed
Women given the right to vote in Wyoming

1870
Women given the right to vote in Utah

1878
San Francisco Workingmen’s Party had anti-Chinese protests

1881
President Garfield assassinated

1882
Chinese Exclusion Act passed
Standard Oil Trust formed
1883
Reform of civil service

1886
Haymarket radicals tried and convicted
Geronimo sent to Fort Marion, Florida

1887
Interstate Commerce Commission created

1889
Jane Adams set up Hull House in Chicago
National Farmers Alliance founded

1890
Sherman Anti-Trust Act passed
Wounded Knee Massacre

1891
People’s Party (Populists) formed

1892
Homestead steel strike against Carnegie

1893
American Railroad Union (ARU) established
Nationwide depression hit U.S.

1894
Pullman strike
Coxey’s Army marched on Washington, D.C.

1896
W.E.B. DuBois was first African American to receive Harvard Ph.D.

1898
U.S. annexed Hawaii
U.S. defeated Spain in war

1899
Filipino revolt against 70,000 U.S. troops occupying the Philippines
1900
U.S. troops sent to China to crush the Boxer Rebellion

Chapter Overview

In the 1870s and 1880s, a growing, nationwide movement developed opposing the new forms of American industrial capitalism. While most resisters were responding to unique local conditions, a wide variety of individuals and organizations emerged to challenge the power of employers and landlords as well as military and government officials. Rejecting the new business principles that sought aggressive profit-seeking above everything else, numerous people and groups put forward alternative visions for America. Some who wished for change thought that they could merely reform the current system, while others believed that only a radical transformation would solve the ills of America.

I. Resistance to Legal and Military Authority

While Euro-American elites pushed for more privilege, many groups fought this version of “progress” since it was usually identified with the interests of men of property. Using the idea of “racial” difference as a justification, the white elite deprived darker-skinned peoples of land, jobs, and even life itself. Resistance took various forms, such as the lawsuits filed by Chinese residents of California, black resistance in the South, and a spiritual regeneration among the Plains Indians.

A. Chinese Lawsuits in California

Job-hungry whites formed the Workingmen’s Party of California and agitated for the expulsion of Chinese from their jobs. Opposition to the Chinese coalesced in the 1880s and the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed by Congress in 1882. While this law made further Chinese immigration illegal, attacks continued to be made against those Chinese remaining in the U.S.A. Although whites often argued that the Chinese did not “fit in” with American traditions, the Chinese use of the legal system suggests otherwise. As early as the pre-Civil War Gold Rush days, Chinese residents had used the courts to try and resist unfair laws and treatment. In the landmark Yick Wo vs. Hopkins (1886), the Supreme Court ruled against the San Francisco laundry-licensing board for discriminatory application of the law.

Many cases, however, never made it to the Supreme Court. Mainly, state and local courts refused to accept that Chinese residents had any civil rights. Many times, Chinese were hounded out of their homes regardless of their legal rights, as the example of the Wood River mining district of southern Idaho showed.
B. Blacks in the “New South”

Despite claims that there now existing a “New South” where blacks and whites could live in peace, there remained systematic discrimination against African Americans backed up by laws and, when need be, violence. Blacks were often used as convict labor. This system meant that a black man picked up for some minor or imaginary misdemeanor could be fined hundreds of dollars and then be forced to work off the debt at the rate of five cents a day.

Some blacks fled the rural South and moved into cities. Here they established communities where they sustained their own institutions, such as schools, lodges, benevolent societies, burial organizations, and churches. Rather than respecting these accomplishments, white Democrats feared this new black elite and sought to put them back into “their place.” Therefore, the whites passed local and state laws separating blacks and whites, even going so far as to having separate water fountains. This system of legal discrimination became known as “Jim Crow.”

C. “Jim Crow” in the West

Likewise, the U.S. military enforced its own set of Jim Crow regulations. Black soldiers were commanded by white officers who prevented African Americans from becoming officers. Although they fought with great bravery against the Plains Indians in the West, black soldiers often faced hostility from local townspeople. After being mustered out of the army, many black soldiers decided to settle permanently in the West, since the South was back in the hands of those who had been slave owners.

D. The Ghost Dances on the High Plains

In 1889, a Paiute leader named Wovoka presented the Plains Indians with a mystical vision of the future that promised a return to a beloved past. The doctrine Wovoka preached, which was partly religion and partly resistance to white aggression, became known as the Ghost Dance. It promised a new age of peace when the buffalo would come back and the Indian dead would return to fill depleted villages.

Some Indians put on “ghost shirts” which they believed would provide them with magical powers and protect them from bullets. As the Ghost Dance spread among the Plains Indians, U.S. military officials began to panic. The Indian leader, Sitting Bull, became an important symbol when he was murdered while being arrested on orders from the government. Revered by his followers as a prophet, this murder led to increased tension. A week later, the 7th Cavalry attacked and killed 146 Indians, including approximately 70 women and children, at Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota, although the Indians were
unarmed. This was to be the last major violent encounter between the Plains Indians and the U.S. Army.

II. Revolt in the Workplace

Changes in technology and business organization had transformed the conditions of both factory workers and small farmers. By the 1890s, critics of this new corporate capitalism formed a new political group, the People’s Party. This organization hoped to gather together both urban and rural, male and female, agricultural and industrial workers.

Still, the labor struggles in the post-Reconstruction period did not always fall into such neat categories. White workers sometimes exhibited more hatred towards workers of color than toward landowners and industrialists. Many workers were also becoming caught up in the new consumer culture. In fact, some workers fought for higher wages at the workplace precisely so as to be able to enjoy more of the consumer culture.

A. Trouble on the Farm

In the late summer of 1878, a rash of “machine breakings” hit rural Ohio. Thrown out of work by both a national depression and the loss of jobs to labor-saving machines, many farm workers attacked agricultural equipment throughout the Midwest. Severe weather then drove many farmers off the land.

In the 1880s, a national movement of farmers emerged and sought radical change. From the Plains states came the National Farmers Alliance (or Northern Alliance) which joined with farmers in the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union (or Southern Alliance). A Colored Farmers Alliance was also formed in 1886.

While the Southern and Northern Alliances mainly had the same goals, the former tended to join the Democratic Party, while the latter advocated formation of a third party. Most Alliance members farmed small parcels of land and felt powerless to influence either big business or elected officials.

During a recession in the late 1880s, farmers in the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, and Texas formed the People’s, or Populist, Party. While mainly concerned with the interests of farmers, Alliance members did attempt to form coalitions with others, such as the Knights of Labor.
B. Militancy in Factories and Mines

The new economy hit urban workers hard. Industrial workers faced layoffs and wage cuts during depressions and, with no government regulation, employers would often impose 10-to-15 hour days with only Sundays off. In addition, accidents were common and working conditions brutal.

Women workers were no better off, such as, for example, the female button makers who often lost fingers to punch and die machines. Some women organized and struck for higher wages but usually had trouble winning respect from either employers or their male counterparts. All workers had to face increased competition from the influx of over 5 million new immigrants who arrived during the 1880s. Wage cuts became common.

American workers did not gain the right to organize unions until 1935. Until then, union members were fired, blacklisted, and harassed by private police forces. Among the most common form of the latter was via the Pinkerton National Detective Agency, which provided capitalists with spies and private policemen during some of the most bitter conflicts of the late 19th century. It was the Pinkertons who infiltrated the so-called Molly Maguires, a secret society of Irish miners who sought to fight the mine owners. The result was that twenty Molly Maguires were arrested, convicted, and hung.

In many small towns, workers could count on their middle-class neighbors as allies. For example, during a boycott of anti-union hat factories in Orange, New Jersey in 1885, the community rallied behind the workers.

The Knights of Labor made impressive gains in the 1880s under the leadership of Terence V. Powderly. Appealing to the many different types of workers around the country, the Knights combined a critique of the wage system with the belief in the dignity of labor and the need for collective action.

The Knights could bolster their attack on the concentration of wealth with reference to a number of popular social critics. Henry George, author of *Progress and Poverty* (1879), ran for mayor of New York City in 1886 and won 31 percent of the vote. Edward Bellamy, author of *Looking Backward* (1888), painted a picture of a future socialist commonwealth which he argued was within reach if only Americans would share the nation’s wealth.

Although the Knights tried to organize black workers, racist pressures fragmented the union. Throughout the South, segregation was the norm within biracial unions. Whites and blacks were organized into separate locals. African Americans did not always accept this arrangement and often fought for equality within the trade union movement.
In 1886, workers across America began to mobilize to demand the eight-hour day. This issue had broad appeal but the growing ethnic diversity of the working class made unity in action more difficult than ever. Many new immigrants even adopted racist ideas to become “Americans.”

C. The Haymarket Bombing

The era of the Knights of Labor came to an end in 1886 as industrialists dug in and the organization faced difficulty in overcoming its members’ diverse trades, racial identities, and political beliefs. On May 1, 1886, 350,000 workers went on a one-day strike for the eight-hour day. In Chicago, home to militant labor radicals, 40,000 workers participated. Among the Chicago leaders was Albert Parsons, one of the most famous and feared of Chicago radicals.

On May 4, strikers held a rally in Haymarket Square to protest the murder of two McCormick Reaper strikers. Towards the end of the meeting, a bomb went off, killing policemen. Although the culprit was never found, eight radicals, including Parsons were arrested, tried, and sentenced to death for conspiracy. Although Parsons was not even present during the bombing, he and three others were hung, while one defendant apparently committed suicide. The remaining Haymarket defendants were later pardoned by Governor John P. Altgeld.

After her husband’s death, Lucy Parsons remained active and would become a founding member of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905. The Haymarket hangings demoralized the labor movement, which was branded as consisting of wild-eyed bomb throwers. The Knights of Labor declined and the American Federation of Labor (AFL) emerged as the most important labor organization. Led by Samuel Gompers, the AFL organized mainly skilled (and white male) workers around “bread-and-butter” issues. By the mid-1890s, the AFL had a relatively narrow base--skilled trades dominated by white men.

Radical labor persisted and in 1889, the Socialist International voted to set aside May 1st in honor of the American workers who had fought for the eight-hour day. In the U.S.A., the United Mine Workers and the American Railroad Union followed the more radical path set out by the Knights of Labor.
III. Crosscurrents of Reform

During the last decades of the century, some middle-class Americans began to protest the imbalance of power between labor and capital. Fearing both the power of big business and the rage of the poor, these reformers sought to enlist government, churches, and charities to improve the condition of the poor. Concentrating mainly on the problems of urban America, these reformers acted out of a mix of humanitarianism and self-interest.

A. The Goal of Indian Assimilation

In the West, reformers began to call for the assimilation of Native Americans into American life. This movement was promoted by Protestant missionaries as well as some Native Americans, such as the Ponca chief Standing Bear. The appeals to eastern reformers led to the formation of a host of organizations which sought to abolish the reservation system.

Reformers believed that white middle-class Protestant values provided the best guide for Native Americans who wished to free themselves from the reservation system. These advocates of assimilation received support from some who merely wanted the Plains Indians out of the way so that the vast tracts of land they inhabited could be exploited. Two major initiatives, the Indian boarding school movement and the Dawes Severalty Act (1887), attempted to speed assimilation.

B. Trans-Atlantic Networks of Reform

American reformers got ideas and inspiration from their European counterparts. This development owed much to the improvements in ocean travel. Middle-class passengers could now cross the Atlantic in only 10 days for the cost of a bicycle. Contacts between Europeans and Americans strengthened the U.S. reform movement, as popular magazines like the Nation and the New Republic reported on social policy abroad.

One product of this movement was Jane Addams, who opened a settlement house called Hull House in Chicago patterned on Toynbee Hall in England. Hoping to counter radicals, Addams also wished to give young well-educated women something useful to do. U.S. settlement houses provided immigrants with a wide variety of services: English classes, health clinics, programs for children, and infant care. Labor unrest in the 1870s and 1880s convinced many scholars that they must work to improve conditions. Out of this belief came the Social Gospel, a moral reform movement that held that Christians should address social ills.
C. Women Reformers: “Beginnings to Burst the Bonds”

Women’s reform work had a strong missionary strain. Many middle-class women sought to save their less fortunate sisters from poverty, ignorance, and exploitation. The Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) is an example of this missionary impulse. Besides opposing alcohol, the WCTU sponsored homes for unwed mothers and nurseries for the children of working women. As was the case in unions, blacks were organized into local chapters separate from whites.

By the 1870s, the issue of woman suffrage began to catch on. West of the Mississippi, Euro-American women who had endured the hardships of the frontier felt they were entitled to the vote. It was often true that white women often ignored the plight of black women while demanding equality for themselves.

**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Knights of Labor:

2. “An injury to one is an injury to all”:

3. Workingmen’s Party of California:


5. “New South”:

6. “Convict-lease” workers:

7. Jim Crow:

8. Ghost Dance:
9. Sitting Bull:

10. Wounded Knee Creek:

11. Southern Alliance:

12. Colored Farmers Alliance:

13. Pinkerton National Detective Agency:

14. Molly Maguires:

15. Terence V. Powderly:

16. Henry George:

17. *Looking Backwards* (1888):

18. Haymarket bombing:

19. Lucia Parsons:

20. American Federation of Labor (AFL):


22. *How the Other Half Lives* (1890):
23. Jane Addams:

24. Social Gospel:

25. Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU):

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Which of the following is the best way of describing the Knights of Labor?
   A. labor union
   B. resembling the Ku Klux Klan
   C. middle-class fraternal organization
   D. whites-only club
   E. a fraternal organization much like the Knights of Columbus

2. “Racial” difference was used to deprive darker-skinned people of
   A. land.
   B. jobs.
   C. life.
   D. civil rights.
   E. all of the above.

3. The Workingmen’s Party of California was composed primarily of
   A. highly skilled Chinese craftsmen.
   B. unemployed whites.
   C. both black and white office workers.
   D. factory owners.
   E. highly trained craft workers of all ethnic backgrounds.
4. Most “convict-lease” workers were
   A. black men arrested on minor charges.
   B. hardened criminals who had committed serious crimes.
   C. Chinese immigrants who had been denied citizenship.
   D. white collar criminals who wished to work outside.
   E. none of the above.

5. “Jim Crow” in the South was a system of
   A. Native American beliefs in the spirit world.
   B. legal discrimination against blacks.
   C. racial integration enforced by the federal courts.
   D. establishing reservations for Native Americans.
   E. none of the above.

6. The Ghost Dance among the Plains Indians was
   A. part of Buffalo Bill’s traveling circus.
   B. eagerly encouraged by the federal government.
   C. a mystical vision that promised a return to the beloved past.
   D. a common form of religious worship.
   E. all of the above.

7. Which groups did the People’s Party seek to unite in their new political party?
   A. critics of the new industrial order
   B. agricultural and industrial workers
   C. women and men
   D. all of the above
   E. none of the above.

8. Members of the Southern Alliance viewed cities as
   A. places of high wages and good working conditions.
   B. wicked places of vice, crime, and dissipation.
   C. examples of the “New South Creed.”
   D. the long-awaited wave of the future.
   E. the heart of Southern culture.
9. Industrial accidents during this time were
   A. rare, because people were very careful.
   B. carefully investigated by the Department of Labor.
   C. almost entirely the problem of male workers.
   D. mainly the result of sabotage by Communists.
   E. all too common and some industries lacked any safety precautions whatsoever.

10. The protests and strikes of May 1886 were mainly centered on the demand for
    the
   A. eight-hour day.
   B. exclusion of all Chinese from the country.
   C. right of women to vote.
   D. end of “Jim Crow.”
   E. abolition of the income tax.

11. The American Federation of Labor had very few members who were
    A. white men.
    B. skilled craftsmen.
    C. unskilled blacks.
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.

12. The goal of Indian assimilation was to
    A. strengthen the reservation system.
    B. expel Indians from the cities.
    C. establish casinos on reservations.
    D. integrate Indians into American life.
    E. convert Native Americans to Roman Catholicism.

13. During the 1870s and 1880s, ocean travel became
    A. too expensive for middle-class Americans.
    B. cheaper and safer.
    C. very unpopular due to a number of tragedies at sea.
    D. feared by those who disliked Chinese immigrants.
    E. disproportionately used by African Americans going to Africa.
14. Jane Addams established Hull House in Chicago in order to
   A. offer a sphere of usefulness for young, well-educated women.
   B. provide a variety of services for immigrants.
   C. counter the anarchists and strikers.
   D. teach English and have after-school programs for children.
   E. all of the above.

15. Women’s reform work was marked by a
   A. strong missionary strain.
   B. desire to promote anarchism.
   C. belief in total racial equality.
   D. increase in female toleration of drinking, gambling, and prostitution.
   E. all of the above.

**MAP QUESTION:**

After looking at Map 17.3, discuss the significance of the land seized from the Native Americans for the future of the United States. What might have happened if these lands had not been seized?

**CONNECTING HISTORY**

Analyze how and why groups of farmers have so often protested governmental policies they thought unfair and harmful to their interests.

**INTERPRETING HISTORY**

Imagine you were an American in 1884 attending the National Equal Rights Party convention. What would your reactions be? Explain what you would and would not agree with.
Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. A
2. E
3. B
4. A
5. B
6. C
7. D
8. B
9. E
10. A
11. C
12. D
13. B
14. E
15. A
Chapter 18
Political and Cultural Conflict in a Decade of Depression and War: The 1890s

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 18, you should be able to:

1. Explain how the value of land changed in the United States.
2. Understand the tyranny of racial ideologies.
3. Detail the innovative role schools began to play in American society.
4. Discuss the rise of class conflict and the reasons behind the Populist revolt.
5. Analyze the factors that caused the rise and later fall of the Populists.
6. Explain the importance of women’s political activities.
7. Discuss cultural and commercial encounters with the exotic.
8. Comprehend the meaning of America’s “Great White Fleet.”
9. Explain the causes of the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War of 1898.
10. Detail the arguments employed by the critics of imperialism.

Time Line:

1887
U.S. got control over harbors at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii and Pogo Pogo, Samoa

1889
President Harrison opened unoccupied land in Oklahoma to white settlers

1890
Territory of Oklahoma established by Congress
Massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota
National-American Woman Suffrage Association formed
First Pan-American Conference held in Washington, D.C.

1891
Eleven Italians lynched in New Orleans

1892
Sierra Club founded by John Muir
First national convention of People’s, or Populist, Party held in Omaha, Nebraska
Chapter Overview

Many Native Americans, like Luther Standing Bear, found themselves caught between two worlds. Luther Standing Bear learned the ways of the “long knives” and later worked as an actor in early movie “westerns.” Still, he spoke out against the treatment of his people and denounced the reservations as a “government prison.”

The last decade of the nineteenth century was a time of depression, civil strife, and war. A severe depression hit the nation in 1893, while the 1890s saw militant workers engage in bloody class warfare. Native-born whites began to look to new ideas of “racial” differences to justify distinctions between groups both at home and abroad.

A period of contrast, the 1890s saw both the celebration of progress in the Chicago World’s Fair and the brutal lynching of people of color at home, combined with a vicious war in Cuba and the Philippines.
Despite these events, a new political party, the Populists, attempted to bring together men and women of all backgrounds. Meanwhile, American elites used every device, from education to military force, to consolidate their own political power and cultural dominance.

I. Frontiers at Home, Lost and Found

In 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner, a historian, put forth the idea that the frontier had caused the United States to be different from other nations. Each new wave of immigrants was transformed by the struggle to tame the frontier into democratically minded individualists, he argued. With the frontier officially closed in 1890, the question arose whether the U.S.A. needed to conquer new lands and peoples to prevent the United States from becoming like Europe.

A. Claiming and Managing the Land

In the early 1890s, the last major piece of Indian land was thrown open to Euro-American settlers. In 1889, President Benjamin Harrison opened the unoccupied lands of Oklahoma to white farmers. Congress passed the Territory of Oklahoma Act in 1890 and in 1893 allowed Euro-American occupation. In a single day in September 1893, 100,000 people rushed to claim 6.5 million acres.

At the same time, Congress began to manage western lands and resolve land disputes. The courts typically sided with Euro-American claimants against Hispanic settlers who had received titles from Mexico in previous generations. Pushed off their land, many Hispanic became dependent on white landowners for land and credit.

The federal government also helped shape rural life by providing information and services from the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In addition, forecasts related to rainfall and temperatures were provided by the Weather Bureau, the Division of Road Inquiries studied road building, and the Division of Biological Survey classified species of plants that were disappearing under population pressures.

A dispute over whether the wilderness should be preserved or utilized commercially formed the basis for a wider debate between conservationists and preservationists. During this time, many citizens took to hiking and other forms of recreational tourism.

B. The Tyranny of Racial Ideologies

As America became more diverse, many opinion-makers claimed that people could be distinguished by their “natural” characteristics. They claimed that there existed racial groups such as “Caucasiod,” “Mongolid,” and “Negroid.” Racists began to rank groups as “superior” or “inferior” based on a complex hierarchy.
With people of color being colonized both here and abroad, theories of “racial difference” were used to justify the suppression of darker-skinned individuals. Racial ideology was promoted in countless areas of American life as scientists filled journals with “evidence” of the superiority of the “white race.”

In the South, notions of racial superiority meant that white Democrats imposed restrictions on the voting rights of African American men using a variety of techniques such as literacy tests, poll taxes, and “grandfather clauses.” In 1896, the Supreme Court approved segregated schools and public transportation in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision.

Between 1882 and 1901, over a hundred persons, mainly black males, were lynched yearly in the U.S., while 1892 set a record with 230 such murders. Ida B. Wells-Barnett, a black female newspaper editor, condemned racial killings and was ultimately forced to flee to the North. African Americans who were assertive or merely successful were attacked for being “out of their place.”

Racism was not just about being strictly black and white. Italians and Jews occupied a middle group with neither group being seen as completely “white.” A variety of organizations sought to enforce a strict racial hierarchy, such as the White League, which lynched Italian workers in New Orleans in 1891.

C. New Roles for Schools

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, three million immigrants came to the United States, the majority being from southern and eastern Europe. At this time, new patriotic rituals such as the pledge of allegiance were introduced into public life.

Despite claims that education was an equalizer among social groups, American schooling often served to separate children according to culture, religion, class, and race. Schooling was often tailor-made for certain groups; Hispanic students were taught both literacy and Protestantism, Native American children were told their cultures were worthless, and African Americans were educated for a clearly second-class form of citizenship.

Institutions were created or old ones modified to stress the trades and “domestic arts” rather than liberal arts subjects to people of color. Among African Americans, Booker T. Washington urged his people to concentrate on manual skills and refrain from civil rights agitation, while W.E.B. DuBois ridiculed the idea that blacks were fit only to be maids, carpenters, and sharecroppers.

Some immigrant groups sponsored their own schools to avoid the Protestant agenda that lay behind most public institutions. By the end of the century, Catholics were the single largest denomination in the country, with nine million members.
New educational forms reinforced class and cultural distinctions, as middle-class families would allow their children to continue longer in school and high schools became a logical extension of public education. The newly rich industrialists established new colleges to socialize young people of privilege; these included Stanford, established by railroad tycoon Leland Stanford, and the University of Chicago, set up by Standard Oil’s John D. Rockefeller.

College life became increasingly associated with personal development marked not only by study but also by group activities such as football. College football games became spectacles, drawing thousands of paying spectators, while the invention of basketball in 1891 furthered these developments.

D. Connections Between Consciousness and Behavior

Although the geographical frontier might be closed, Americans increasingly looked to the interior frontier of human will and imagination. The new field of psychology, pioneered by Vienna’s Sigmund Freud, was promoted by William James, a Harvard University professor. His brother Henry explored psychological themes of class, gender, and national identity in his short stories, plays, novels, and literary criticism.

Stephen Crane combined reality with a sensitive probing of human psychology in novels like the *Red Badge of Courage* (1894). Kate Chopin depicted gender roles within New Orleans Creole society. Along with psychologists and novelists, the Church of Christ, the Scientist prospered and expanded. Founded in 1879 by Mary Baker Eddy, this group held that illness was a sign of sin and could be cured by faith and prayer.

II. The Search For Alliances

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Americans were divided from each other more than ever before. A few possessed amazing wealth and engaged in what sociologist Thorstein Veblen called “conspicuous consumption” to showcase their riches. At the same time, working people toiled long hours under dangerous conditions and suffered from frequent unemployment. Racism pitted different groups against each other.

Members of the elite placed their faith in public institutions, like schools, museums, and libraries, which combined with consumerism, to create “American” values in immigrants and the poor. The Populist Party had a major impact on the nation, while women helped fuse domestic issues with politics.
A. Class Conflict

Under President Harrison, a high tariff was placed on imported goods and the government committed itself to the purchase of millions of ounces of silver each month. This drove up the price of consumer goods while wages failed to keep pace. The result was widespread worker unrest. In 1892, Homestead, Pennsylvania workers reacted to a wage cut by Andrew Carnegie’s steel company by arming themselves and fighting a battle with 300 Pinkerton detectives. Before the workers’ ultimate defeat, ten people died.

Western miners encountered difficulties in forming labor unity, as Catholics were suspect to Protestants, the English and Irish distrusted each other, and Euro-Americans looked down on Mexicans and Chinese. An 1892 strike against wage cuts was defeated only after fifteen hundred government troops arrived and seven miners perished. Out of this conflict came a new organization in 1893, the Western Federation of Miners.

Discontent led to the defeat of President Harrison in 1892 and was also a factor in the role of the People’s Party, who polled over a million votes for their Presidential Candidate James B. Weaver. The first national Populist convention took place in the summer of 1892 and the new party was supported by numerous farmers who had watched themselves go deeper and deeper into debt. The Populists endorsed a platform calling for free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold, a graduated income tax, government ownership of railroad, telegraph, and telephone companies as well as an end to land speculation. In addition, they called for direct election of Senators, public referenda on major policy issues, and giving voters the ability to recall elected officials they felt had failed in office.

In order to win urban workers to their mainly rural organization, the Populist included resolutions supporting labor and calling for the eight-hour day. The Populists gained further strength after a depression hit in 1893. The depression cost as many as 20 percent of workers their jobs as eight thousand businesses failed. One response was a 1894 march on Washington headed by Jacob S. Coxey, who led an “army” of five thousand to demand public work projects.

Eugene V. Debs, of the American Railroad Union, led a strike against the Pullman Palace Car Company that crippled railroads across the nation. President Cleveland dispatched federal troops to Chicago and broke the strike by force, resulting in Debs and other union leaders going to jail. To many workers, the crushing of the Pullman strike illustrated the unholy alliance between government and big business.

The courts also handed down decisions which suggested that government was conspiring with the rich against the poor. The Supreme Court ruled that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act did not apply to manufacturers and ruled unconstitutional a tiny federal income tax.
B. Rise and Demise of the Populists

In 1896, the Republicans nominated William McKinley for President, while the Democrats dumped the now unpopular Cleveland. Instead, the Democratic Party turned to William Jennings Bryan, a Populist from Nebraska. By nominating Bryan, the Democrats co-opted the Populist cause of free silver. While conservative Democrats refused to support Byran, the Populist movement was split over working within a mainstream party.

In the 1896 election, McKinley was given millions by industrialists and was able to outspend Bryan sixteen to one. After the Republican triumph in the elections, the People’s Party rapidly fell apart. Still, the influence of the Populist movement was to have long-term effects. The Populist legacy was mixed with examples of both remarkable interracial coalitions and outright racism against African Americans.

C. Barriers to a U.S. Workers’ Political Movement

During the 1890s, European workers were forming their own political parties, often pushing bold socialist demands. In America, despite violent class struggle, no similar party emerged for a number of complex reasons.

Farmers and industrial workers found it difficult to work together. Immigrants meant competition for even low-paying jobs and employers manipulated racial, ethnic, and religious differences to divide their employees. In the last twenty years of the century, at least twenty-nine major strikes saw the use of African American strikebreakers. This only gave further excuses to unions to exclude certain groups from membership.

Many different types of jobs were transformed in different ways by new technology. This made alliances between workers in varied crafts all the more difficult. Some industries were fully mechanized while others still required skilled craft workers. Moreover, many American workers thought they would one day own their own business, while others moved around the nation, failing to make a commitment to a particular union or workplace. Private security agencies combined with government troops to use force against any labor action. Finally, the U.S. political system, with a “winner take all” practice and two-party monopoly, made it difficult for an independent labor voice to emerge. By way of contrast, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) succeeded because it based itself almost exclusively on a select membership of mainly skilled white men.

D. Challenges to Traditional Gender Roles

Women’s suffrage, club, missionary, and social-settlement movements became important political forces in the 1890s, although white women mainly refused to ally with women of color. The suffrage movement brought together women from throughout the nation and was involved in
international cooperation yet, to become “respectable,” white native-born Protestants distanced themselves from the poor, immigrants, African Americans and workers.

Some women entered politics through local women’s clubs. Originally stressing self-improvement, by the 1890s, many clubs lobbied local politicians and raised money for hospitals and playgrounds. Like the mainstream suffrage organizations, the General Federation of Women’s Clubs did not welcome African Americans. Black women formed their own clubs, which fought against lynching and segregation while working on community improvement.

In the West, Protestant “mission homes” helped women in need. The San Francisco Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home, for example, provided safety for Chinese women fleeing abuse. In addition, missions set up shelters for unwed mothers and abused girls. At times, religious belief allowed white women to overcome their prejudice and reach out to women of color, as some grew to believe that Christianity, not nationality, should shape identity.

Social settlement houses were founded by well-educated women. By the end of the century, more than two hundred social settlement houses were helping immigrants by giving classes in English, health, and personal hygiene. In 1893, women from Hull House lobbied the Illinois state legislature to protect females and prohibit child labor.

Although associated with urban areas, many settlement houses also reached into rural areas, such as the Hindman Settlement School in Kentucky. Since most early settlements refused to reach out to African Americans, black-led settlements were formed to help black families. Some women even challenged traditional gender relations, like the Russian-born anarchist Emma Goldman, who saw the sexual liberation of women and the rights of workers as intertwined. Charlotte Perkins Gilman was a well-known critic of the division of labor in the home. She proposed that housework be divided into specialized tasks to be performed by professionals, thus freeing women from this unpaid, mind-numbing role.

Men wondered about the effects of industrial society on their role, too. Some yearned to embrace the outdoors and prove their manliness in the process. Theodore Roosevelt argued that masculine bravado was the key to American strength. For the country to remain strong, men must take on the “strenuous life” of their grandfathers and throw themselves into imperialism at home and abroad.

### III. American Imperialism

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, America’s industrial-manufacturing sector demanded new markets and a growing consumer base. Combined with the desire to spread the Protestant standard, this caused government and business to combine to extend political and cultural dominance abroad. The public was presented with this “Anglo-Saxon” mission of defined conquest in terms of race and masculine virility.
A. Cultural Encounters with the Exotic

In October 1897, Arctic explorer Robert Peary returned from Greenland with six Eskimos, including Qisuk and his seven-year old son Minik. The Eskimos were put on display and New Yorkers viewed them with great curiosity. Over the next year, four of the visitors from Greenland died, including Qisuk, while one returned home. Within a few years, the orphaned Minik was abandoned by the people who had once touted him as a great “scientific” discovery. Unable to adjust to Greenland when he returned as a young man, Minik returned to the United States in 1916 and died in the flu epidemic of 1918. Misnik’s short life reveals aspects of Americans’ encounter with “exotic” peoples.

During the late nineteenth century, Americans showed keen interest in far-away places, particularly Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. They stereotyped darker-skinned peoples as primitive, sexual, and inscrutable. Photographers and artists traveled abroad to capture images of strange lands and peoples. These cultural images were used to sell products and entertainment.

B. Initial Imperialist Ventures

With both the opening of Asia to American trade and the military challenges posed by European imperial powers, the United States began to expand the Navy. In 1887, the U.S. gained control over Pearl Harbor in Hawaii as well as the harbor at Pago Pago in Samoa.

The first Pan-American Conference in Washington in 1890 adapted standardized weights and measures and discussed an intercontinental railroad. The United States threatened Great Britain when the former mother country attempted to maintain her influence in Latin America.

In the South Pacific, the Hawaiian Islands were an opportunity for American interests. Increasing production of sugar entered the U.S. duty-free from 1875 onwards, while immigrant workers -- Chinese, Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, Japanese, and Portuguese- worked much like sharecroppers in the American South. When workers rejected regimentation, whether by drinking or celebrating holidays, clergy and growers became alarmed. When the tariff of 1890 raised duties on imports of sugar, (mainly American) planters began to panic. Receiving no support from the Queen of Hawaii, the planters, with the support of U.S. Marines, overthrew the native government and asked the United States to annex the islands. When President Cleveland refused, he incurred the anger of American imperialists.
C. The Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War of 1898

In Cuba, Jose Marti led a rebellion against the Spanish in 1895. The arrival of Spanish military officials who brutally repressed the rebellion and herded rebels into barbed-wire concentration camps caused a great uproar in the United States. Both humanitarians and businessmen, although for different reasons, urged President McKinley to intervene.

Two newspaper publishers, William Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, boosted their companies’ circulations by highlighting Spanish atrocities against the Cubans. In 1898, the American battleship *Maine* was in Havana harbor to evacuate Americans if need be. It exploded, with two hundred and sixty American dead. Although subsequent investigations found that this explosion was caused by an internal accident, the Hearst papers blamed the Spanish. War sold papers.

Under pressure from American businesses, which feared for their Cuban interests, and other Americans outraged at Spanish brutality, President McKinley asked Congress to declare war on Spain. In the Pacific, Commodore George Dewey led the American Asiatic Squadron in a attack on the Spanish fleet in the Philippines. Dewey easily sank the ancient Spanish ships and, once reinforcements arrived, overran Manila with the help of Filipino nationalists. Meanwhile, the war gave a pretext for the annexation of Hawaii, which was said to be needed to secure a re-fueling station for Dewey’s troops.

In late June 1898, American troops, including a large number of African American soldiers, invaded Cuba. Although assigned to the Cuban campaign because it was thought that black soldiers would be better able to withstand the tropical heat, later accounts minimized or even ignored the vital contribution of African Americans during the war. By July, the Spanish fleet in Santiago Bay was destroyed. By August, Spain had been forced to surrender. Spain gave up Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam and the United States agreed to pay $20 million for the Philippines.

The Philippines was a huge prize to business interests as it was said to be the gateway to China and Protestants hoped to convert the Spanish-speaking Catholic population. Filipino rebels had no interest in substituting one colonial power for another. Over the next two years, the U.S. committed 100,000 troops to subdue the rebels. Before it was over, four thousand Americans and over 600,000 Filipino civilians were to die.

The United States promoted the so-called “Open Door” policy as concerned China, which said all nations should be free to trade with the great Asian nation. This was opposed by the European imperial powers who had already established themselves in China. The U.S. and European powers would compete for the Chinese market for many years to come.
D. Critics of Imperialism

Men as different as Mark Twain, Samuel Gompers of the AFL, and the industrialist Andrew Carnegie were part of the Anti-Imperialist League. Agreeing on little else save that imperialism was a bad idea, anti-imperialists ranged from some believing that all peoples had the right to run their own affairs to those who feared contamination from “inferior” peoples.

The United States had grown tremendously in size, population, and prosperity in the years from 1800 to 1900. Still, a generations-old conflict lingered between prosperity and equality for some groups and poverty and powerlessness for others. The drive for worldwide economic and political power was overshadowing America’s earlier revolutionary heritage and the values of democracy and self-determination.

Identification

Explain the significance of each of the following:

1. Frederick Jackson Turner:

2. Sierra Club:

3. “New Immigration”:

4. “grandfather clause”:

5. *Plessy v. Ferguson*:

6. Ida B. Wells-Barnett:

7. pledge of allegiance:

8. “Atlanta Compromise”:

9. W.E.B. DuBois:
10. William James:

11. Church of Christ, the Scientist:

12. “conspicuous consumption”:

13. People’s Party:

14. Homestead (1892):

15. Western Federation of Miners:

16. Coxey’s Army:

17. American Railroad Union:

18. Pullman Strike:

19. “Cross of Gold” speech:

20. American Federation of Labor (AFL):

21. Young Women’s Christian Association:

22. Hull House:

23. Charlotte Perkins Gilman:
24. “Great White Fleet”:

25. Queen Liliuokalani:

26. Jose Julian Marti:

27. “Yellow journalism”:

28. San Juan Hill:

29. “water cure”:

30. Anti-Imperialist League (1898):

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Frederick Jackson Turner’s “Frontier Thesis” held that the United States was
   A. identical to Europe in all important aspects.
   B. unique because of the contribution of African Americans.
   C. shaped by the process of settling the West.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

2. President Benjamin Harrison opened unoccupied lands in Oklahoma in 1889 to
   A. resettlement by members of the Five Civilized Tribes.
   B. white settlement.
   C. African Americans wishing to escape racism in the Southern states.
   D. Chinese immigrants who wished to become citizens.
   E. none of the above.
3. Racial ideology began to claim the world consisted of people who were either
   A. Mongoloid, Negroid or Caucasoid.
   B. white, black or green.
   C. Caucasoid, white or European.
   D. black or white.
   E. Christian, Jewish, or Moslem.

4. Which of the following was designed to prevent African American men from voting?
   A. poll tax
   B. literacy requirements
   C. “grandfather clauses”
   D. KKK terror
   E. all of the above

5. In the racial hierarchy of 1890s America, Italians and Jews occupied
   A. a middle ground between black and white.
   B. the position just below black businessmen.
   C. a position above most whites because of their skill in business.
   D. the same position as other whites.
   E. none of the above.

6. Public schools in the last decade of the nineteenth century were
   A. seen as a dangerous socialist experiment by the middle-class “Victorians.
   B. equally excellent throughout the nation.
   C. often unable to fulfill their promise as agents of equal opportunity.
   D. equally funded regardless of the race or class of the students.
   E. all of the above.

7. Harvard University Professor William James wrote
   A. *Daisy Miller* (1878).
   B. *Principles of Psychology* (1890).
   D. *The Deer Slayer* (1903).
   E. all of the above.

8. The Homestead Strike of 1892 showed that
   A. Andrew Carnegie was a great supporter of labor.
   B. some workers refused to accept pay cuts amidst rising profits.
   C. force was never applied against strikers in the United States.
   D. only unskilled, immigrant workers complain about their pay.
   E. all of the above.
9. The Populist Party Platform of 1892 called for
   A. government ownership of the railroads, telegraphs, and telephones.
   B. free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold.
   C. a graduated income tax.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

10. William Jennings Byran in his “Cross of Gold” speech argued
    A. Native Americans must be given the same rights as all Americans.
    B. Americans must abandon religion as a roadblock to science.
    C. the U.S. must abandon the gold standard once and for all.
    D. in favor of the tariff bill of 1890.
    E. America must expand her overseas Naval fleet.

11. White native-born Protestant suffragists
    A. implicitly left out immigrant and poor women from their movement.
    B. refused to admit black women’s suffrage clubs into their organization.
    C. called for an “educated franchise.”
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.

12. Emma Goldman, a Russian immigrant and self-proclaimed anarchist,
    A. paired the sexual liberation of women with the rights of workers.
    B. supported Theodore Roosevelt in the Presidential election of 1912.
    C. later became a born-again Christian.
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.

13. Which of the following was NOT a cause of American imperialism?
    A. surpluses of goods that Americans could not buy
    B. demand for new markets
    C. need to contain Communism abroad
    D. desire to spread Protestant standards to other peoples
    E. fear of Islamic extremism

14. “Yellow journalism” refers to
    A. Chinese newspapers, particularly in San Francisco.
    B. sensational news reporting that blurred the line between fact and fiction.
    C. radio reporting on the Spanish-American War.
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.
15. Critics of Theodore Roosevelt, particularly anti-imperialists, called him
   A. “clearly insane.”
   B. a “madman.”
   C. “that damned cowboy.”
   D. “insanest upon war.”
   E. all of the above.

**MAP QUESTION:**

After looking at Map 18.4 — COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE LAWS BY STATE, what conclusions can you draw about the cultural and political differences between various regions of the nation?

**CONNECTING HISTORY**

Compare and contrast the American system of education of the late nineteenth century with the one existing today. What has changed? What has not? Why?

**INTERPRETING HISTORY**

Explain what you think the testimony of Brigadier General Robert P. Hughes tells us about the attitudes of Americans as concerns people of color.
Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. C
2. B
3. A
4. E
5. A
6. C
7. B
8. B
9. D
10. C
11. D
12. A
13. C
14. B
15. E
Chapter 19
The Promise and Perils of Progressive Reform, 1900–1912

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 19, you should be able to:

1. Explain how newcomers reacted to life in the heartland of the United States.
2. Understand the role the Mexican borderlands played in the development of the Southwest.
3. Discuss how Asian immigrants were impacted by racist exclusion.
4. Detail the influence of new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe on America.
5. Analyze the uses and abuses of science.
6. Explain what scientific management is and how it contributed to mass production.
7. Discuss how sexual morals and dating customs changed during this period.
8. Comprehend the significance of new artistic movements.
9. Explain the vice crusades and the role of muckrakers in moral reform movements.
10. Detail the struggles for women’s suffrage.
11. Understand how radical politics interacted with the labor movement.
12. Discuss what motivated resistance to reform movements.
13. Analyze the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt.
14. Explain new attitudes toward protecting and preserving nature.
15. Detail the growing power of the United States abroad.
16. Discuss the importance of President William Howard Taft.

Time Line

1900
Boxer Rebellion in China

1901
President William McKinley assassinated and Theodore Roosevelt became president

1902
Asian Exclusion Act of 1882 renewed and extended
Panama Canal project approved by Congress

1905
Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) established
Niagara Movement began by W.E.B. DuBois
1906
San Francisco earthquake
Theodore Roosevelt labeled investigative journalists “muckrakers”

1908
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) established
William Howard Taft elected president

1909
“Uprising of the Twenty Thousand” strike by garment workers in New York

1910
Mann Act makes it illegal to transport women across state lines for “immoral purposes”
State of Washington granted women the right to vote

1911
Frederick Winslow Taylor wrote *The Principles of Scientific Management*
Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire
California gave women the vote

1920
Nineteenth Amendment gave women the right to vote

**Chapter Overview**

The first years of the twentieth century saw the United States change dramatically as industrialization changed lives, landscapes, and culture. In response, ordinary people fought against abuses, while a number of reform activities led to legal changes. Because of the wide range of reform, historians call this period the “Progressive Era.”

**I. Migration and Immigration: The Changing Face of the Nation**

In the first decade of the twentieth century, almost 9 million immigrants entered the nation. Once here, many immigrants found that America was not all they had hoped for. They had to deal with slums, sweatshop and factory jobs with long hours, low wages, and terrible working conditions.

Many native-born Americans greeted the newcomers with hostility, thinking them “racially inferior” or as unfair competition for jobs. Other Americans feared that the immigrants would become a burden on taxpayers. Given all this, it is not surprising that one-third of all immigrants to the U.S. returned to their home countries.
Most immigrants settled in cities, as did an increasing number of rural Americans. From 1900-1910, more than four million Americans moved from east to west, while eighty thousand migrated from the south.

A. The Heartland: Land of the Newcomers

The upper Midwest saw the greatest concentration of immigrants. Newcomers from central Europe and Italy populated the growing midwestern cities. In northern Minnesota, the “iron range” became home to over 35 different European immigrant groups who were drawn by jobs in mining.

B. The Southwest: Mexican Borderlands

When, in 1904, a Catholic foundling home allowed Mexican Catholic families to adopt Irish orphans in Arizona, Anglo women pushed their husbands to seize the children from their new families and place them with white families. Despite a lengthy court battle going all the way to the Supreme Court, the children were never returned.

This incident illustrates the class and racial conflicts of this region. That long-time Mexicans residents were being joined by recent arrivals from Mexico caused the Anglos to grow ever more hateful. Throughout this period, especially after the Mexican Revolution, hostility to Mexicans grew.

C. Asian Immigration and the Impact of Exclusion

Between 1890 and 1920, the Chinese community declined by nearly half, as the lack of Chinese women meant males returned to China or died here childless. Only the wives of Chinese men already in the U.S., teachers, students, or merchants could enter the United States. Individual Chinese could immigrate if they had family in America, so resourceful Chinese would create “paper sons” and “paper fathers.” To prevent this, federal officials would keep Chinese newcomers for up to a year on Angel Island, California, as virtual prisoners, hoping to break their stories.

Japanese immigrants were allowed to enter, however, and 300,000 entered between 1890 and 1920, drawn by well-paid jobs in Hawaii and California. Even though Japanese represented less than 1 percent of the population in California, native-born Americans treated them with extreme hostility. A protest against the segregation of Japanese children in San Francisco’s schools led to an international incident. President Theodore Roosevelt interceded to convince San Francisco to change this policy and, in return, the “Gentlemen’s Agreement” of 1907 saw Japan agreeing to limit the number of migrants.
D. Newcomers from Southern and Eastern Europe

East European Jews were one of the largest groups of immigrants in the early twentieth century. By 1920, there were 4 million Jews, mainly from eastern Europe. Fleeing segregation and anti-Semitic riots, or pogroms, Jews fled Tsarist Russia for America.

Italian immigration was highest between 1900 and 1914. Although a third of Italy’s population migrated between 1870 and 1920, not all chose the United States, while those who did brought their families, Catholic religion, and culture.

II. Work, Science, and Leisure

A. Reform and Science: An Uneasy Alliance

New scientific advances led to improvements in health and medical standards improved. Still, crowding and lack of sanitation fostered the spread of disease, particularly among the poor who typically lacked access to clean water and medical care as well as suffering exposure to other chronic problems of poverty. The case of Mary Mallon, vilified as “Typhoid Mary,” illustrates how social problems would be blamed on individuals despite larger apparent causes.

Blaming social problems on allegedly flawed individuals or groups led to the eugenics movement, which pushed for systematic breeding to improve America’s racial stock. Based on pseudo-science and white racism, eugenicists argued that social problems were caused by inferior individuals and groups with inherited tendencies towards crime and lack of discipline. Some states, like Indiana, even passed laws that called for sterilization of thousands of men and even more women whom officials deemed “feeble-minded.” This practice was upheld by the Supreme Court in the 1920s.

B. Scientific Management and Mass Production

In 1911, Frederick Winslow Taylor wrote *The Principles of Scientific Management*, a work that detailed a system for increased production in industrial factories. Henry Ford was one of the most successful businessmen to utilize Taylor’s system. In 1913, Ford became an assembly-line production, which increased production while cutting costs. This would allow Ford to sell the Model T automobile for only $360 by 1916. Narrow-minded and bigoted, Ford fought union drives with a private police force and later became an active supporter of Adolf Hitler.
C. New Amusements

Consumer culture was the flipside of business culture in the early twentieth century and it represented a change in leisure-time activities as well as in cultural values. Largely the creation of newcomers and “outsiders,” this popular culture would come to define America to the rest of the world. For example, it was Jewish immigrants who were to develop the motion picture industry that later marked Hollywood as a center of American popular culture. African American music began to be enjoyed by immigrants and even native-born whites.

D. “Sex O’Clock in America”

Sexual beliefs and behaviors of Americans changed dramatically, with unchaperoned dating gaining acceptance among the middle class. Automobiles gave young couples more privacy and physical contact became more common. On the other hand, immigrants often brought traditional systems of courtship with them to the new country. Regardless of background, the young challenged the sexual codes of the past. Young working women looked for fun in their leisure hours, while increasing sexual intimacy reflected new expectations for sexual satisfaction.

As divorce increased, marriages also increased and often at a younger age. Some women formed lifelong attachments to other women in relations described as “Boston marriages.” Homosexuals gained greater visibility in the cities, where they gathered at bars and clubs in certain neighborhoods such as Greenwich Village in New York City.

E. Artists Respond to the New Era

Artists contributed to exploring and presenting the new urban industrial landscape. Some painters began to choose working-class subjects for their paintings, while an artistic movement known as realism infused the writing of fiction. Photography, as practiced in the photo-documentaries of Lewis Hine, exhibited a new realism by showing immigrants, industrial work, and urban life. Popular music flourished, especially jazz with its roots in African, slave, spiritual, and ragtime musical traditions.
II. Reformers and Radicals

A. Muckrakers, Moral Reform, and Vice Crusades

Early in the century, investigative reporters began to expose both the evils of industrial society, such as dishonesty in business, and politics, such as Ida Tarbell’s exposé of Rockefeller’s Standard Oil Company and Lincoln Steffens articles on urban political corruption. One of the most important of these so-called “muckrakers,” as Theodore Roosevelt labeled them in 1906, was Upton Sinclair, who wrote *The Jungle*. In *The Jungle*, Sinclair tells the story of immigrant workers in the meat-packing industry. Although the author hoped that the book would awaken interest in socialism or at least in worker rights, most readers were more concerned about the vivid descriptions of tainted or adulterated food.

Child labor was used in fields and factories throughout the nation. Although some parents felt that work taught children discipline, the sorts of jobs available to children were often dangerous and unhealthy. Reformers attempted to improve the conditions of child labor or eliminate it altogether. In most of the northern states, reformers were ultimately successful in restricting labor by children although in the South, child labor often persisted. Unable to reform working conditions for all, reformers fought for special protection for female workers and the debate concerning this continued throughout the century.

Reformers, who were overwhelmingly native-born Anglo-Saxon Protestants, also hoped to eliminate vice. Vice Crusaders promoted zoning laws to keep entertainment out of residential neighborhoods as well as fought to eliminate prostitution and police public gathering spots. The passage of the Mann Act in 1910 made it illegal to transport women across state lines for “immoral purposes.” The government used this law not just to fight prostitution but also to punish interracial sex. The most famous latter use of the Act was in the conviction of Jack Johnson, and African American boxer and heavyweight champion who married a white woman, when federal agents convinced a white prostitute to testify against Johnson.

B. Woman Suffrage

The movement for women’s rights gained momentum at the start of the twentieth century. Inspired by the militant English suffrage movement, women developed new tactics and made new alliances. These efforts resulted in several western states granting women the vote and, in 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution gave American women the franchise.

Largely a movement of white middle-class women, the suffrage movement often made alliances with conservative and even racist men. While many minority women supported the suffrage movement, they failed in their efforts to get white women to denounce lynching or even to accept them as equals.
C. Radical Politics and the Labor Movement

While progressives thought the American capitalist system was basically good with a few flaws, radicals felt passionately that the system itself was the problem. This radicalism took many forms, from the anarchism of Emma Goldman to the socialism of Eugene V. Debs. Although socialism was never as strong in the United States as in other industrialized nations, Debs was to receive nearly a million votes for president in 1912 and hundreds of Socialists were elected to local office.

Another major source of labor radicalism was the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), formed in 1905. The IWW combined socialists, anarchists, and militant trade unionists into an organization that accepted women, blacks, immigrants, and others excluded from AFL unions. Most successful among the unskilled and migratory laborers of the West, the IWW never had more than 150,000 members at any one time.

D. Resistance to Racism

There was nothing progressive about this era for nonwhite Americans. Most reformers were indifferent, if not hostile, towards racial minorities. In addition, most blacks lived in the rural South, far from Progressive urban strongholds. In the first decade of the twentieth century, nearly 100 lynchings took place yearly, the victims being largely African Americans. Overcoming racism in various forms, African Americans formed a number of organizations that flourished, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

IV. Expanding National Power

A. Theodore Roosevelt: The “Rough Rider” As President

Becoming president after William McKinley’s assassination in September 1901, Theodore Roosevelt believed in a strong American military and economic presence abroad. Expanding the federal government, he favored big business and free trade, yet fought for certain limitations on corporate power. Roosevelt believed that government regulation would help keep big business strong.

Along with strengthening the state, President Roosevelt fostered American nationalism by arguing that all immigrants should be considered equal to native-born citizens, provided they renounced their original homeland and culture.
B. Protecting and Preserving the Natural World

Air pollution was a problem in cities and industry was depleting natural resources in the countryside. More than any previous president, Theodore Roosevelt used the federal government to push both preservation and conservation. Roosevelt doubled the number of national parks, created new national monuments, and established over 50 wildlife refuges.

C. Expanding National Power Abroad

President Roosevelt believed that the U.S. should be an imperial power and dominate those nations and peoples he considered less “civilized.” In his quest to expand American power abroad, he sent troops to China in 1900 and pushed for the construction of the Panama Canal a few years later. Roosevelt continued the war against Filipino rebels and had the U.S. military establish firm colonial rule in the Philippines.

D. William Howard Taft: The One-Term Progressive

When Roosevelt honored a pledge not to seek re-election in 1908, Republicans turned to William Howard Taft. Taft, who had been hand-picked by Roosevelt, was expected to act to fulfill the former president’s reform agenda. Over time, however, he fell out with Roosevelt and began to turn towards the conservative old guard of the Republican Party.

Theodore Roosevelt returned to politics to challenge Taft for the Republican nomination in 1912. Although Roosevelt was by far the most popular candidate, the old guard dominated the Republican convention and re-nominated Taft. The next day, Roosevelt and his supporters formed the Progressive Party. The Democrats nominated Woodrow Wilson, a Progressive governor of New Jersey, while Eugene V. Debs ran for the Socialists. All the candidates, save Taft, argued on the need for reform but argued about the means to achieve it. Wilson won the election with 42 percent of the vote, but the combined total of the reformers was 75 percent, an overwhelming mandate for reform.

Identification

Explain the significance of each of the following:

1. Frederick Winslow Taylor:
2. Emma Goldman:
3. Henry Ford:
4. Triangle Shirtwaist fire:

5. Progressive Era:


7. “Ashcan School” of art:

8. Industrial Workers of the World:

9. “Big Bill” Haywood:

10. NAACP:

11. Eugene V. Debs:

12. “Dollar Diplomacy”:

13. Progressive Party:

14. Niagara Movement (1905):

15. William Howard Taft:

16. Women’s Trade Union League:

17. *Sister Carrie*:
18. “Boston marriages”:

19. Muckrakers:

20. Helen Keller:

21. Mann Act (1910):

22. *The Crisis*:

23. Booker T. Washington:

24. Hiram W. Johnson:

25. “Bull Moose” Party:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. The Mexican Revolution had the effect of causing
   A. fewer Mexican citizens to enter the United States.
   B. increased migration to the southwest of the U.S.
   C. the Mexican-American War.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

2. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882
   A. was renewed and extended in 1902.
   B. was repealed in 1901 by President Theodore Roosevelt.
   C. is generally said to have encouraged Chinese immigrants to the U.S.
   D. only applied to Chinese from Hong Kong.
   E. none of the above.
3. Among the most numerous of the “new” immigrants in the early twentieth century were
   A. Chinese.
   B. Japanese.
   C. Jews.
   D. French.
   E. English.

4. The majority of Italians who came to the United States
   A. were fleeing from pogroms.
   B. returned to Italy within the year.
   C. were Protestants and Jews.
   D. arrived with their families and were committed Catholics.
   E. had fled religious persecution by the Protestant Italian government.

5. Most supporters of eugenics
   A. believed in theories of white racial superiority.
   B. agreed with Theodore Roosevelt about the danger of “race suicide.”
   C. thought the “feeble-minded” should be sterilized.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

6. Frederick Winslow Taylor
   A. was seen as a dangerous socialist leader.
   B. decried the alienation of modern people from nature and their true feelings.
   C. wrote The Principles of Scientific Management.
   D. was a founder of modern social reform in the United States.
   E. none of the above.

7. Henry Ford
   A. did not invent the automobile.
   B. fought unionization with a private police force.
   C. was an active supporter of Adolf Hitler.
   D. built a nostalgic theme park in Deerfield Village, Michigan.
   E. all of the above.

8. Young working women who exchanged physical intimacies for “treats” were called
   A. prostitutes.
   B. charity girls.
   C. Boston wives.
   D. lots of fun.
   E. all of the above.
9. The Mann Act (1910) was used to
A. police prostitution.
B. sentence world heavyweight champion Jack Johnson to a year in prison.
C. regulate interracial sex.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

10. The Socialist Party under Eugene V. Debs
A. received nearly a million votes in the 1912 Presidential election.
B. never elected anyone to local office.
C. excluded immigrants from their organization.
D. was opposed to trade unions as a restraint of free trade.
E. was almost completely funded by France.

11. In the first decade of the twentieth century, lynching was
A. continuing, with about 100 people lynched a year.
B. almost nonexistent outside the northern states.
C. opposed firmly by almost all white Protestant reformers except Jane Addams.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

12. Which of the following was Theodore Roosevelt NOT interested in?
A. expanded U.S. military power overseas
B. limitations on corporate power
C. weakening big business
D. fostering economic competition
E. fighting socialism.

13. Which of the following was NOT done by Theodore Roosevelt?
A. troops sent to China to help suppress the Boxer Rebellion
B. Puerto Rico given her independence
C. Panama Canal project pushed through Congress
D. Filipino nationalist revolt crushed
E. an income tax established.

14. William Howard Taft was
A. President of the United States.
B. the first U.S. governor-general of the Philippines.
C. appointed Secretary of War in 1904 by Roosevelt.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.
15. In 1912, Theodore Roosevelt was the presidential nominee of which political party?
   A. Republican Party
   B. Socialist Party
   C. Democratic Party
   D. Progressive Party
   E. “Real Republican” Party

MAP QUESTION:

Map 19.1 on page 645 shows the foreign-born population as of 1900. After studying the map, what conclusions can you draw about where immigrants settled? Why wasn’t immigration more evenly spread across the country?

CONNECTING HISTORY

Imagine you were Rose Rosenfeld Freedman in 1911. Explain what it must have been like to be at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company the day of the fire. Now, explain what it is like to think back on that day at the age of 107.

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Based on the discussion of Finns, analyze what the concept of “whiteness” actually means. What purpose does it serve?

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. B
2. A
3. C
4. D
5. D
6. C
7. E
8. B
9. D
10. A
11. A
12. C
13. B
14. D
15. D
Chapter 20

War and Revolution, 1912–1920

Learning Objectives:

_After reading Chapter 20, you should be able to:_

1. Explain the reasons behind the U.S. involvement in World War I.
2. Understand the role European colonial conquest played in the pre-war period.
3. Discuss why President Wilson and the U.S. feared revolutions abroad.
4. Detail the struggle over traditional lines of hierarchy and control in the United States.
5. Give the reasons why so many Americans were in favor of neutrality early in World War I.
6. Explain how and why citizens’ fears of corporate monopolies increased.
7. Discuss the significance of the Great Migration for African Americans.
8. Comprehend how the home front was mobilized during the First World War.
9. Explain how dissent was repressed and free speech restricted during and after the war.
10. Detail the impact of the Russian Revolution on American society.
11. Understand how President Wilson attempted to shape the peace settlement.
12. Discuss how the U.S. engaged in counterrevolutionary activities overseas after 1917.
13. Analyze the Red and Black “scares” at home.

Time Line

1870
Suez Canal built

1871
German Unification

1905
Japan defeats Russia in war

1909
Robert Peary and Matthew Henson reach the North Pole

1911
Sun Yat-sen replaces Manchu dynasty in China with republic
1912
Woodrow Wilson elected president
Native American Jim Thorpe wins at Swedish Olympic Games

1913
The Sixteenth Amendment ratified, allows a federal income tax
The Seventeenth Amendment ratified, requiring direct election of U.S. senators

1914
Ludlow, Colorado massacre of immigrant coal miners and their families
World War I begins in Europe

1915
U.S. Marines occupy Haiti
Sinking of the British liner *Lusitania*
Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan resigns over President Wilson’s lack of neutrality

1916
U.S. Marines occupy the Dominican Republic
National Park Service established

1917
Puerto Ricans granted U.S. citizenship
U.S. Marines occupy Cuba
U.S. enters the First World War
Espionage Act passed

1918
Sedition Act passed
World War I ends

1919
Red Scare
Palmer Raids

1920
Nineteenth Amendment gives women the right to vote
Transcontinental airmail service begins

1921
Tulsa race riot
Chapter Overview

From the discovery of the North Pole (1909) to the Tulsa race riot (1921), the United States was the scene of unusual conflicts and struggles. As reformists attempted to solve social problems at home, international events turned American attention abroad to wars and revolutions. Reactions to these events varied wildly, as conformity and intolerance conflicted with growing demands for equality and peace.

I. A World in Upheaval

Between 1910 and 1920, the United States became involved in world affairs and war as never before. At home, struggles intensified over traditional hierarchies of color, gender, and class.

A. The Apex of European Conquest

In 1913, 75% of the world’s population lived under the rule of Europeans or people of European descent. New technology and communications tied the world more closely together. The competition between European powers would lead to war as Germany, France, Britain, Italy, and Russia scrambled for new colonies and greater power over Africa and Asia.

The United States emerged as a global power at this time. By 1913, the U.S. consumed as much coal and oil as Britain, Germany, France, Russia, and Austria-Hungary combined. The U.S. became the major status-quo power, and revolutions throughout the world began rejecting the status quo.

B. Confronting Revolutions Abroad

Despite President Woodrow Wilson’s hatred for social upheaval, the world in which he led the U.S. was increasingly turbulent, with non-western peoples challenging European and American dominance. As nationalists in China, Mexico, and Russia overturned weak central governments controlled by foreign capital, American interests seemed to be at stake.

Revolutionary struggles in eastern Europe had implications for the United States. Of even greater import was Latin America, a region that the U.S. had always considered its “backyard.” In addition to the physical closeness of Latin America, U.S. corporations had invested more money in Latin America than anywhere else. Most importantly of all, leaders in the United States worried about Mexico and the revolution that began there in 1910.

The central slogan of the Mexican Revolution, “Land for the Landless and Mexico for the Mexicans,” did nothing to reassure U.S. capitalists who owned 43% of Mexico’s wealth. In addition, more than half of Mexico’s trade was with her northern neighbor, while by 1921, Mexico became the world’s second largest producer of oil. As refugees fled the violence to the
south and entered the United States, there was fear they might bring revolutionary ideas with them. To protect U.S. investors, Wilson tried unsuccessfully to reestablish a regime that would uphold the rights of foreign property. The United States twice sent the army into Mexico in order to influence events.

C. Conflicts over Hierarchies at Home

Much as revolutions abroad troubled American investors, less well-off U.S. residents contested hierarchy and control at home. Racial lines were not always clear, as anthropologists began questioning the significance of racial differences. Jim Thorpe, a Native American, was the U.S. hero of the 1912 Olympic Games and Louis Brandeis was appointed first Jewish Supreme Court justice in 1916. At the same time, white supremacy found a voice in Madison Grant’s *The Passing of the Great Race* which claimed that Jesus was a “Nordic.”

The southern-born Wilson may have talked about “New Freedom,” but it did not apply to African Americans. Wilson’s cabinet was full of white Southerners who segregated those few agencies that hired blacks at all. Rather than support an anti-lynching law, President Wilson endorsed the *Birth of a Nation*, a 1915 film that glorified the Ku Klux Klan.

Regardless of color, women lived under specific forms of discrimination. At issue was the nature of women’s political identity, since American women lost their citizenship if they married a foreigner, whereas American men did not. By 1912, numerous European nations and nine American states had granted women the vote. Americans were also divided over women’s special roles. Should motherhood be promoted or birth control allowed?

Most workers fought with their bosses since 2 percent of the population owned 60 percent of the wealth labor produced. The anticapitalism of the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World frightened both capitalists and more conservative members of the labor movement. Businesses continued their long tradition of fighting any attempt to build unions. Backed by the government, owners usually refused to even negotiate with workers.

On Easter night, 1914 in Ludlow, Colorado, state militia and John D. Rockefeller, Jr.’s private guards attacked a mining camp with torches and machine guns. Before federal troops restored order, 66 people had died. Such open brutality shocked many and the Wilson administration responded by slowly supporting the rights of laborers to organize.
II. The Great War and American Neutrality

A. “The One Great Nation at Peace”

During World War I, President Wilson was determined that the United States, as a neutral power, should be allowed to trade with belligerents. American factories depended on overseas trade and bankers had invested $10 billion in loans overseas (primarily to Britain and France). Americans also shunned a war where industrialized warfare resulted in massive death tolls. Unlike the American upper class which tended to identify with Britain and France, immigrants in the U.S. came from both sides of the conflict and thus neutrality made domestic political sense.

B. Reform Priorities at Home

Competition in the key sectors of the economy was disappearing and many citizens demanded government regulation. The Seventeenth Amendment ratified in 1913 required direct election of U.S. senators, who had previously been chosen by state legislatures. The Wilson administration also cut tariffs by almost 50 percent, introduced a progressive federal income tax (Sixteenth Amendment, ratified in 1913), and created the Federal Reserve System to control the amount of currency in circulation.

The largest single issue between 1913 and 1915 was the question of monopolies. Huge new corporations, such as U.S. Steel, American Tobacco, and Du Pont, destroyed all competition, in direct violation of America’s long anti-monopoly tradition. After 1910, laws were passed which protected particular groups, especially women, children, and certain types of workers. Another type of protective legislation focused on conservation, and the National Park Service was established in 1916.

C. The Great Migration

In the first decades of the twentieth century, most African Americans lived in the South, where white mob violence was rampant with lynchings and race riots. Victims of segregation and discrimination, the vast majority of blacks lived in poverty. When war-related orders created a huge demand for workers in northern factories, it was no surprise that more than half a million African Americans moved to cities like Chicago and Detroit.

Despite discrimination in the North, African Americans found that daily life was far better in places where they could vote, earn better wages, attend better schools, and even sit where they wanted to on public transportation. Likewise, large numbers of Mexicans and Mexican Americans moved to get jobs in the Southwest and Midwest. Los Angeles saw its Mexican American population soar from 6,000 (1910) to 100,000 (1930).
B. Limits to American Neutrality

A number of interests pulled America towards war after 1914. Most Americans who followed events carefully favored the Entente over the Central Powers. Despite ethnic diversity, the country’s fundamental cultural and linguistic connections were to England. President Wilson admired Britain, which was favored by most major newspapers.

Concrete economic interests pushed the United States to the Allied side, since bankers lent 85 times as much money to the Entente as to the Central Powers. Large corporations reaped the bulk of profits, while many average workers earned decent wages filling war orders. Powerful Americans like Theodore Roosevelt pushed Americans to prepare themselves for war. Progressives split over the war. Many radicals joined Socialist Eugene Debs in condemning the war as a capitalist one, while most Progressives followed Wilson’s lead of first opposing and then supporting America’s entrance into the carnage.

III. The United States Goes to War

A. The Logic of Belligerency

Wilson found his policy of free trade blocked by both the British Navy and German U-Boats. Although both sides tried to restrict American commerce, the British, who had the superior surface fleet, were able to do so without loss of life. The German navy was faced with an entirely different dilemma. Germany’s submarines were extremely vulnerable if they surfaced to warn passengers to evacuate on lifeboats. So, German U-Boats sunk ships without warning, resulting in the loss of innocent life. These acts angered many Americans, especially the sinking of the British liner Lusitania in 1915. Twice, Germany put her unrestricted submarine warfare on hold, but as the British blockade led to mass starvation, the U-Boat attacks began again.

Submarine warfare combined with the incident of the Zimmermann telegram, in which Germany offered Mexico lost territory belonging to the United States if Mexico joined the war as Germany’s ally, to give the U.S. reason to go to war. Not everyone was convinced that Wilson had been sincere in his neutrality. Secretary of State William Jennings Byran resigned in 1915 to protest what he saw as Wilson’s backhanded support for Britain.

B. Mobilizing the Home Front

Going to war required a type of centralized planning that only the government could coordinate. The federal government created a number of new agencies, ranging from U.S. Railroad administration to the War Industries Board. Close cooperation between industry and Wilson’s administration combined with strong demand for goods by Allied governments resulted in soaring corporate profits.
C. Enduring Unity

With the death of U.S. soldiers and sailors, support for the war became an emotional issue and dissent was brutally suppressed. Almost anything German was suspect. A number of states outlawed the teaching of German, while sauerkraut became “liberty cabbage” and frankfurters became “hot dogs.” Discontent among workers redoubled anxieties about national unity as 6000 strikes took place during the year and a half the U.S. was in the war.

Laws like the Espionage Act (1917) and Sedition Act (1918) criminalized dissent. Socialists like Debs and Wisconsin Congressman Victor Berger went to prison, while the Supreme Court ruled that the right of free speech could be suspended in times of crisis. Pro-war sentiments combined with hostility to unions, particularly in the West, led to brutal beatings and murders of union leaders and activists. Although most blacks supported the war, they were subject to ever-increasing white violence, as competition for jobs and African American insistence on fair treatment caused resentment among many whites.

D. The War in Europe

Although the United States declared war in the spring of 1917, no significant U.S. military action took place until February 1918. In the meantime, the Russian Revolution had put the Bolsheviks in power, 49 divisions of the French army had mutinied, and Austro-Hungary had inflicted a major defeat on Italy. In response, particularly to the Russian Bolsheviks, President Wilson outlined his “14 points” in a speech to Congress in January 1918.

His program promised a world of peace based on national self-determination, open diplomacy, and freedom of commerce and travel. To achieve all these things, there would be created a new League of Nations. The competing visions of Wilson and Lenin contained the roots of the later Cold War, since Wilson viewed the world as a collection of nations, whereas Lenin saw it as a battleground between two classes.

IV. The Struggle to Win the Peace

A. Peacemaking and the Versailles Treaty

The four great empires of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman were destroyed by war and revolution and, at the Paris Peace Conference, the Allied leaders had to decide what to put in their places. To isolate revolutionary Russia, the “Big Three,” as the leaders of the United States, France, and Britain were called, created a series of nations out of the collapsed empires of central Europe. This language of self-determination was considered dangerous as the world’s nonwhite majority wondered if it should apply to them.
The biggest single problem at the Paris conference was what to do with Germany. Wilson wanted lenient terms but the England and French insisted on large reparations and an admission of guilt. President Wilson ultimately went along after being promised his League of Nations. By not including any leading Republicans among the American delegation to Paris, Wilson insured that the Republican-controlled Senate would refuse to join the League of Nations.

B. Waging Counterrevolution Abroad

Soon after Russia withdrew from the war, the western Allies intervened in the civil war on the side of various counterrevolutionaries. The U.S. sent 7000 troops to Russia’s Vladivostock and an additional 5000 joined with British troops to invade Archangel to secure Allied supplies. Besides fighting the Red Army, the Wilson Administration gave money and military aid to the leaders of the counterrevolutionaries. Although the U.S. troops left in 1920, the U.S. refused to recognize the new Soviet government for another 13 years.

C. The Red and Black Scares at Home

The year 1919 saw a massive strike wave in which one out of five workers went out on strike for improved wages and working conditions as well as the right to collective bargaining. In Seattle, a general strike shut down the city for a week. Anarchists conducted a bombing campaign which, while largely ineffective, did injure the wife and maid of a U.S. senator.

Although many Americans sympathized with workers’ struggles, others saw them as part of an attack on private property and the social order. The “Red Scare” of 1919 associated reform and social justice with subversion. Private groups, like the Ku Klux Klan and the American Legion, attacked radicals and the foreign-born. Attorney General Palmer ordered 249 foreign-born radicals deported and directed raids that arrested thousands more.

This violence extended to African Americans, resulting in an increase in lynching and white mobs burning down black neighborhoods. With the inclination towards deference largely gone from the African American community, black citizens fought back against white marauders in Washington and Chicago. President Wilson was by this time incapacitated by a stroke and unable to exercise any leadership even had he chosen to do so, which is unlikely given his racist views.

**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Mexican Revolution:

2. Sun Yat-sen:
3. Porfirio Diaz:

4. Francisco “Pancho” Villa:

5. General John J. Pershing:


7. *Birth of a Nation*:

8. Jeannette Rankin:

9. Lawrence Textile strike (1912):

10. Sixteenth Amendment:

11. J.P. Morgan:

12. Clayton Antitrust Act (1914):

13. The Great Migration:

14. A. Philip Randolph:

15. Zimmermann telegram:

16. Espionage Act (1917):
17. Victor Berger:

18. Vladimir Lenin:

19. “14 Points”:

20. Versailles Treaty:

21. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.:

22. League of Nations:

23. May Day (1919):

24. Red Scare:

25. Baldwin-Felts detective agency:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. On the eve of World War I, what percentage of the world lived under European rule?
   A. 75 percent  
   B. 25 percent  
   C. 50 percent  
   D. 35 percent  
   E. 10 percent
2. President Woodrow Wilson was
   A. a political scientist.
   B. former Governor of New Jersey.
   C. a native Southerner.
   D. all of the above
   E. none of the above

3. During 1914-1918, which of the following Latin American nations did the U.S. invade?
   A. Haiti
   B. Dominican Republic
   C. Cuba
   D. all of the above
   E. none of the above

4. If a female U.S. citizen married a foreigner, she would
   A. be accused of social climbing.
   B. lose her U.S. citizenship.
   C. gain the right to vote in federal elections.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above

5. By around 1915, the richest 2 percent of the American population owned
   A. 20 percent of the wealth in the United States.
   B. 35 percent of the wealth in the United States.
   C. 47 percent of the wealth in the United States.
   D. 53 percent of the wealth in the United States.
   E. 60 percent of the wealth in the United States.

6. By around 1915, the poorest two-thirds of the American population owned
   A. 2 percent of the wealth in the United States.
   B. 5 percent of the wealth in the United States.
   C. 7 percent of the wealth in the United States.
   D. 30 percent of the wealth in the United States.
   E. 45 percent of the wealth in the United States.

7. Which was NOT a reason the U.S. entered World War I?
   A. U.S. banks had given 10 billion dollars in loans to the Entente.
   B. President Wilson deeply admired British political values and institutions.
   C. Americans feared that Germany would destroy Russian democracy.
   D. The U.S. was angry about German U-Boats sinking American ships.
   E. all of the above.
8. The “Great Migration” of the early twentieth century refers to
   A. European fleeing the fighting in their homeland.
   B. Asians fleeing the flu epidemic.
   C. African Americans fleeing southern oppression and poverty.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

9. The presidential election of 1916 saw most voters choosing
   A. peace candidates.
   B. Theodore Roosevelt.
   C. Republicans.
   D. Conservatives.
   E. none of the above.

10. Close cooperation between industry and government during World War I
    A. caused corporate earnings to soar.
    B. was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.
    C. resulted in greatly reduced profits.
    D. was prohibited by the Seventeen Amendment.
    E. although expected never really took place.

11. The Supreme Court in Schenck v. United States (1919)
    A. ruled that lynching was unconstitutional.
    B. upheld restrictions on free speech in the case of a “clear and present danger.”
    C. held that Victor Berger’s prison sentence was illegal.
    D. allowed the conviction of Eugene V. Debs to stand.
    E. none of the above.

12. Woodrow Wilson argued that World War I was important so that the
    A. English capitalists could rob Mesopotamia and Palestine.
    B. aggression against the Netherlands could be punished.
    C. Czar of Russia remained in charge of Russia.
    D. Anglo American business could seize oil reserves in the Mid-East.
    E. world was made safe for democracy.

13. African American soldiers during the First World War
    A. were given the hardest and least-inspiring work.
    B. served in segregated units.
    C. were treated with respect by the French.
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.
14. At the Versailles Peace Conference, self-determination was
   A. proclaimed for all the peoples of the world.
   B. completely rejected as a Bolshevik plot.
   C. not extended to the world’s nonwhite majority.
   D. rejected by Woodrow Wilson as a typical French maneuver.
   E. opposed in every instance by the United States.

15. The “Red Scare” of 1919
   A. was mainly aimed at native-born white Americans.
   B. associated movements for reform and social justice with subversion.
   C. was opposed by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

MAP QUESTION:
After examining Map 20.1, explain what accounts for the military activity described. Why was there more activity in some places (Cuba) than in others (Virgin Islands)?

CONNECTING HISTORY
Compare and contrast the League of Nations with the United Nations. What is fundamentally the same about both organizations? What is significantly different? Why?

INTERPRETING HISTORY
Imagine you were an African American woman serving in France during the First World War. Write about how you would feel about white people after your service in France.
Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. A
2. D
3. D
4. B
5. E
6. A
7. C
8. C
9. A
10. A
11. B
12. E
13. D
14. C
15. B
Chapter 21
The Promise of Consumer Culture: The 1920s

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 21, you should be able to:

1. Explain the reasons that led to the decline of reform movements.
2. Discuss the fragmentation of women’s rights activism in the 1920s.
3. Understand why Prohibition was enacted and why it failed.
4. Detail the rise of reactionary impulses directed against radicals and immigrants.
5. Analyze the persistence of civil rights activism among African Americans.
7. Discuss the significance, particularly for African Americans, of the Harlem Renaissance.
8. Comprehend the role radio and automobiles played in transforming leisure.
9. Explain how and why science was put on trial in cases like the Scopes trial.
10. Detail the growing relationship between big business and the federal government.
11. Understand how advertising fueled the new boom of consumer spending.
12. Discuss how poverty persisted amidst the prosperity promoted in popular culture.
13. Analyze the causes and effects of the start of the Great Depression in 1929.
14. Show how the unequal distribution of wealth increased the effects of the economic downturn.

Time Line

1916
Marcus Garvey opened a Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) branch in Harlem

1917
United States entered the First World War

1920
Eighteenth Amendment outlawed the production or sale of alcohol

1922
Marcus Garvey arrested and sentenced to five years for mail fraud

1924
Johnson-Reid Act severely limited immigrants from outside the western hemisphere
Scopes Monkey Trial
1927
Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti executed in Massachusetts
“Great Flood” along the Mississippi River
1928
Herbert Hoover elected president

1929
Stock market crash signals beginning of the Great Depression

Chapter Overview

A new consumer culture dominated the United States in the 1920s, with new forms of popular entertainment, such as motion pictures and jazz, coming to symbolize the entire era. Sex roles changed as the idea of nation was transformed from the producer economy of the nineteenth century to the consumer ethic of the twentieth. The glamorous life shown in movies was not available to all, as much of rural American and two out of every five workers remained deep in poverty. At the level of national politics, conservatives dominated governments committed to helping big business while remaining unconcerned about the huge gap between rich and poor.

I. The Business of Politics

A. Warren G. Harding: The Politics of Scandal

Harding was elected president by a landslide in 1920 and quickly established a conservative agenda which would dominate the decade. Harding’s presidency was marred by scandals as word began to get out about his drunken White House parties (despite Prohibition) and extramarital affairs. Even more serious was his selling of public offices and pardons as well as the providing of police protection for bootleggers. The biggest scandal was the Teapot Dome incident in which government oil reserves were secretly and illegally sold to two oil tycoons.

B. Calvin Coolidge: The Hands-Off President

When Harding died in 1923, Calvin Coolidge became president, avoiding the type of scandals that had plagued his predecessor. Believing that the government should do as little as possible, Coolidge took long naps and provided little leadership. Known mainly for his hatred of labor unions and support for business, Coolidge was opposed in the 1924 presidential election by Progressive Republicans led by Senator Robert M. La Follette, as well as by the Democrat John W. Davis.
C. Herbert Hoover: The Self-Made President

In 1928, Republicans turned to Herbert Hoover to battle Democratic candidate Alfred E. Smith. Hoover was a supporter of Prohibition, while the New York governor Smith was a known opponent of the act. Besides Prohibition, the election turned on the issue of religion, since Smith was a Roman Catholic. Although Hoover won, Smith carried all the major urban areas, showing the power of the Catholic and immigrant vote.

II. The Decline of Reform

A. Women’s Rights in the Aftermath of Suffrage

A sign of the decline in progressivism was the fragmentation of the women’s rights movement. While the more radical wing launched a campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), other former suffragettes worried that complete legal equality would cost women their special legislative protections. One way women continued their political influence was by running for public office.

B. Prohibition: The Experiment that Failed

In January 1920, the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified, outlawing the production or sale of alcohol. Those supporting Prohibition had a diversity of motivations. Some thought that women and children suffered because men spent their paychecks at the saloon and would become violent. Others hoped to undermine immigrant machines that used saloons as places to forge their political bases.

Enforcement proved impossible. The understaffed federal agency responsible for enforcement was forced to rely on local police who were often uncooperative or corrupt. Americans who wanted to drink could purchase smuggled liquor or even make their own “bathtub gin” or “moonshine whisky.” Illegal clubs, known as “speakeasies,” flourished in most urban areas, with a new one popping up every time federal raids closed one down.

Rather than cure society’s ills, Prohibition proved to be a boom for organized crime. The vast amounts of money being made allowed for further corruption of police, who could make a tidy sum by looking the other way. While alcohol consumption declined by two-thirds the first year, by 1929, it was back to 70 percent of its pre-Prohibition level, while the money spend on drink actually increased by 50 percent.
C. Reactionary Impulses

The 1920s were a decade of hostility towards political radicals and immigrants. In May 1920, two Italian immigrant anarchists, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were arrested for a murder that took place during the robbery of a Braintree, Massachusetts shoe factory. Despite a very weak case (for example, Sacco proved he was in Boston applying for a passport at the time of the murder), both were convicted and sentenced to death. Despite massive world-wide demonstrations and appeals for clemency, they were executed on August 23, 1927.

Immigration slowed to a trickle. In 1924, the Johnson-Reid Act limited immigrants from outside the western hemisphere to 165,000, with quotas set to virtually exclude Jews, Slavs, Greens, Italians, and Poles while completely cutting off immigration from Asia. The door was kept open for Mexicans only because large farmers in California and Texas pushed to keep them as sources of low-wage labor.

D. Marcus Garvey and the Persistence of Civil Rights Activism

Black nationalist Marcus Garvey moved to New York’s Harlem in 1916 and opened a branch of his Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). In less than a decade, the UNIA had 30,000 members in New York City, 6000 each in Philadelphia and Cincinnati, and 4000 in Detroit. Soon, Garvey had nearly a million followers calling for political justice and labor rights.

Believing in black-owned businesses, Garvey established the Black Star Line, a shipping company he told his followers to invest in. The business ran into numerous problems and in 1922, Garvey was arrested and sentenced to five years for mail fraud. Despite his apparent failure, his message of pride and self-help had a tremendous influence in the African American community.

III. Hollywood and Harlem: National Cultures in Black and White

A. Hollywood Comes of Age

As movie theaters spread across the nation, Hollywood began to get a mass audience. Films and their stars provided models for new styles of dress and leisure. Although the nation was closing its doors to immigration, foreigners in films caught the imagination of native-born Americans. In the late twenties, motion pictures with sound arrived and diverse accents and ways of speaking were made familiar throughout the country,
B. The Harlem Renaissance

A black arts movement, known as the Harlem Renaissance, gathered intellectuals and artists in New York City. Renaissance writers identified themselves as Americans, but included the experience of African Americans as well as often promoting anti-racist messages.

In New Orleans, Chicago, and St. Louis, jazz was key to both black culture and the emerging popular culture of the nation, so much so that the 1920s is often called “the Jazz Age.” Black filmmaking also flourished, with films addressing themes of class and racial conflict.

C. Radios and Autos: Transforming Leisure at Home

By the end of the decade, over 6 million radios were being used nationwide as radio began to link the nation together. As more and more radio stations were established and national broadcasts began to replace local ones, the Federal Radio Commission was created to regulate access.

Automobiles dramatically transformed the consumer industry, as inexpensive cars gave Americans mobility. People mortgaged their houses or did without plumbing in order to purchase autos. Autos were part of a consumer society focused on leisure, pleasure, and intimacy as courtship patterns changed, with the back seat of a car replacing the front porch.

IV. Science on Trial

A. The Great Flood of 1927

In 1927, years of levee construction on the Mississippi River were undone as heavy rains came and forced 900,000 people to flee. The flood caused $100 million in crop losses and $23 million in livestock deaths as 26,000 square miles in seven states were submerged under flood water. Refugee camps were racially segregated and black workers allowed to leave only when their white landlords came for them.

B. The Triumph of Eugenics: Buck v. Bell

Racial theorist Lothrop Stoddard wrote *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy* in order to argue that the white race was being weakened by immigration and intermarriage. Although these theories had no scientific merit, a large number of policymakers believed in the notion of racial superiority. In like manner, social Darwinists misused the ideas of Charles Darwin to claim that only the fittest humans should survive.

A number of states enacted eugenic laws that allowed the state to sterilize “inferior” individuals. Those sterilized were loosely defined as “feebleminded,” which in practice meant poor, immigrant or minority women who were sexually active. In *Buck v. Bell*, the U.S. Supreme
Court upheld the law in Virginia. Soon thereafter, 30 states had passed sterilization laws and when Nazi Germany was looking for a model for their eugenics laws, they choose to model theirs on the California statue.

C. Science, Religion and the Scopes Trial

In 1924, former presidential candidate William Jennings Byran was pitted against Clarence Darrow in the famous Scopes Monkey Trial. At issue was a Tennessee law which made it illegal to teach the theory of evolution in schools. Although Bryan won the legal case, the larger public victory appeared to be for Darrow and those who supported evolution. In the long run, however, textbooks began to remove material on evolution and the controversy continues today.

V. Consumer Dreams and Nightmares

A. Marketing the Good Life

Advertising fueled increased consumer spending while at the same time promoting a positive image of big business. This often took absurd extremes, as shown by the Florida land boom and bust. Florida land prices peaked in 1925 and quickly collapsed as over-speculation and then a hurricane destroyed the once-expanding project.

B. Writers, Critics, and the “Lost Generation”

Besides economic disasters, consumerism was blamed for stifling conformity. In books like Sinclair Lewis’s *Babbitt* (1922) and F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby* (1925), social critics attacked the era’s empty materialism, obsession with status and wealth, and superficiality and conformity.

C. Poverty Amid Plenty

Most Americans had not the means to invest in Florida land deals or escape to Paris. Although the middle class and better-off workers might enjoy many new consumer goods, the poor struggled just to get by. Southern sharecroppers, black and white, were particularly excluded from the new consumer culture, as they lived constantly in debt. Still, African Americans were limited to almost completely unskilled labor and Latinos had little chance for advancement.

Industrial workers had to contend with a society hostile to labor unions and uninterested in social justice. When workers were forced to strike, local governors typically called out the National Guard to help break the strike and arrest strikers.
D. The Stock Market Crash

On October 29, 1929, the stock market crashed. By the end of the year, stocks had lost half of their value. The economy went from bad to worse as industrial production fell by half, banks failed, and unemployment rose to 25 percent in 1932. The government, not believing in social programs, did little to help those hurting. America was in a depression.

There were various reasons for the depression, ranging from stock speculation to bad government decisions. Within the United States, a major reason was the unequal distribution of wealth which made the downturn worse, since average Americans could not buy the goods they produced.

**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. “flapper”:

2. *Spirit of St. Louis*:

3. Equal Rights Amendment:

4. “speakeasies”:

5. Sacco and Vanzetti:

6. Johnson-Reid Act (1924):

7. Marcus Garvey:

8. Harlem Renaissance:

9. Langston Hughes:
10. Federal Radio Commission:

11. *Buck v. Bell*:

12. Social Darwinism:

13. Scopes Monkey Trial:

15. Alfred E. Smith:


17. Sinclair Lewis:

18. Gertrude Stein:

19. Southern Tenant Farmers Union:

20. “Black Tuesday”: 

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Which of the following was NOT associated with the “flapper” culture?
   A. changing sexual behavior
   B. abstaining from alcohol consumption
   C. wild dances like the Charleston
   D. breaking from time-honored conventions
   E. increased independence of women

2. In the 1920s, how many American households owned a car or a radio?
   A. fewer than half
   B. about two-thirds
   C. almost 80 percent
   D. more than 60 percent
   E. about 50 percent

3. The Equal Rights Amendment was added to the U.S. Constitution in
   A. 1921.
   B. 1922.
   C. 1923.
   D. 1924.
   E. none of the above.

4. The prohibition of liquor
   A. caused many restaurants to go out of business.
   B. provided vast opportunities for crime and profit.
   C. actually increased the amount of money spent on drinking.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

5. Although charged with murder, Sacco and Vanzetti said their crime was being
   A. loyal Americans.
   B. anarchists.
   C. Mexicans.
   D. Democrats.
   E. born again Christians.
6. The Universal Negro Improvement Association was led by
B. Booker T. Washington.
C. Marcus Garvey.
D. Jim Crow.
E. Martin Luther King, Sr.

7. The Harlem Renaissance was a
A. flourishing of African American culture centered in New York City.
B. vital part of the growth of Hollywood.
C. style of painting among African Americans particularly strong in St. Louis.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

8. Eugenic laws that sought to sterilize the “inferior” were
A. passed in 30 states.
B. held to be constitutional by the Supreme Court.
C. often only repealed in the 1980s.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

9. Warren G. Harding is known for
A. the Teapot Dome scandal.
B. bringing the United States into the League of Nations.
C. being a role model for upright personal moral behavior.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

10. Herbert Hoover defeated Alfred E. Smith, in part, because Smith was a
A. supporter of Prohibition.
B. Roman Catholic.
C. man from rural America.
D. Republican.
E. Socialist.

11. In his novels, like The Great Gatsby (1925), F. Scott Fitzgerald
A. argued that capitalism was the work of God.
B. supported advertising as one of the modern world’s great gifts.
C. criticized the decadent consumerism of the aspiring and upwardly mobile.
D. stated that the rich are more deserving than the rest of us.
E. none of the above.
12. Most Americans in the 1920s were
A. investing in Florida real estate.
B. influenced by the new desires and dreams of consumer society.
C. making trips to Paris.
D. able to own brand new radios and automobiles.
E. fighting to change Social Security.

13. In the 1920s, most African American worked at
A. unskilled jobs.
B. jobs envied by whites.
C. jobs that paid better than they do today.
D. positions they got through affirmative action.
E. all of the above.

14. After the stock market crash, most Americans who lost their jobs
A. had few places to turn for help.
B. went on unemployment insurance.
C. used their social security benefits.
D. took new jobs with the federal government.
E. none of the above.

15. One cause making the Great Depression worse was
A. government regulation of corporations.
B. federal intervention in the economy.
C. unequal distribution of wealth.
D. high taxes on the rich.
E. all of the above.

**MAP QUESTION:**

After examining Map 21.2, discuss the motivations behind Americans moving in such large numbers. What caused more people to move during some decades as opposed to others?

**CONNECTING HISTORY**

Explain what the continuing existence of the Ku Klux Klan says about American society. What fears lead people to join the Klan? Will it and organizations like it ever disappear from American society?
INTERPRETING HISTORY

Imagine you were an immigrant like Mario Puzo. Write an essay explaining how you would have felt coming to America. Would your experience today be different from Puzo? If so, why?

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. B
2. A
3. E
4. D
5. B
6. C
7. A
8. D
9. A
10. B
11. C
12. B
13. A
14. A
15. C
Chapter 22

Hardship and Hope in the 1930s: The Great Depression

Learning Objectives:

*After reading Chapter 22, you should be able to:*

1. Explain the causes behind the Great Depression of the 1930s.
2. Understand the devastating blow that the Depression dealt to many Americans.
3. Discuss how Americans coped with surviving the hard times of the Depression.
4. Detail the causes and effects which the Dust Bowl had on farmers of the southwest.
5. Analyze the manner in which President Hoover responded to the Great Depression.
6. Explain the role of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in reforming the economy.
7. Discuss how and why President Roosevelt strengthened the federal government.
8. Comprehend the significance of the New Deal for the United States.
9. Explain how FDR’s first hundred days established new programs.
10. Detail the attacks on the New Deal from both the left and the right.
11. Understand how the second New Deal differed from the first.
12. Discuss the significance of FDR’s second term as president.
13. Analyze the development of a new political culture.
14. Explain what the New Deal coalition was and how it operated.
15. Discuss the importance of a new American identity.

**Time Line**

1928
Herbert Hoover elected president

1929
Stock market crash

1931
“Scottsboro Boys” arrested

1932
“Bonus Army” marched on Washington, D.C.
FDR elected president
I. The Great Depression

A. Causes of the Crisis

Although the Great Depression of the 1930s was the worst in U.S. history, it was not the first or last economic downturn. Capitalism, the economic system of the nation, has cycles, with economic ups and downs. Alternative economic systems, like socialism or communism that have more government control of the economy, are less subject to this boom or bust cycle as shown by the fact that the Soviet Union was not drawn into the international depression of the 1930s.

Although the U.S. economy had looked healthy in the 1920s, prosperity rested on shaky foundations. Many people were paying for goods on credit and when they lost their jobs, they could not pay their bills. The gap between rich and poor increased and nearly 80 percent of American families had no savings. This was an international depression and American had made loans to Germany and other nations who could not make payments when their economies weakened.
B. “We are Not Bums”

The human suffering of the Great Depression was immense, with many subject to poverty, hunger, humiliation, and the loss of dignity and self-worth. Many families responded to the crisis by abandoning gender roles, as women went to work after their men had been laid-off. Children postponed marriage and worked to support their families.

C. Surviving Hard Times

For many poor Americans, hard times were nothing new, since African Americans and other minorities already lived largely in poverty. Violence against black Americans increased, and lynchings became more numerous. Besides outright lynchings, there was the bias of the legal system, as illustrated by nine young black men known as the “Scottsboro Boys.” Accused of rape, they were quickly found guilty by an all-white jury and sentenced to death. The Communist-backed International Labor Defense and the NAACP rallied support and the case became a rallying point for civil rights activists. Although never executed, the men all spent long years in prison.

Mexican American families were paid so little that they could barely survive, and one-third of the Mexican and Mexican American population of the nation were deported to Mexico. When there was a labor shortage during World War II, Mexicans were again allowed into the U.S.

D. The Dust Bowl

Severe drought hit farmers across Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico. By planting wheat and destroying the root systems in the soil, the farmers had set up a situation in which the lack of rain caused the land to dry up. High winds began to pick up the loose topsoil, creating dust storms. This ecological disaster forced 60 percent of the population out of the region. Thousands of poor farmers fled to California hoping to find work, a story dramatized by John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*.

II. Presidential Responses to the Depression

A. Herbert Hoover: Tackling the Crisis

President Herbert Hoover responded to the Great Depression by increased spending on public works and making credit available to banks and other financial institutions. As poverty grew, Hoover expected private charity to step in and help the poor. Yet Hoover remained opposed to direct relief even when private giving proved insufficient. Hoover believed in measures to help the economy but refused any direct assistance to those in need.
Hoover’s popularity hit bottom in 1932 when a group of World War I veterans organized a march on Washington to ask for early payment of bonuses due them. Hoover refused their request and Army Chief of Staff Douglas MacArthur ordered the army to evict the veterans and their families from the capital, resulting in numerous injuries and even loss of life.

B. Franklin Delano Roosevelt: The Pragmatist

Born into a family of wealth and privilege, Franklin Delano Roosevelt married a distant cousin, Eleanor, the niece of Teddy Roosevelt. Overcoming the fact that he was a victim of polio, Roosevelt was elected governor of New York in 1928. Running as the Democratic candidate for president in 1932, FDR made only vague promises of a “New Deal” which would solve the nation’s economic problems. Besides running against FDR, Hoover faced minor-party candidates, most importantly, Norman Thomas for the Socialists and William Z. Foster for the Communists.

C. “Nothing to Fear but Fear Itself”

FDR was elected in a landslide in 1932 and immediately sought to expand the role of the federal government. Rather than protecting old-stock Anglo-Saxons from cultural change, Roosevelt followed a strategy of inclusion that welcomed newcomers into his vision of America. He could have nationalized the banks, a move that would have had wide support, but chose government regulation instead. Using the medium of radio to reach millions, Roosevelt reassured Americans that the newly reopened banks were safe.

III. The New Deal

A. The First Hundred Days

Understanding that Americans wanted action, FDR acted quickly and pragmatically. He urged Congress to repeal Prohibition, an act that took place by 1933. This gave the federal government much-needed tax revenues as well as a market for farmers’ corn and wheat. A number of new regulatory agencies were established, such as the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC).

The new President appointed a number of liberals to his new cabinet, including Frances Perkins as Secretary of Labor, the first woman to serve in a president’s cabinet. To help farmers while keeping food cheap for consumers, FDR had a number of laws passed to support farm prices and help farmers with their mortgages. These policies, however, were of more help to rich farmers than poor ones, let alone sharecroppers and tenant farmers.

A federal jobs program was started, the Civil Works Administration, but it came under attack by conservatives and was quickly ended. To create jobs and protect the environment, the Civilian
Conservation Corps (CCC) was formed in 1933. The CCC had employed 500,000 young men by 1935 and planted millions of trees, dug canals, stocked lakes with 1 billion fish and so on. Another conservation program that created jobs was the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). One of FDR’s most successful programs, the TVA provided jobs and cheap electricity to rural Americans. Other notable programs included the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation. One bold New Deal move was the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, which recognized the autonomy of Indian tribes that promoted self-government for native peoples.

B. Monumental Projects Transforming the Landscape

Providing jobs, sources of energy and inspiration, the New Deal undertook massive construction projects such as the TVA and the Hoover Dam. The huge Coulee Dam in Washington State stood higher than Niagara Falls. While many saw this as an inspiring achievement that provided thousands of jobs, others saw it as a tragedy that destroyed their native lands. The Golden Gate Bridge spanned the entrance to San Francisco as 1930 saw the rise of the Empire State building, then the tallest building in the world.

C. Protest and Pressure from the Left and the Right

Some businessmen attacked Roosevelt as being something like a socialist while the left argued that FDR’s programs did not go far enough. Many Americans had grown unhappy with capitalism and joined the cause of socialism, as the ranks of the Communist Party swelled. By 1934 and 1935, many workers were pressuring Roosevelt to guarantee collective bargaining rights. Workers all over the nation fought for better working conditions and a living wage. Although most African Americans supported FDR, thousands joined the Communist Party as a more radical alternative. Mexican Americans faced not only discrimination and exploitation but also the constant threat of deportation. During the depression, more than half million people, most of them U.S. citizens, were deported to Mexico.

Many radio personalities attacked the New Deal, such as the “Radio Priest,” Father Coughlin, who was hostile to both capitalism and communism. Coughlin moved more and more to the right, becoming an admirer of Hitler and Mussolini and promoting anti-Semitism in his broadcasts. Huey Long, the populist governor of Louisiana, was originally a support of FDR but by 1933 had broken with Roosevelt and formed the Share-Our-Wealth Plan. By 1935, he was planning on challenging FDR for the presidency but was assassinated in the fall of that year.

In Wisconsin, the Progressive tradition was alive and well; two sons of the late senator Robert LaFollette formed the Progressive Party which supported the New Deal but tried to pull it to the left. In Minnesota, a coalition of workers and farmers created a Farm-Labor Party which elected Floyd Olson governor in 1930. A self-proclaimed radical, Olson thought of running for president but died of cancer in August 1936. In California, veteran socialist Upton Sinclair, author of the
*Jungle*, ran for governor as a Democrat but lost when FDR and the local machine refused to support him.

D. Eleanor Roosevelt: Activist and First Lady

All of these campaigns pushed Roosevelt to the left, as did his wife, Eleanor, who was particularly vocal on the subject of civil rights. Despite her husband’s fear of alienating southern white voters, Eleanor fought for an anti-lynching bill and campaigned for civil rights. After FDR died in 1945, Eleanor remained politically active and was a major force in the adoption of the United Nations’ Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

E. The Second New Deal

While unwilling to confront southern whites on civil rights issues, FDR did reach out to industrial workers by pushing the National Labor Relations Act, something that gave a huge boost to labor unions. In 1935, Congress also passed the Social Security Act which established a system of old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and welfare benefits for dependent children and the disabled. Although the most extensive of New Deal programs, many needy Americans were left out of Social Security, such as domestics, part-time workers, agricultural workers, and housewives.

The relief or welfare system presumed the fact of a man earning a “family wage” to support women and children. Therefore, a deep-seated gender system gave benefits to some male workers while women and children only received meager public charity. With no national guidelines on how to distribute welfare funds, states chose who received what, with the result that few African Americans were helped by these programs.

In 1935, Congress allocated $5 billion for Emergency Relief Appropriations, with the money being used for public works programs. The wages were extremely low and left out the most needy, such as the unemployed, who were not already on relief rolls. The New Deal was geared towards full-time industrial workers who were mainly white men. All other groups received little or nothing in the way of government help.

F. FDR’s Second Term

Roosevelt was returned to office with more than 60 percent of the vote in 1936 and the Democrats took a clear majority in both houses of Congress. FDR tried to take on the Supreme Court with a plan to appoint new justices for every sitting member who was 70. This so-called “court packing” mobilized a new coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans, a coalition which continued for decades. In any event, FDR’s failure did not end the New Deal as the Supreme Court did not undercut the New Deal.
IV. A New Political Culture

A. The Labor Movement

The American Federation of Labor had always left out most of America’s less-skilled workers. Responding to pressure from below, John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers (UMW) and Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers joined others in forming the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The CIO sought to organize workers that the AFL ignored. The CIO led a number of militant strikes which introduced the idea of the “sit down,” in which workers refused to work but occupied the plant to prevent strikebreakers from being utilized. This and other militant tactics allowed the CIO to organize a number of important industries such as automobile and steel.

B. The New Deal Coalition

FDR had gathered a diverse coalition of people which included Northern blacks and southern whites. Roosevelt’s support for organized labor brought him the backing of ever-more-powerful unions. Despite the diversity of the New Deal coalition, some continued to attack FDR. On the left, socialists and communists criticized the New Deal as saving capitalism rather than transforming it. Meanwhile, the right charged that the New Deal was something akin to Communism.

C. A New Americanism

The New Deal coalition also represented a new and more inclusive American identity. The majority of Americans now owned radios and telephones and the spread of movie theaters brought slang and various accents into every corner of the nation. Although racial stereotypes remained the norm, many films showed the triumph of the common people over the rich and female stars challenged traditional gender roles. New sports celebrities reinforced the nation’s diversity, as Italian American baseball star Joe DiMaggio and African American heavyweight champion Joe Louis became icons for all types of Americans.
Identification

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Will Rogers:
2. Welfare Capitalism:
3. Woody Guthrie:
4. Scottsboro Boys:
5. International Labor Defense:
6. The Dust Bowl:
7. *The Grapes of Wrath:*
8. Bonus March (1932):
9. Norman Thomas:
10. “Fireside chats”:
12. Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA):
14. Communist Party:

15. Father Coughlin:

16. Huey P. Long:

17. Minnesota Farm-Labor Party:

18. End Poverty in California (EPIC):

19. Works Progress Administration (WPA):

20. Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO):

21. Sidney Hillman:

22. Sit-down strike:

23. Modern Times:

24. New Deal Coalition:

25. Spanish-Speaking People's Congress:
Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Comedian Will Rogers was a/an
   A. Cherokee.
   B. critic of the rich and powerful.
   C. advisor to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

2. The Great Depression of the 1930s was
   A. the first one in American history.
   B. the last one in United States history.
   C. part of capitalism’s cycles of ups and downs.
   D. the fault of federal welfare programs.
   E. none of the above.

3. When the stock market collapsed in 1929, most Americans’ first line of defense was
   A. their families.
   B. Social Security payments.
   C. workman’s compensation.
   D. unemployment insurance.
   E. none of the above.

4. The nine young blacks known as the Scottsboro Boys were accused of rape and
   A. convicted by an all-white jury.
   B. sentenced to death.
   C. spent a long time in prison.
   D. became a symbol of southern injustice.
   E. all of the above.

5. During 1931 and 1934, more than 500,000 Mexicans and Mexican Americans were
   A. given jobs with the Works Progress Administration.
   B. deported to Mexico.
   C. serving in the United States Armed Forces.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.
6. The Dust Bowl which hit Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico
   A. was a result of plowing which removed root systems from the soil.
   B. had little effect on most farmers in the region besides wheat farmers.
   C. was caused by government regulation of agriculture.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

7. After the stock market crash, President Herbert Hoover
   A. increased spending for public works.
   B. established the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to provide credit.
   C. refused to provide direct relief to the poor.
   D. continued to believe in the capitalist system.
   E. all of the above.

8. In the 1932 Presidential election, Franklin D. Roosevelt
   A. lost to Herbert Hoover.
   B. beat Republican Calvin Coolidge.
   C. was challenged from the left by Norman Thomas and William Z. Foster.
   D. received less than 47 percent of the popular vote.
   E. attacked Hoover’s over-reliance on federal welfare.

9. The New Deal and the programs it created amounted to a/n
   A. a form of communism like that in Stalin’s Russia.
   B. series of reforms that would preserve American capitalism.
   C. attempt to help minorities rather than whites.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

10. The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act
    A. recognized the autonomy of Indian tribes.
    B. appropriated funds to help Indians add to their land holdings.
    C. provided jobs and professional training.
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.

11. Disenchantment with capitalism drew many Americans to
    A. the causes of socialism and the Communist Party.
    B. join the Republican Party.
    C. move to Mexico.
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.
12. Father Coughlin, the Radio Priest, went from supporting FDR to becoming
A. a member of the Communist Party.
B. anti-Semitic and an admirer of Hitler and Mussolini.
C. a Republican Congressman.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

13. The National Labor Relations Act (1935), or Wagner Act,
A. outlawed consumer boycotts.
B. gave a huge boost to labor unions.
C. forced Communist union leaders to register with the federal government.
D. weakened the system of collective bargaining.
E. was hailed by Big Business as “true Americanism.”

14. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was
A. formed by the American Federation of Labor.
B. part of a Moscow-inspired plan to subvert America.
C. more broad-based than previous unions and organized less-skilled workers.
D. opposed by John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of the AFL.
E. none of the above.

15. The New Deal coalition reflected not only Roosevelt’s popularity but also a
A. new and more inclusive American identity.
B. desire to preserve traditional ethnic divisions.
C. rejection of government regulation of business.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

MAP QUESTION:

After looking at Map 22.1, explain the human costs associated with the Dust Bowl. What does this map show about how ecological disaster can change people’s lives?

CONNECTING HISTORY

Compare and contrast the way President Roosevelt and more recent American presidents have used the media. What accounts for the differences?
INTERPRETING HISTORY

Compare the songs of the Great Depression with music today. What are the similarities and differences between the two?

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. D
2. C
3. A
4. E
5. B
6. A
7. E
8. C
9. B
10. D
11. A
12. B
13. B
14. C
15. A
Chapter 23

Global Conflict: World War II, 1937–1945

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 23, you should be able to:

1. Discuss the reasons behind the rise of fascism.
2. Explain the fascist aggression in both Europe and Asia.
3. Understand the great debate in the United States over intervention in the war.
4. Detail the significance of the attack on Pearl Harbor.
5. Analyze the causes of the internment of Japanese Americans.
6. Explain the importance of wartime migrations within America.
7. Discuss how propaganda was used to support the war effort.
8. Explain how women and minorities flowed into wartime industries.
9. Comprehend the magnitude of the Holocaust that took place in Europe.
10. Detail the racial tensions that persisted within the United States.
11. Understand how members of minority groups responded enthusiastically to the war effort.
12. Discuss the strains among the Allies concerning the war in Europe.
13. Analyze the United States’ role in the war in the Pacific.
14. Discuss the victory of the Allies and the use of the atomic bomb on Japan.

Time Line

1931
Japan seized Chinese province of Manchuria

1933
Hitler became chancellor of Germany

1935
Italy invaded Ethiopia

1936
Franco led right-wing rebellion against Spanish Republic

1937
Japan started full-scale war against China
1938
Nazi Germany annexed Austria

1939
World War II started in Europe with invasion of Poland
Germany and the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression pact

1940
Hitler defeated Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg and France
Franklin D. Roosevelt re-elected president

1941
Germany invaded the Soviet Union

1942
Japanese and Japanese Americans sent to internment camps
Mexico joined the Allies
U.S. won the Battle of Midway

1943
Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act
Defeat at the Battle of Stalingrad forced Nazi retreat along the eastern front

1944
FDR re-elected President

1945
FDR died, Harry Truman became president
Truman ordered atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki
World War II ended

I. Mobilizing for War

A. The Rise of Fascism

While Americans were preoccupied with their problems at home and avoided foreign entanglements, they could not help but notice the rise of fiercely anti-democratic and warlike regimes in both Europe and Asia. In Europe, fascists, as they were called, took power in Germany, Italy and Spain. Pushing fanatical nationalism, Italy invaded Ethiopia, Germany openly violated the Versailles treaty, and both aided the right which overthrew Spain’s elected government.
B. Aggression in Europe and Asia

After the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia, Hitler’s Germany invaded Poland in 1939, while the right won the Spanish Civil War the same year. By 1940, Hitler was successfully invading Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France. Then, in the summer and fall, Nazi Germany launched an air war against Great Britain in what was called the Battle of Britain.

In Asia, nationalistic militarists gained control of the Japanese government by 1932 and occupied the Chinese province of Manchuria. Five years later, Japan began a full-scale war against China. Although the United States sent aid to China, American trade with Japan continued.

C. The Great Debate: Americans Contemplate War

Throughout the 1930s, Americans remained divided over war, with most still opposed to intervention. Those opposed to American involvement ranged across the political spectrum from religious pacifists to the pro-Nazi German American Bund. After Hitler had conquered most of western Europe, many Americans began to reconsider their neutrality. President Roosevelt increasingly felt that the United States must help fight aggression and Congress approved the Land-Lease agreement to lend rather than sell munitions to Allied nations. When the Nazis attacked the Soviet Union, breaking a non-aggression pact in June 1941, FDR extended Lend-Lease to the Soviets. As the U.S. came closer to war, problems at home remained, with 17.2 percent of the workforce still unemployed as late as 1939.

II. Pearl Harbor: The United States Enters the War

A. December 7, 1941

After nearly a decade of mounting tensions between Japan and America, the United States froze Japanese assets to force them to bargain over their aggressive Asian policy. Instead, Japan launched a surprise attack against Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The attack destroyed most of the U.S. Pacific fleet and half of the U.S. Far East Air Force. Congress immediately declared war on Japan and three days later, Germany and Italy, Axis allies of Japan, declared war against the United States.

B. Japanese American Relocation

The Pearl Harbor attack sparked rumors that Japanese agents and Japanese Americans were set to commit sabotage. Although no evidence was ever found against Japanese Americans, powerful farming interests saw a chance to eliminate Japanese American competition. Giving in to pressure, FDR signed Executive Order 9066, suspending the civil rights of citizens of Japanese
descent. The order called for the removal of over 100,000 Japanese Americans from the West Coast, including 70,000 native-born American citizens.

The Japanese Americans removed were sent to harsh internment camps in isolated areas. Despite this, many Japanese Americans proved their love for the United States by volunteering for military service. Although they served with great distinction, the U.S. government waited until 1968 to reimburse former internees for some of the estimated $500 million in lost property. Only two decades later would Congress vote to pay surviving internees a $20,000 restitution.

C. Foreign Nations in the United States

Japanese Americans were not the only people interned solely because of their ethnic background. Germans and Italians living in the U.S. were also subject to new regulations. The Smith Act of 1940 required fingerprinting of aliens and made deportation easier. Faced with these new rules, thousands of émigrés became U.S. citizens. Naturalization was a way for foreigners to clarify their status and show their loyalty.

D. Wartime Migrations

The war economy would cause many rural Americans to move to cities to work for better pay in defense industries. 60,000 African Americans moved into Chicago alone, a development that caused a severe housing shortage. The most important wartime migration was from Mexico, as the bracero program allowed 300,000 Mexican workers into the United States mainly to labor in agriculture. In addition, large numbers of immigrants became U.S. citizens as a way of showing their loyalty and avoiding the restrictions on foreign residents in wake of the Smith Act (1940).

III. The Home Front

A. Building Morale

The Office of War Information (OWI) was established in 1942 to mount a propaganda campaign to promote support for the war effort. Working with Hollywood, the OWI portrayed the war as a crusade to preserve the “American way of life.” Gone were films with political dissent or ones showing class conflict. It was particularly important that members of the armed forces had high morale, so officials tried to ease the hardship of service with beer, cigarettes, and entertainment by Hollywood celebrities. Men were told that they were fighting so that they could go home to sexy girlfriends. Pinup photos of sexy but wholesome-looking women covered the walls of barracks.
B. Home Front Workers, Rosie the Riveter, and Victory Girls

Wartime led to new opportunities for women, who saw higher wages and access to jobs previously reserved for men. “Rosie the Riveter” became a heroic symbol of women war workers performing what were formerly male jobs in defense plants. Yet discrimination against women and minorities continued and it was not until 1943 that black women were allowed to work in defense plants.

Married women joined the paid labor force in large numbers and in 1943, the federal government responded by funding day-care centers, which would be closed at the end of the war. Women even served in the armed forces, with almost a quarter of a million women serving in either the Army’s WAC or the Navy’s WAVES. War also reversed the declining marriage and birth rates of the 1930s, as women solidified relationships and established connections to the future.

For some young women, called “victory girls,” it was an act of patriotism to have a fling with a man in a uniform before he was sent overseas. This sort of independence raised fears of female sexuality as a dangerous force. Public health officials worried about the spread of venereal disease among service men. Wartime changes likewise caused concerns about homosexuality, as gay men and lesbians found new opportunities to form relationships both in and out of the military.

IV. Race and War

A. The Holocaust

Hitler and the Nazis aimed not only to conquer Europe. They planned to destroy all Jews living under their control. Out of the 10 million Jews living in Europe before the war, 6 million were murdered, along with homosexuals, the disabled, and Gypsies. American officials knew about the Nazi attacks on Jews but did little to stop it. Despite growing evidence of Nazi genocide, the United States refused to increase the number of refugees admitted to the country. Although the U.S. fought the Nazis, it did little to help their victims.

B. Racial Tensions at Home

At home, racial tensions persisted; with black workers were excluded from the best-paying jobs in defense plants. Under pressure from African American activist A. Philip Randolph, FDR issued Executive Order 8802, banning discrimination against blacks and women in defense industries. Despite this action, the problem continued. Sometimes white workers would react against women and blacks who they feared were taking their jobs. Some white workers refused to work next to blacks.
In Los Angeles, Mexican American youth became the targets of white hostility. Wearing a distinctive attire known as zoot suits as a sign of ethnic pride and rebellion, young “pachucos” were singled out by the police. For eight days in June 1943, white soldiers hunted zoot-suiters throughout the L.A. area, pulling off their suits and beating them without mercy. The police sided with the soldiers and did nothing. The rioting ended only when the War Department made the entire city off-limits to military personnel.

C. Fighting for the “Double V”

Despite discrimination at home, minorities responded enthusiastically to the war effort and almost a million African Americans joined the armed forces. African Americans fought for the “Double V” - victory over foreign fascism and domestic racism. Native Americans likewise rushed to serve in the military and, in fact, volunteered at a rate higher than that of whites.

V. Total War

A. The War in Europe

Unable to overcome decades of hostility, the Soviet Union and her western Allies, Britain and the United States, fought the war with an eye to postwar advantage. Since the Soviets suffered huge losses in the face of 200 German divisions rolling through eastern Europe, Stalin asked the United States to open a second front in western Europe to divert some of the Nazi pressure. Although Roosevelt promised this in 1942, Britain’s Winston Churchill convinced FDR to invade north Africa instead.

Meanwhile the Soviets had single-handedly turned back the Nazi war machine in the decisive battle of Stalingrad, which ended in January 1943. The Anglo American campaign in north Africa was also successful and led to the invasion of southern Italy, resulting in the collapse of Mussolini’s government. Finally on June 6, 1944, the western Allies invaded France in an operation code-named “D-Day.” The battered German army was soon routed from France as the Soviet Union closed in from the east. By May 1945, the war in Europe was over, although FDR did not live to see the end of it, as he died on April 12, 1945.

B. The War in the Pacific

Unlike the European campaign, the United States did almost all the fighting in the Pacific. The war was particularly vicious, as both sides used racism to inspire their troops and degrade their enemies. At the key battle of Midway, the American navy sunk four Japanese aircraft carriers and destroyed 322 planes, virtually ending Japanese offensive capabilities. In China, the fight against Japan was complicated by a civil war between a corrupt nationalist government and the Chinese Communists, led by Mao Zedong.
Racial hostility against the Japanese led U.S. troops often to kill prisoners and desecrate the bodies of enemy dead. On the home front, the Japanese were portrayed as a monstrous race. FDR approved the firebombing of Japanese cities, much as he had done with German civilian targets.

C. The End of the War

Allied leaders met several times to plan for the postwar world; President Roosevelt hoped to limit Soviet power while ensuring American dominance. The Allies agreed to divide Europe into separate spheres of influence, although there was strife over Poland, which Stalin clearly planned to keep under his control. After the defeat of Germany, the Allied leaders demanded unconditional surrender from Japan. Although the United States had once thought it needed the Soviet Union to help defeat the Japanese, once President Truman (who replaced the late FDR) learned of the successful test of the atomic bomb, it was clear America could win alone. When Truman ordered the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945 and a second bomb on Nagasaki two days later, the power of the new weapon was clear to all. Japan surrendered on September 2, 1945.

Identification

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Third Reich:

2. *Blitzkrieg:*

3. America First Committee:

4. Lend-Lease:

5. Jeannette Rankin (R- Montana):

6. Nisei:

7. 442 Regiment:
8. *Bracero* Program:

9. Office of War Information (OWI):

10. Pin-ups:

11. “Victory Girls”:

12. *This is the Army*:

13. Wagner-Rodgers Bill (1939):


15. A. Philip Randolph:

16. Zoot Suits:

17. Navajo “Code Talkers”:

18. Stalingrad:

19. Bataan Death March:

20. Mao Zedong:

21. Battle of Midway:
22. Hitler’s “Final Solution”:

23. Nagasaki:

24. General George C. Marshall:

25. Dachau:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. During the Holocaust, Nazi Germany killed which of the following?
   A. Jews
   B. Romani
   C. homosexuals
   D. Communists
   E. all of the above

2. Which of the following nations came to the aid of the Spanish Republic?
   A. United States
   B. Soviet Union
   C. France
   D. Great Britain
   E. all of the above

3. In 1940 Japan joined Germany and Italy in the
   A. triple entente.
   B. Axis alliance.
   C. desire to save the free world.
   D. air war against the Soviet Union.
   E. war against Sweden.
4. President Roosevelt’s policy of Lend-Lease meant that the U.S. would
A. lend rather than sell munitions to the Allies.
B. sell weapons to both sides, since America was neutral.
C. lend weapons to both sides to stay out of the war.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

5. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii was
A. a complete surprise, since Japan and the U.S. had been good friends.
B. revealed two weeks beforehand to President Roosevelt.
C. in response to the freezing of Japanese assets in the United States.
D. caused by American support for the Soviet Union in the Far East.
E. none of the above.

6. Executive Order 9066, signed by President Roosevelt,
A. removed 110,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans from the West Coast.
B. sent 70,000 native-born U.S. citizens to internment camps.
C. did not remove Japanese or Japanese Americans from Hawaii.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

7. Under the bracero program, 300,000 Mexicans were
A. deported back to Mexico as security risks.
B. forced to become naturalized U.S. citizens in order to remain in the country.
C. allowed into the United States mainly to work in agriculture.
D. allowed to join the U.S. Navy.
E. none of the above

8. To maintain the morale of fighting men, the government gave them
A. beer.
B. “Victory Girls.”
C. lectures on the evils of Communism.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

9. During the war, with so many men overseas, the
A. birth rate went up.
B. number of marriages increased.
C. defense industries hired more women than ever before.
D. more women stayed at home.
E. all of the above.
10. Upon learning of mass Nazi extermination of the Jews and others, the U.S. 
A. did virtually nothing. 
B. began air raids against death camps in Poland. 
C. waived all immigration quotas for refugees from Hitler 
D. B and C only 
E. all of the above. 

11. Fighting for the “Double V” meant victory over fascism and 
A. the Communist Party. 
B. racism at home. 
C. Japan. 
D. all of the above. 
E. none of the above. 

12. The battle of Stalingrad was a/n 
A. great victory for the United States. 
B. important defeat for Imperial Japan. 
C. major turning point in the war. 
D. vital victory for Nazi Germany. 
E. all of the above. 

13. In China, the struggle against Japanese aggression was complicated because 
A. both sides were hostile to the United States. 
B. China was allied with Italy. 
C. China was in the midst of a civil war. 
D. all of the above. 
E. none of the above. 

14. When President Truman learned of the successful test of the atomic bomb, he 
A. was anxious to drop it. 
B. knew he would not need Russia’s help to defeat Japan. 
C. wanted to use it on a major Japanese city without warning. 
D. thought it would end the war in the Pacific. 
E. all of the above. 

15. Which of the following did NOT take place during World War II? 
A. The United States became the most powerful country in the world. 
B. The United States did most of the fighting against Japan in the Pacific. 
C. The United States did most of the fighting against Germany in Europe. 
D. America took casualties far below those of most other nations. 
E. The United States suffered less material damage than other major combatants.
MAP QUESTION:

After looking at Map 23.1, discuss what it must have been like for Japanese Americans removed from the West Coast and resettled in the locations indicated. How do you think this affected the people interned?

CONNECTING HISTORY

Explain the pros and cons of the United States being the only nation to ever use an atomic bomb on cities. Argue which side of the argument you most agree with and why.

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Imagine you were Zelda Webb Anderson entering military service during World War II. Write a diary entry discussing your reaction to the discrimination you endured.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

Chapter 24  
Cold War and Hot War, 1945–1953

Learning Objectives:

*After reading Chapter 24, you should be able to:*

1. Detail the reaction Americans had to the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.
2. Explain the extent and impact of the global destruction of the Second World War.
3. Understand the significance of the power vacuums left by the defeats of Germany and Japan.
4. Discuss how women and minorities responded to the loss of their wartime gains.
5. Analyze the causes behind the increased class conflict that took place after the war.
6. Explain how and why the antifascist alliance dissolved.
7. Detail the policy of containment and what it meant for U.S. foreign policy.
8. Discuss how colonialism related to the emerging Cold War.
9. Comprehend how nuclear weapons changed international relations.
10. Detail the meaning of suburban family life for many white Americans.
11. Understand the limits of liberalism when faced with conservative resistance.
12. Discuss the growing climate of fear behind the hunt for “un-American activities.”
13. Analyze the United States role in the Chinese Civil War.
14. Discuss the making of the National Security state and the Korean War.

**Time Line**

1944  
GI Bill passed

1945  
Second World War ended with Allied victory  
United Nations created

1947  
National Security Act passed  
Taft-Hartley Act passed

1948  
Harry S. Truman won presidential election
1949
North Atlantic Treaty Organization formed
Chinese Communists came to power
Soviet Union exploded first nuclear device

1950
Korean War began

1953
Korean War ended

I. The Uncertainties of Victory

A. Global Destruction

60 million people died in World War II and all major combatant countries were in ruins except the United States. Having entered the war late and seen no real fighting on her soil, the U.S., with 6 percent of the world’s population, had half of the planet’s wealth. With all major trading partners having lost much of their purchasing power, Americans’ biggest fear was the return of the depression.

B. Vacuums of Power

The defeat of the fascist powers was also a defeat for their ideologies. Ideas of colonialism, militarism, and racism were rejected by most people around the world. Instead, into this newly created vacuum came socialists, communists, and other radicals. Europeans established welfare states to give their citizens a minimum standard of living and health care. In the colonial world, people organized to oust their foreign rulers and gain independence.

C. Postwar Reconversion

At home, Americans focused on reconverting a wartime economy into a peacetime one. 9 million Americans were discharged from the armed forces by mid-1946 and housing remained scarce. Congress made a major commitment to veterans with the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act of 1944, known as the G.I. Bill, which gave low-cost mortgages, free college tuition, and created veterans hospitals to provide lifetime medical care. The post-war transition was hard on working women, who found themselves pressured to leave the workforce to make room for returning men.
D. Contesting Racial Hierarchies

Like women, African Americans found themselves expected to return to the subservience of the past. Black veterans led the resistance to this idea and racists responded with a wave of lynchings and beatings, particularly in the South, where most African Americans still lived. The Supreme Court began to strike down laws supporting racial segregation, while popular culture became more integrated and Jackie Robinson became the first black player in major league baseball. Native Americans and Mexican Americans faced discrimination, particularly in the southwest, and fought for civil rights much as African Americans did.

E. Class Conflict

As in 1919, 1946 was a year of intense class conflict as 1.8 million workers went on strike. With the rising tension between the United States and the Soviet Union, the fear of leftist influence in the trade unions grew among businessmen. Using the supposed threat of the tiny Communist Party, business interests created a “red scare” to weaken or destroy the more militant unions and tame the rest. Republican victory in the 1946 congressional elections meant they had the power, along with conservative Southern Democrats, to pass the anti-union Taft-Hartley Bill which stripped unions of many of their rights.

II. The Quest for Security

A. Redefining National Security

The primary goal of U.S. leaders at the end of the war was to rebuild the world capitalist economy. American prosperity depended, they believed, on free trade. National security came to mean not defending the nation from invasion but the creation of a free-trading capitalist world order. The biggest threat to this goal came from the Soviet Union.

B. Conflict with the Soviet Union

The antifascist alliance between the Soviet Union and the United States quickly fell apart after the war, as each side suspected the other of wanting world dominance. Each nation drew different conclusions from World War II. The United States had become the only truly global power and demanded free trade and access to other nations’ markets. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, had been devastated by a war which killed over 20 million of her citizens and would not budge on questions of security.
C. The Policy of Containment

George Kennan put forward the idea of containing Soviet power so as to prevent any expansion of Soviet influence. Former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill coined the phrase “iron curtain” to describe Soviet control of Eastern Europe. As British power declined, the United States transformed into having a permanent military presence around the globe. This required larger tax expenditures than Americans were used to, so the Truman administration exaggerated a real problem in order to win popular support.

The U.S. provided $13 billion to fund western European recovery as part of what became known as the Marshall Plan. The western zones of occupied Germany were reunited in 1948 to create a new pro-capitalist nation and the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949 created a new military alliance led by the U.S. With the rising Cold War, previous plans to punish defeated war criminals were abandoned and every effort made to rebuild Germany and Japan as quickly as possible so that they might serve as counters to the Soviet Union.

D. Colonialism and the Cold War

The world’s non-white majority lived under European colonial rule and their struggles for national independence were reviving. With European rule on the way out, the Truman administration sought to transfer power to local pro-western elites. Revolutions were to be opposed at all costs and, if the Europeans would not leave, like the French in Vietnam, the U.S. would back the colonists against the independence forces. The U.S. support for the new nation of Israel would be the beginning of an enduring conflict with Arab nations in the region.

E. The Impact of Nuclear Weapons

The use of nuclear weapons against Japan started a period of insecurity in which people worried that the destruction of the planet could happen at any time and without warning. Fallout from tests of atomic bombs led to greatly increased cancer rates among those exposed, even while the government reassured citizens that the fallout was harmless. Science fiction began to depict a future in which civilization had been destroyed by nuclear weapons.

III. A Cold War Society

A. Family Lives

After the war, many white Americans moved to the suburbs where life encouraged a sharpening of gender roles. Men went to work as women were expected to concentrate on a nearly full-time job of unpaid housework. Economic reality forced most black women to do double duty as both unpaid housewives and working for white families as domestics. Children moved more firmly to the center of American family life as the baby boom which began in 1946 continued to 1964. The
sexual double standard remained in place as women’s virtue was tied to virginity in a way that men’s was not. Abortion was illegal and birth control often only available to married women and only in certain states.

B. The Growth of the South and the West

Before the war, the urban North had been the center of culture, industry, and finance but government expenditures during the war helped to change this. With both military bases and new industrial plants established for the war effort, the South, the Southwest, and California grew rapidly after the war. Migrants from Mexico continued to find work in California agriculture. Automobiles and air conditioners were two changes which stimulated the growth of the Sunbelt, as the government built highways instead of railroads or public transportation. Air conditioning helped make the South less uncomfortable and more inviting to Northerners.

C. Harry Truman and the Limits of Liberal Reform

Boxed in by conservative Republican opponents, President Harry Truman was unsuccessful in introducing a system of national health care. Truman, did, however, order the desegregation of the armed forces and federal civil service. While this earned him the thanks of black voters, it caused white Southerners to walk out of the 1948 Democratic convention and nominate Strom Thurmond as the “Dixiecrat” candidate for president. Meanwhile disappointed left Democrats moved to back former Vice President Henry Wallace, who ran on the Progressive Party label. Despite the predictions of victory for Republican Thomas E. Dewey, Truman managed to win an upset victory and was returned to the White House.

D. The Cold War at Home

Although liberals and moderates embraced anti-communism, this proved to be no protection against “red baiting”, mostly conservative Republicans, who accused liberal Democrats of sympathizing with or even spying for the Soviet Union. All foreign policy setbacks were blamed on traitors within. President Truman helped start the “red scare” when in 1947 he had a federal employee loyalty program established. By “red baiting” Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party, Truman helped set the tone of what later became called “McCarthyism,” after the Republican Senator from Wisconsin who made the most outrageous charges against liberals. With Republicans able to accuse their Democratic opponents of disloyalty, even with no proof, the Republican electoral victory of 1952 was secured.

E. Who is a Loyal American?

The Cold War established a new definition of who was a loyal American. Homeowners were assumed to be loyal, while homosexuals were perverts. Religious people, even formerly excluded Catholics and Jews, were considered loyal while others were not. Some gains were made for civil rights within the limits of the Cold War, while radical activists like W.E.B. DuBois and singer
Paul Robeson refused to make concessions and were duly demonized. Native Americans were promised much but given little, while immigrants received mixed messages. The ban on Asians becoming citizens was lifted but were kept discriminatory immigration quotas.

IV. The United States and Asia

A. The Chinese Civil War

Despite restrictions on Chinese immigration, the United States had long shown a great interest in China. Missionaries saw it as a place to gain converts while businessmen eyed the Chinese market, home to one-fifth the world’s population. During World War II, the U.S. had been allied with China against Japan. So, when Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party took power in October of 1949, Americans were shocked. How could such a large nation become communist without the military intervention of the Soviet Union? Would the rest of Asia follow? China became a major issue in American politics, with Republican rhetoric asking the question “Who lost China?”

B. The Creation of the National Security State

In the weeks before the Chinese revolution took power, the Soviet Union had tested its first atomic bomb. In response, President Truman began to create a National Security state which would oppose revolutions or radical change everywhere on the planet. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was to handle spying, while the National Security Council (NSC) coordinated foreign policy information. As scores of communities became dependent on military spending, a kind of military welfare state emerged.

C. At War in Korea

The Korean War began on June 25, 1950. Divided by the United States and the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War, North Korea had a dictatorial pro-Soviet regime, while South Korea was not much more democratic but was pro-American. Even before the start of the war, some 100,000 Koreans lost their lives as leftist rebellions took place and were brutally suppressed in the South.

The fighting raged until 1953, with 37,000 American dead as well as three million Koreans and almost a million Chinese. American military superiority had prevailed and the policy of containment had succeeded but at a great cost.
Identification

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Cold War:

2. Ho Chi Minh:

3. GI Bill:

4. Jackie Robinson:

5. Taft-Hartley Act (1947):

6. Policy of containment:

7. Marshall Plan:

8. North Atlantic Treaty Organization:


10. House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC):

11. Paul Robeson:

12. Army-McCarthy Hearings:


15. General Douglas MacArthur:

16. League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC):

17. Atomic Energy Commission:

18. Senator Joseph McCarthy:

19. Iron Curtain:


**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. The only major combatant to emerge from the war in better shape than before was the
   A. Soviet Union.
   B. United States.
   C. France
   D. British Empire.
   E. Republic of China.

2. After the war, western Europeans established
   A. welfare states to provide a minimum standard of living for their citizens.
   B. right-wing governments to encourage the growth of capitalism.
   C. governments which openly defended white supremacy.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above
3. The GI Bill passed in 1944 was to
   A. pay for college tuition for U.S. veterans.
   B. provide lifetime medical care for veterans.
   C. offer low-cost mortgages to veterans.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

4. Jackie Robinson was notable for
   A. winning a gold medal at the Berlin Olympics.
   B. being the first African American to play in major league baseball.
   C. his role in the landmark Brown v. the Board of Education decision.
   D. winning the Congressional Medal of Honor in Korea.
   E. none of the above.

5. The CIO’s “Operation Dixie” was defeated because
   A. it refused to allow African Americans into trade unions.
   B. of a skillful appeal by business to racist sentiments among white workers.
   C. it was revealed two weeks beforehand to President Roosevelt.
   D. of the opposition of the NAACP.
   E. none of the above.

6. The policy of containment is best understood as
   A. an attempt by the Soviet Union to isolate their capitalist rivals.
   B. a result of Winston Churchill’s 1945 election landslide.
   C. being mainly limited to the problems of Latin America.
   D. limiting terrorists to isolated regions of Asia.
   E. none of the above.

7. In the colonial world, the Truman administration sought to
   A. support self-determination even at the cost of U.S. interests.
   B. have a gradual transfer of power to pro-western local elites.
   C. defend the British Empire, even if it meant war in India.
   D. drive the Soviet Union out of southern Africa.
   E. none of the above.

8. The Atomic Energy Commission assured people in the 1940s that fallout was
   A. limited to Soviet “dirty” bombs.
   B. not a serious hazard.
   C. to be avoided at all costs, as it caused cancer and other illnesses.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.
9. Suburban life encouraged middle-class women to  
   A. work outside the home so as to make mortgage payments.  
   B. consider themselves the equals of men.  
   C. find fulfillment in marriage and motherhood.  
   D. avoid marriage, since it interfered with career advancement.  
   E. none of the above.

10. The growth of the Sunbelt was particularly stimulated by  
    A. cars and air conditioning.  
    B. expansion of the national railroad system after 1944.  
    C. new forms of public transportation like subways.  
    D. B and C only.  
    E. none of the above.

11. The “red scare” known as McCarthyism saw conservative Republicans  
    A. attacked as members of the Communist Party.  
    B. accuse racists of being agents of the Soviet Union.  
    C. call for dialogue with the U.S.S.R.  
    D. red-bait liberal Democrats as being communist sympathizers.  
    E. all of the above.

12. Who of the following was attacked for opposing the Cold War?  
    A. Henry Wallace  
    B. Paul Robeson  
    C. W.E.B. DuBois  
    D. all of the above  
    E. none of the above

13. In China, the victory of the Communists in 1949  
    A. was seen as a good thing by Democrats.  
    B. appalled Americans.  
    C. delighted President Truman.  
    D. was mainly ignored by a United States worried about Latin America.  
    E. none of the above.

14. South Korean leader Syngman Rhee was  
    A. a former resident of the United States.  
    B. unpopular with many, if not most, South Koreans.  
    C. the leader of an authoritarian capitalist regime.  
    D. responsible for suppressing leftist uprisings in South Korea.  
    E. all of the above.
15. Which of the following was NOT a result of the Korean War?
   A. Three million Koreans on both sides died.
   B. The United States lost 37,000 dead.
   C. The Soviet Union lost 85,000 dead.
   D. Korea remained divided.
   E. China lost almost a million soldiers.

MAP QUESTION:

After looking at Map 24.4, discuss the significance of the fighting during the Korean War. Was China justified in her fears when U.S. forces reached her border? Why or why not?

CONNECTING HISTORY

Evaluate the responsibility of both the Soviet Union and the United States for the Cold War. Which deserves the greater blame? Why?

INTERPRETING HISTORY

Analyze the U.S. objectives and programs for National Security. If the United States was so much stronger economically and militarily, why was the U.S. so afraid of the Soviet Union?

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. B
2. A
3. D
4. B
5. B
6. E
7. B
8. B
9. C
10. A
11. D
12. D
13. B
14. E
15. C
Chapter 25
Domestic Dreams and Atomic Nightmares, 1953–1963

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 25, you should be able to:

1. Detail the reasons behind the expansion of suburbs, highways, and shopping malls.
2. Explain how consumer spending fit in with the suburban ideal.
3. Understand how the 1950s impacted white Americans differently than people of color.
4. Discuss how and why white attitudes towards racial integration began to shift.
5. Analyze how the nuclear family ideal of the 1950s was a giant step backward for women.
6. Explain the significance of Brown v. the Board of Education decision.
7. Detail the white resistance to racial desegregation in the South.
8. Discuss how President Eisenhower responded to racial conflict at home.
10. Comprehend the importance of President Eisenhower’s pro-business agenda.
11. Understand United States policy towards liberation movements in the colonial world.
12. Discuss how sex and rock ‘n’ roll among American youth began to change morals.
13. Analyze how peace and environmental groups tried to mobilize support.
14. Discuss the meaning of the 1960 presidential election.
15. Explain how President Kennedy both changed and continued American foreign policy.
16. Discuss the impact of Martin Luther King, Jr. and his march on Washington.

Time Line

1952
Dwight D. Eisenhower elected president

1953
Earl Warren appointed as Chief Justice of Supreme Court

1954
Elected government of Guatemala overthrown by CIA

1955
Emmett Till murdered in Mississippi
Montgomery bus boycott
1956
Eisenhower reelected president
Interstate Highway Act passed

1957
Soviet Union launches Sputnik

1959
Fidel Castro overthrows U.S.-supported dictator in Cuba

1960
U-2 spy plane shot down by Soviet Union
John F. Kennedy elected president

1961
Berlin Wall erected
Freedom Rides organized by CORE
Women Strike for Peace stages protest against nuclear weapons
U.S.-backed invasion of Cuba fails

1962
*Silent Spring* published

1963
250,000 march on Washington for jobs and civil rights
President Kennedy assassinated in Dallas, Texas

**I. Cold War, Warm Hearth**

A. Consumer Spending and the Suburban Ideal

The postwar years saw a huge increase in personal income and a doubling of the suburban population, although 20 percent of families remained poor. Religious affiliation reached an all-time high and the nuclear families who settled in the suburbs provided the customer base for family-oriented amusement parks like Disneyland.

In only four years, the 1 million American homes with television in 1949 climbed to 20 million. The Interstate Highway Act of 1956 provided $100 billion to pay for 90 percent of 41,000 miles of highways. President Eisenhower stressed that these new highways would allow evacuation of cities in case of war but a major reason for their construction was the lobbying of the American Road Builders Association.
B. Race, Class and Domesticity

While many think of the 1950s as a age of economic prosperity, people of color found it difficult to move to the suburbs, as most suburban developments excluded nonwhites. Banks refused to loan money to racial minorities seeking to purchase homes in white areas. Still, racial segregation did not prevail everywhere, as was shown by examples of consciously integrated communities like Shaker Heights, Ohio.

White attitudes towards racial integration began to change only slightly, since most whites thought it acceptable for a property owner not to sell to blacks and well over 90% approved of laws banning interracial marriage. Urban renewal accelerated the decay of inner cities as once viable ethnic communities were bulldozed for new office buildings or housing for the well-off. In the rural areas, many people were also badly off, and many farm families lacked electricity or running water. The mechanization of farms forced many rural people to move north in search of jobs.

C. Women: Back to the Future

The American family ideal of a full-time wife and mother supported by the breadwinning husband was a major reversal for women. A number of possibilities for white working-class and middle-class women were now closed off, ranging from occupational training to professional education. Even college-educated women often worked as clericals in positions which did not make use of their skills. For women of color, clerical work, despite its low pay and lack of opportunity for advancement, was seen as preferable to migrant labor, factory work, or cleaning the homes of the rich.

Despite the expectation that women should devote themselves to homemaking and family, some women were able to pursue careers. As many white women dropped out of college to get married, black women knew that a college degree could make the difference between working as a maid or as a secretary, nurse, or teacher.

II. The Civil Rights Movement

A. Brown v. Board of Education

The 1954 Supreme Court decision was the first major victory over the Jim Crow system in the South. NAACP lawyers, led by Thurgood Marshall, argued, and the court later agreed, that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal. Led by newly appointed justice Earl Warren, the court ordered the desegregation of American schools.
B. White Resistance, Black Persistence

Despite the outcome of *Brown* case, school segregation continued as political leaders dragged their feet and the Supreme Court failed to set a clear timetable. President Eisenhower had opposed the court decision and refused to publicly support it. When Emmett Till, a 14-year-old boy was murdered for allegedly whistling at a white woman, the president was silent as the killers were released by an all-white jury. By the end of the Eisenhower administration, only 49 school districts remained desegregated out of 712 after the Brown decision.

C. Boycotts and Sit-Ins

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, riding on a segregated Montgomery, Alabama bus, refused to give up her seat to a white man. Parks was arrested and a boycott of the bus system began. For 381 days, more than 90 percent of the African American community refused to ride the now all-but-empty buses. Martin Luther King, Jr. became the leader of the boycott and soon the most powerful voice for civil rights. King and other leaders formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to unite black ministers in the cause of civil rights.

Inspired by the bus boycott, four African American college students in Greensboro, North Carolina sat at the lunch counter of a Woolworth store and refused to leave. Physically removed, they returned the next day with 23 classmates. By the end of the week, more than a thousand students had joined the protest. In May 1961, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized the Freedom Rides, in which black and white civil rights workers attempted to ride interstate buses to challenge segregation at facilities used in interstate travel. Although white mobs attacked and beat the riders who were also arrested by local police, their example helped inspire others to join the movement.

III. The Eisenhower Years

A. The Middle of the Road

Hero of the D-Day invasion of France, Dwight D. Eisenhower easily won the presidency against Democrat Adlai E. Stevenson in 1952. As president, Eisenhower pushed pro-business policies and pleased conservatives while extending many of the policies of the New Deal to placate liberals. Eisenhower worked to reduce defense spending by cutting expensive convention forces while improving the air force and advancing nuclear weapons. His plan were derailed on October 4, 1957 when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, the first artificial earth satellite. Forced to increase military spending, Eisenhower also called for overall improvements in science and math education. Eisenhower signed the National Defense Education Act in 1958, which gave more than $1 billion to education.
B. “What’s Good for General Motors”

Eisenhower’s pro-business policies had a devastating impact on the environment. Businesses were allowed to expand with little regulation and little concern for the increasing pollution of the air, water, and land. Eisenhower’s support for the interstate highway system was a boon to the auto, trucking, oil, concrete, and tire industries. This led to the decline of the passenger train system public transportation as well as contributing to suburban sprawl, air pollution, and traffic jams.

C. Eisenhower’s Foreign Policy

Confrontations between the Soviet Union and the United States gave way to more subtle conflicts over the unaigned nations in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Latin America. After the death of Stalin in 1953, the Soviet Union under Nikita Khrushchev agreed to limit nuclear tests and moved towards greater cooperation. Meanwhile, both nations were facing challenges from within their spheres of influence. The Soviets faced armed revolts in Poland and Hungary in 1956, for example.

As third world countries tried to organize themselves, the United States helped overthrow democratically elected leaders and prop up corrupt and brutal dictatorships. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had 15,000 operatives working around the globe by the end of the 1950s. The CIA helped overthrow the elected government in Iran as well as the elected government of Guatemala in 1954. American policy in support of dictators in Latin America was so unpopular that Vice President Richard Nixon was nearly killed in Caracas, Venezuela when protesters attacked his motorcade in 1958.

In 1959, Fidel Castro overthrew Cuba’s U.S.-backed dictator and took control of foreign-owned companies. Faced with American hostility, Castro turned to the Soviet union for support, which only further enraged Washington, which launched an unsuccessful invasion of Cuba in 1961. The CIA helped overthrow and assassinate the left-leaning Patrice Lumumba, the first post-colonial leader of the Republic of Congo. In Egypt, the Eisenhower administration cut off aid when President Nasser opened trade with the Soviet bloc and recognized communist China. The U.S. rarely distinguished between nationalist movements and those truly pro-Soviet, even sending 14,000 marines to Lebanon to set up a anti-Nasser government there.

IV. Outsiders and Opposition

A. Youth, Sex and Rock ‘n’ Roll

Life in America was not necessarily quiet, and many thought that American youth were out of control. Although sexual mores were rigid, they were widely violated. A sexual double standard encouraged young men toward sexual conquest while condemning women who had sex before
marriage. Youth of the 1950s turned to rock ‘n’ roll, a new music with raw sexuality and a celebration of rebelliousness. Many of these impulses would take political form in the 1960s.

B. Rebellious Men

Forced into boring jobs, some men turned to alternative visions of the good life as represented by Hugh Hefner’s *Playboy* magazine. Hefner promoted the joys of sex without commitment, while Beat poets, writers, and artists celebrated freedom from conformity. Most men only indulged in these fantasies in their dreams.

C. Mobilizing for Peace and the Environment

Some women did not wait for the feminist movement to become politically vocal. Rachel Carson, for instance, wrote powerfully about her belief that manufactured chemicals were destroying the environment. In 1962, her book *Silent Spring* pointed out the worldwide problem of pesticide poisoning. Women also led the movement to stop atomic bomb testing and restrict the number of nations who possessed nuclear weapons. Women Strike for Peace lobbied government officials to “End the Arms Race—Not the Human Race.”

V. The Kennedy Era

A. Domestic Policy

After becoming president by a slim margin, John F. Kennedy continued many of the pro-business policies of Eisenhower, although he did support some issues of importance to the working class such as increasing the minimum wage. In his first two years, he tried to avoid division at home while waging the Cold War forcefully abroad.

B. Foreign Policy

Unlike previous presidents, Kennedy understood the legitimacy of national self-determination movements. He tried to support movements to end colonial rule but if a movement was thought too friendly to the Soviet Union, Kennedy would fight against it. The new president formed the Peace Corps and worked to establish the Organization of American States (OAS). In Vietnam, he followed Eisenhower and Truman in fighting against the National Liberation Front of Ho Chi Minh. Ever more hostile to Cuba’s new government, Kennedy continued covert operations even after the failed Bay of Pigs invasion and ordered the CIA to assassinate Fidel Castro.

When the Berlin Wall was built to prevent East Germans from moving to the West, Kennedy promised to defend West Berlin. In 1962, the Cuban missile crisis took place when the Soviet Union sent nuclear missiles to Cuba to help defend Castro’s government. After a great deal of tension, Kennedy and Khrushchev resolved the crisis and the Soviets pulled their weapons out of
Cuba, in return for which the United States removed Jupiter missiles from Russia’s neighbor, Turkey.

C. A Year of Turning Points

In 1963, a Presidential Commission on the Status of Women documented widespread discrimination against women in many areas of American society. Kennedy ordered the federal government to hire “without regard to sex” and supported the passage of the Equal Pay Act. When Martin Luther King, Jr. led a peaceful march that was attacked by Birmingham police, Kennedy pressured Alabama officials to allow black students to attend the University of Alabama. Finally, Kennedy declared himself on the side of civil rights. A few months later, a quarter of a million people marched on Washington for civil rights and jobs. At the final rally, Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his famous “I Have a Dream” speech.

Visiting Dallas in the fall, Kennedy hoped to mobilize support but was assassinated. Police arrested Lee Harvey Oswald, who claimed innocence but was killed before he could come to trial. Despite the official verdict of the commission appointed by President Lyndon Johnson that Oswald acted alone, many people then and now believe that Kennedy’s death was the result of a conspiracy.

**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. American Road Builders’ Association:

2. Interstate Highway Act (1956):

3. Federal Housing Authority (FHA):

4. Shaker Heights, Ohio:

5. *The Feminine Mystique:*

6. *Ebony* magazine:

8. Emmett Till:

9. Martin Luther King, Jr.:


11. “Military-Industrial Complex”:

12. Sputnik:

13. U-2 spy plane:

14. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA):

15. Dr. Tom Dooley:

16. Patrice Lumumba:

17. Gamal Abdul Nasser:

18. James Dean:

19. *Catcher in the Rye*:

20. Hugh Hefner:

21. Women Strike for Peace (WSP):
22. *Silent Spring:*

23. “Viva Kennedy” clubs:

24. Peace Corps:

25. “*Ich bin ein Berliner*”:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. Between 1950 and 1970, the population of U.S. suburbs
   A. more than doubled.
   B. remained stable.
   C. grew, but at a slower rate than major cities.
   D. declined as population moved to the countryside.
   E. none of the above.

2. Most American suburbs were known for all of the following EXCEPT
   A. increased ownership and use of the automobile.
   B. a high level of religious affiliation.
   C. single-family homes.
   D. an open attitude towards Americans of color.
   E. increased gender differences within a nuclear family.

3. Urban renewal, although intended to revitalize cities, actually
   A. worsened conditions for urban poor.
   B. accelerated the decay of inner cities.
   C. enabled suburbanites to commute to the city.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

4. *Brown v. the Board of Education* was notable for the Supreme Court ruling that
   A. schools may be separate but must be equal.
   B. Congress had no power to force integration on the state level.
   C. separate schools were inherently unequal.
   D. integration was unconstitutional.
   E. none of the above.
5. The Montgomery bus boycott began in 1955 because
   A. African Americans were charged higher fares than white Americans.
   B. it was part of a Communist Party plan to cause social unrest.
   C. the city transit company discriminated against female bus drivers.
   D. African Americans demanded to ride for free.
   E. none of the above.

6. The purpose of the 1961 Freedom Rides was to
   A. promote interracial marriage.
   B. challenge segregation at interstate travel facilities.
   C. support the Montgomery bus boycott.
   D. protest discrimination against Mexican Americans on passenger railroads.
   E. none of the above.

7. President Eisenhower followed policies which were able to
   A. please conservatives because they were pro-business.
   B. placate liberals by extending some New Deal policies.
   C. appear middle-of-the-road.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

8. In 1957, when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik,
   A. plans to reduce defense spending were derailed.
   B. the United States was still far ahead in the space race.
   C. Eisenhower’s popularity climbed 20 percent.
   D. the Eisenhower administration cut educational funding.
   E. all of the above.

9. The Interstate Highway Act of 1956 was
   A. an attempt to expand the nation’s passenger railroad system.
   B. intended to limit highway expansion.
   C. a boon to the auto, trucking, oil, concrete and tire industries.
   D. vetoed by President Eisenhower as “too expensive for our economy.”
   E. none of the above.

10. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) helped overthrow elected governments in
    A. Iran.
    B. Guatemala.
    C. Republic of the Congo.
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.
11. How best to describe sexual mores in the 1950s?
   A. rigid and widely violated
   B. more permissive than during World War II
   C. more liberal, as shown by more legal abortions
   D. more liberal in the South, more rigid in the North.
   E. none of the above

12. Rachel Carson wrote Silent Spring to warn against the
    A. threat of a Communist takeover.
    B. impact of chemicals on the environment.
    C. danger of ignoring the hearing impaired.
    D. dangers of sex outside marriage.
    E. possibility of a nuclear war.

13. John F. Kennedy was elected president in 1960
    A. by a slim margin.
    B. and became the first Roman Catholic president.
    C. as a Northern Democrat.
    D. with much African American support.
    E. all of the above.

14. Which was the greatest foreign policy crisis of the Kennedy years?
    A. collapse of the Berlin Wall.
    B. war in Korea
    C. Cuban missile crisis
    D. triumph of Communists in China
    E. U-2 Spy plane incident.

15. The 1963 March on Washington drew 250,000 people protesting for
    A. jobs as well as freedom.
    B. an end to the war in Vietnam.
    C. the release of Martin Luther King, Jr. from jail
    D. all of the above.
    E. none of the above.

**MAP QUESTION:**

After looking at Map 25.2, evaluate the relative strengths of both sides in the Cold War. What type of nation seems most likely to be part of neither side?
CONNECTING HISTORY

Explain how and why anti-communism became such a prominent ideology in the United States. How did the Cold War move it into the mainstream? What interests profited from the acceptance of anti-communism by most Americans?

INTERPRETING HISTORY

*Silent Spring* appeared in 1962. How have the events and discoveries since then proved or disproved Rachel Carson’s fears? Give examples.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. A
2. D
3. D
4. C
5. E
6. B
7. D
8. A
9. C
10. D
11. A
12. B
13. E
14. C
15. A
Chapter 26
The Nation Divides: The Vietnam War and Social Conflict, 1964–1971

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 26, you should be able to:

1. Explain the goals of President Lyndon Johnson during his presidency.
2. Detail what were the purposes of the “Great Society.”
3. Understand the significance of the Warren Court.
4. Discuss how the United States reacted to the Vietnamese revolution.
5. Analyze the Johnson administration’s strategy to win the war in Vietnam.
6. Explain how 1968 became the turning point in the war in Vietnam.
7. Detail the extent and significance of various protests that took place during the 1960s.
8. Discuss how the civil rights movement confronted the limits of its success.
9. Detail the growth of the New Left and the growing antiwar movement.
10. Comprehend the importance of cultural rebellion and the counterculture.
11. Understand how the movement for women’s liberation changed the United States.
12. Discuss the many new fronts of liberation politics, such as gay liberation.
13. Analyze the causes and results of the conservative backlash.
14. Discuss how President Nixon became the most liberal Republican since Teddy Roosevelt.
15. Explain the Nixon administration’s strategy in Vietnam.
16. Discuss the impact of antiwar sentiment at home on ending the war in Vietnam.

Time Line

1962
The Other America published
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) formed

1963
President Kennedy assassinated in Dallas, Texas
Clean Air Act passed
Gideon v. Wainwright established right of indigent prisoners to legal counsel
The Feminine Mystique published

1964
Lyndon Johnson wins presidency in landslide over Republican Barry Goldwater
1965
Voting Rights Act passed
_Griswold v. Connecticut_ protected use of contraception
100,000 more combat troops sent to Vietnam
U.S. invaded Dominican Republic
Malcolm X assassinated

1966
Clean Waters Act passed

1967
Black Panther Party formed in Oakland, California
Haight-Ashbury (San Francisco), Summer of Love

1968
Over 500,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam
Martin Luther King, Jr. assassinated in Memphis
Robert Kennedy murdered in California
Tet Offensive
Richard Nixon elected president

1969
Largest antiwar march in Washington D.C.
Native American activists seized Alcatraz
Stonewall riot marked start of Gay Liberation Movement

1970
First “Earth Day” celebration
Four students killed at Kent State University and two at Jackson State University

1971
Pentagon Papers published by _New York Times_
Voting age reduced from 21 to 18

**I. Lyndon Johnson and the Apex of Liberalism**

A. The New President

Growing up in rural poverty in Texas, Lyndon Johnson turned out to be more liberal than John F. Kennedy had been. While keeping Kennedy’s anticommunist foreign policy, Johnson turned his attention more closely to problems at home. He sought to perfect American society and
make the U.S. a model for all other nations. In the 1964 elections, Johnson won a landslide victory, winning 61% of the votes cast over conservative Republican Barry Goldwater.

B. The Great Society: Fighting Poverty and Discrimination

To create what he called the Great Society, Johnson declared a “War on Poverty.” With one out of five Americans living below the official poverty line, Johnson pushed a number of programs to help raise these people’s standard of living. Attacked as wasteful by the right and inadequate by the left, these programs did reduce the number of poor people by a third, although poverty remained. Johnson also shed his segregationist voting record and became the most vocal presidential supporter of racial equality. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 made desegregation the law of the land. The Voting Rights Act outlawed poll taxes and allowed federal intervention to ensure that African Americans were allowed to vote.

C. The Great Society: Improving the Quality of Life

Johnson’s vision included the new Medicare system that paid for the medical needs of Americans over 65 and provided health care for the poor. Johnson’s surgeon-general issued the first warning that smoking was linked to cancer. Higher federal emission standards forced automakers to produce safer cars. Growing public concern about the environment led to the Clean Air Act (1963) and the Clean Waters Act (1964). Even the tradition of dam building was revisited and restricted in the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act (1968).

D. The Liberal Warren Court

Although appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court by Republican President Eisenhower, Earl Warren steadily expanded individual rights. In *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963), indigent prisoners were guaranteed the right to counsel, while *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964) confirmed the right to have a lawyer present during interrogation. The Warren Court limited the practice of requiring prayers in public schools, while *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) established contraceptive devices as a matter of choice protected by the constitution. The Court overturned laws against interracial marriage and President Johnson appointed NAACP legal counsel Thurgood Marshall to become the first black Supreme Court justice. These rulings made the Warren Court a target for conservatives who saw the court as promoting wrongful social change.

II. Into War in Vietnam

A. The Vietnamese Revolution and the United States

Vietnamese nationalists led by Ho Chi Minh and the Indochinese Communist party sought to free their nation from French colonial rule. During World War II, the Vietnamese nationalists, or
Vietminh, had worked closely with the United States against the Japanese. With the defeat of Japan, Vietnam was declared an independent country, with American OSS officers looking on.

But cold war attitudes won out and the United States, along with Britain, backed the French in their bid to regain control of Vietnam. Fighting lasted from 1946 until the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. A temporary division of the country was agreed upon until elections could be held. The U.S. decided to prop up the southern half of Vietnam as an anticommunist regime and refused to allow the promised elections. The Vietminh in the south began a sabotage campaign and formed the National Liberation Front (NLF) to reunify the nation. By the time of his assassination, President Kennedy had increased the number of U.S. troops in Vietnam to 16,000; even so, the NLF continued to make gains.

B. Johnson’s War

Believing that American credibility was at stake, President Johnson faced an NLF which was winning the political war in the south. Without either a national debate or a congressional declaration of war, Johnson escalated the number of American troops. Fearful that if he withdrew, Republicans would attack him as McCarthy once had attacked Democrats for “losing China,” Johnson sent 100,000 combat troops to Vietnam in 1965. His attempt to bribe Ho Chi Minh to give up the struggle in the south in return for massive American aid failed and the U.S. Air Force dropped more bombs on Vietnam than had been used by all sides during World War II. These tactics caused one-fourth of the southern population to become refugees.

C. Americans in Southeast Asia

Confident of victory and dismissing the Vietnamese as primitive, American soldiers who went to Vietnam in 1965-1966 soon found matters less optimistic. Few Vietnamese, not even anticommunists, viewed the southern government, often referred to by the name of its capital Saigon, as legitimate or democratic. Everyone knew it was kept in power only by foreign support whereas in the North, there was a government which had defeated the French colonialists.

Along with underestimating the NLF and North Vietnamese, the U.S. assumed that the communists had no popular support. In fact, Ho Chi Minh was extremely popular and the U.S. intervention just made him more so. As the war expanded, the NLF grew and their superior organization and commitment enabled them to overcome their lack of firepower.

The 3 million Americans who went to Vietnam were at first drawn from the professional army but, as the war escalated these professionals were joined by hundreds of thousands of young draftees. The U.S. army became an army of teenagers, as it was filled with 18-year-olds who mainly wanted to survive their 12-month tour of duty. As frustration mounted towards an enemy who fought a hit-and-run guerrilla war, many G.I.s began to slide toward a racial war against all Vietnamese. Although many U.S. soldiers resisted this trend, atrocities on both sides
inevitably took place. The most publicized was the March 16, 1968 My Lai massacre committed by Lieutenant William Calley and his troops, in which more than 400 women, children, and old men were tortured and killed.

D. 1968: The Turning Point

In late 1967, the U.S. remained publicly upbeat about the war, and General Westmoreland stated that he saw some light at the end of the tunnel. Privately, however, important members of Johnson’s administration were beginning to have serious doubts. All thought of an immediate victory was crushed by the Tet Offensive of January 30th, when NLF and North Vietnamese units attacked U.S. strong points across the country, even occupying the courtyard of the U.S. embassy in Saigon. Although the U.S. won the battle militarily, the blow to American confidence was irreversible.

In the same period as Tet, two other crises would convince many among the elite that American power was spread too thin. The first crisis was the seizure of the U.S. spy ship *Pueblo* in the Sea of Japan by North Korea, who temporarily imprisoned the crew. The other blow was the financial collapse of the British pound, which caused Great Britain to withdraw from its positions east of the Suez Canal and meant the United States would have to move into this vacuum. All of these problems combined to cause a run on the dollar, promoting fear of another 1929-style depression. Finally, Lyndon Johnson’s political career was ruined and he announced on March 31st that he would not run for the nomination of his now deeply divided Democratic Party.

III. The Movement

A. From Civil Rights to Black Power

Having won an end to legal discrimination, the civil rights movement splintered by 1966, as racial prejudice continued despite the new legislation. The Justice Department and FBI seemed to do little to restrain the Ku Klux Klan’s campaign of anti-civil rights violence. Even well-intentioned white liberals often tried to take over and manage African Americans lives. So for many younger African Americans, the need for greater independence from white America became more important than cooperation. In 1964, Cassius Clay won the heavyweight boxing championship and the next day announced he was a Black Muslim and was changing his name to Muhammad Ali.

Violence was an issue as matters shifted towards black power. Militants like Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown called for African Americans to defend themselves against white violence. Malcolm X called on blacks to “stop singing and start swinging,” and the Black Panther Party
was later formed in Oakland to respond to police brutality. Uprisings and riots swept black urban communities during the summers of 1964-1968. Ninety people died and 4,000 were injured in just the year 1967, mainly African Americans killed by white people.

Of greater importance than the talk or reality of violence was the cultural movement that promoted pride in African Americans and African history and life. African Americans began to refer to themselves as “black” rather than “Negro.” Politically, the sixties saw the election of black officials to offices previously closed to people of color.

B. The New Left and the Struggle Against the War

In the summer of 1962, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was formed, based on a charter known as the Port Huron Statement, which called for an end to racism and war. Hoping to promote a new type of participatory democracy, SDS saw itself as the white counterpart to black student radicals. SDS was to be the central organization of the New Left and it devoted itself particularly to critiquing “corporate liberalism.” New Leftists saw anti-communism as a distraction from the real problems of the nation, particularly as the Vietnam War was escalated.

After 1965, the broad reform agenda of SDS began to narrow more and more towards stopping the war in Vietnam. Like their African American counterparts, the white New Left grew more alienated and radical as they realized the extent of government deceit and corporate power. SDS began cheering for Ho Chi Minh and ultimately broke apart in confusion, as warring factions argued for a revolution against imperialism and capitalism.

C. Cultural Rebellion and the Counterculture

If the New Left wanted to reform America and later overthrow the status quo, the counterculture wished to create an alternative society. Young people, often called “hippies,” alienated by materialism, competition, and conformity, looked forward to a new America free from hypocrisy and artificially. These people attempted to live their lives with the alternative values of gentleness, tolerance, and inclusivity. To expand their self-knowledge, members of the counterculture often turned to mind-altering drugs, such as marijuana, peyote, hashish, LSD, and cocaine.

By its very essence, the counterculture had no strictly defined membership. Millions of Americans took part, to at least a limited degree, by smoking marijuana and listening to rock music. Older Americans experienced the counterculture mainly as outside spectators, while corporations soon realized that a huge market existed for records, clothing, jewelry, and natural foods.

One visible change of the 1960s was what is often called the sexual revolution. New attitudes removed some of the penalties for premarital and extramarital sex, while the introduction of the birth control pill freed women from the fear of pregnancy. Attitudes towards abortion also
became more accepting and the Supreme Court established a women’s right to abortion in *Roe v. Wade*. For women, the sexual revolution was a double-edged sword, as it legitimated female sexuality but also created new sexual pressures from men.

**D. Women’s Liberation**

The movement for women’s liberation grew in the late 1960s to battle all kinds of limitations and sexist expectations. The new belief that “the personal is political” came from younger, mostly white women who were veterans of the civil rights and antiwar movements. This new wave of feminism sparked intense debates about gender. Feminists argued about whether or not women were basically the same as men or whether womanhood was biological. Radical feminists supported lesbianism, while the National Organization of Women (NOW) did not even support gay rights until 1973. Women of color often found that racial and class oppression was more important than gender and many working-class women found the complaints of many feminists to be the distant dissatisfactions of women of the leisure class.

**E. The Many Fronts of Liberation**

As with women’s liberation, the Chicano, pan-Indian, and gay liberation movements were based on previous organizing within their communities. The most visible organization of Latinos was the movement led by Cesar Chavez to form a farm workers union. National consumer boycotts of grapes and iceberg lettuce helped win recognition of the United Farm Workers (UFW). Among young Mexican Americans, there were increased efforts to fight against discrimination while at the same time promoting pride in their cultural heritage.

Puerto Ricans, heavily concentrated on the East Coast, became more militant and nationalistic, as young people formed the Young Lords in 1969. Native Americans, the poorest Americans, tried to reinvigorate their communities. To publicize their grievances, a group of Native Americans seized the island of Alcatraz and occupied it for a year and a half. In 1973, members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) occupied buildings at Wounded Knee, South Dakota for two months. Among the gay and lesbian community, the open atmosphere of the late 1960s gave young militants space to express their anger at the homophobic prejudice and violence common in the U.S.

**IV. The Conservative Response**

**A. Backlashes**

The first backlash was against people of color who were asserting themselves as never before. Whites condemned black “ingratitude” and associated the civil rights and black power movements with increased crime rates and riots. Although economically and socially oppressed, people of color were supposed to emulate mainstream white society. When they didn’t, many whites became hostile.
The backlash went beyond race to include a defense of traditional hierarchies against the 1960s rebellion. Proud of their lives and values, older whites could not understand the dissent and disrespect of the young. The United States remained one of the most religious of industrialized nations and conservative Christians saw protest as sinful disobedience towards lawful authority. Older whites feared the effect of drugs and changing sexual morals on their children. This backlash even had a class component, as working-class whites resented both well-off campus radicals and poor people of color.

B. The Turmoil of 1968 at Home

The conservative backlash was fed by the events of 1968. The Tet Offensive in Vietnam shocked patriotic citizens, who could not understand why the U.S. had not won the war. Riots following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. spread fear among whites, while the Democratic Party fell apart after the murder of Robert Kennedy and the televised police riot during the Chicago convention. Into this sea of anger and confusion came George Wallace, racist governor of Alabama, who ran for president as an independent and Richard Nixon, the Republican presidential nominee who promised “law and order” and claimed to have a secret plan to end the war in Vietnam. Democratic nominee Hubert Humphrey lost by less than 1 percent of the popular vote.

C. The Nixon Administration

Unlike President Johnson, Richard Nixon was mainly interested in foreign policy and found domestic programs dull. Although he campaigned as a conservative, after attaining power, Nixon became the most liberal Republican president since Teddy Roosevelt. This was clear in his support for the Environmental Protection Agency (1970) and various legislation such as the Endangered Species Act (1973). Although Nixon personally cared little about ecology, he understood the bipartisan popularity of such actions.

Nixon was not so soft on antiwar demonstrators. He hated them. The President appealed to conservative southern whites and northern ethnic Democrats to stand up for the “silent majority” and oppose protesters. Following the lead of presidents before him, Nixon used the FBI, CIA, and military intelligence agencies to infiltrate and disrupt antiwar dissenters and nonwhite nationalists. He compiled an “Enemies List” of Americans he wanted observed or harassed. When the Pentagon Papers were leaked to the New York Times, Nixon created a covert team called the plumbers to “plug leaks” even if it meant breaking the law.
D. Escalating and Deescalating in Vietnam

Nixon understood the limits of U.S. power and planned on pulling back from Vietnam. First, however, he wished to preserve U.S. “credibility” by a massive show of force. Nixon ordered intensified air strikes against North Vietnam and the secret bombing and invasion of Cambodia and Laos. On April 30, 1970, students by the hundreds of thousands protested the Cambodian invasion, with over 700 campuses effected. By now, a clear majority of Americans were opposed to the war. Some returning veterans organized the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) and held public hearings into the war crimes they had witnessed. The number of occurrences of U.S. soldiers killing their own officers escalated before the peace accords were signed and the war ended in 1973.

Identification

Explain the significance of each of the following:

1. Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party:

2. “Great Society”:

3. Young Americans for Freedom (YAF):

4. Bob Moses:

5. The Other America:


8. Ngo Dinh Diem:

9. Gulf of Tonkin Resolution:
10. Tet Offensive:

11. Dinks:

12. Senator Eugene McCarthy:

13. Cassius Clay:

14. Malcolm X:

15. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS):

16. New Left:

17. Weather Underground:

18. Jefferson Airplane:


20. *The Feminine Mystique*:

21. United Farm Workers (UFW):

22. American Indian Movement:

23. *All in the Family*:
24. George Wallace:

25. “Southern Strategy”:

26. Henry Kissinger:

27. Vietnam Veterans Against the War:

28. “fragging”:

29. Twenty-Sixth Amendment:

30. National Liberation Front:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. President Lyndon Johnson was personally most interested in
   A. establishing a reputation as a statesman.
   B. eliminating poverty in the United States.
   C. establishing a minimal role for the federal government.
   D. promoting unrestricted markets for business.
   E. all of the above.

2. In the 1964 presidential election, Senator Barry Goldwater was
   A. the Republican candidate.
   D. defeated almost two to one by Lyndon Johnson.
   E. the candidate of right-wing conservatives like the Young Americans for Freedom.
   F. running as a Senator from Arizona.
   G. all of the above.
3. The “War on Poverty”
   A. actually increased the number of poor Americans.
   B. reduced the number of poor by one-third between 1960 and 1969.
   C. was the main campaign proposal by Senator Goldwater in 1964.
   D. was first proposed by President Eisenhower.
   E. all of the above.

4. Which of the following was NOT part of the “Great Society” vision?
   A. reducing the number of poor Americans.
   B. Public Broadcasting System (PBS)
   C. Medicare
   D. higher federal auto safety standards
   E. Social Security.

5. Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was known for
   A. being the first African American appointed to the Supreme Court
   B. having been Democratic governor of Massachusetts.
   C. giving wider powers to the police to make arrests.
   D. his liberal views.
   E. all of the above.

6. The Vietnamese nationalists led by Ho Chi Minh
   A. defeated the French in 1954.
   B. were more popular than the U.S.-backed Saigon regime.
   C. had more bombs dropped on them by the U.S. than all sides used in World War.
   D. scored a political victory with the Tet Offensive.
   E. all of the above.

7. The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution was
   A. a substitute for a declaration of war.
   B. the first time Congress had refused funds for the Vietnam War.
   C. announced by President Ho Chi Minh in April, 1965.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

8. Unable to tell friend from foe, many U.S. soldiers in Vietnam began to
   A. assume all civilians were friendly.
   B. wage a racist war against all Vietnamese.
   C. refuse to go into combat with ARVN troops.
   D. overcome frustration and relax.
   E. none of the above.
9. The Tet Offensive proved to be a
A. military defeat for the NLF and North Vietnam.
B. political victory for the NLF and North Vietnam.
C. blow to American confidence in President Johnson.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

10. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) were
A. formed out of Youth for LBJ.
B. the youth group of the Democratic Party.
C. the central organization of the New Left.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

11. The counterculture of the 1960s
A. was based on deep Christian beliefs.
B. was co-opted by capitalists who marketed anti-materialist commodities.
C. was absolutely the same as the New Left.
D. was largely sponsored by Communist Party front organizations.
E. all of the above.

12. Roe v. Wade established a woman’s constitutional right to
A. abortion.
B. divorce.
C. birth control devices.
D. equal pay for equal work.
E. child support.

13. Founded in 1966, the National Organization of Women (NOW) was
A. a Communist front organization.
B. formed to lobby against sexual discrimination.
D. largely, at first, made up of working-class women of color.
E. all of the above.

14. White backlash first developed in response to
A. the increasing assertiveness of people of color.
B. the war in Korea.
C. the decline of nonwhite nationalism.
D. discrimination against people from Europe.
E. all of the above.
15. The Pentagon Papers were a classified Defense Department study revealing
   A. Nixon’s role in Watergate.
   B. who killed President Kennedy.
   C. the poverty of citizens in the rural South.
   D. the U.S. needed more atomic bombs.
   E. that the government had been lying to the public about Vietnam.

**MAP QUESTION:**

After looking at Map 26.3, explain what, if any, pattern you can see for various types of protests. Where did most of the political assassinations take place? Why?

**CONNECTING HISTORY**

Discuss why wars traditionally mean the limitation, if not the end, of social reform within the United States. Can you give recent examples to support your argument?

**INTERPRETING HISTORY**

Explain what you think motivated Martin Luther King, Jr. to link the war in Vietnam with poverty and racism at home.

**Answers to Multiple Choice Questions**

1. C
2. E
3. B
4. E
5. D
6. E
7. A
8. B
9. D
10. C
11. B
12. A
13. B
14. A
15. E
Chapter 27
Reconsidering National Priorities, 1972–1979

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 27, you should be able to:

1. Detail the reasons behind President Nixon’s friendly relations with China.
2. Explain how Nixon and Kissinger divide China and the Soviet Union.
3. Understand how and why the United States overthrew the elected Chilean government.
4. Discuss the causes and results of the Watergate scandal.
5. Analyze the significance of President Nixon being driven from office.
6. Explain the reasons that led to stagnation and inflation hitting the U.S. economy.
7. Detail the shift of production facilities by large corporations outside the United States.
8. Discuss how the oil embargo revealed American dependence on foreign energy.
9. Explain how the growth of the environmental movement challenged traditional assumptions.
10. Comprehend the importance of congressional power being reasserted in 1970s.
12. Discuss how the partial meltdown at Three Mile Island changed the view of nuclear power.
13. Analyze how various Americans reacted to the challenges presented by feminism.
14. Discuss the increasing opportunities for young women in 1970s America.
15. Explain how family life changed as a result of increased female employment.
16. Discuss the male backlash against feminism and changes in gender relations.

Time Line

1972
Nixon became first President to go to China
Richard Nixon re-elected President over Democrat George McGovern

1973
Salvador Allende’s elected government in Chile was overthrown by CIA-backed coup
American standard of living began to decline
OPEC nations embargoed oil sales to the United States

1974
President Nixon resigned due to Watergate scandal
Freedom of Information Act passed
1975
NLF and North Vietnamese forces captured South Vietnam

1976
Congress cut off U.S. aid to anticommunist forces in Angola
Jimmy Carter elected President over Republican Gerald Ford
Hyde Amendment forbade Medicare to pay for abortions

1977
U.S. returned Panama Canal to Panama

1978
In Bakke case, Supreme Court ruled strict racial quotas are unconstitutional

1979
Revolution in Iran
Partial melt down at Three Mile Island

I. Twin Shocks: Detente and Watergate

A. Triangular Diplomacy

Richard Nixon, always a leading American anticommunist and red-baiter, proved to be more opportunistic than ideological as President. He and his adviser, Henry Kissinger, saw the chance to use Chinese-Soviet tensions to split the Communist bloc and play China against the USSR. In February 1972, Nixon stunned the world by announcing his trip to China. As expected, this alarmed the Soviets who asked that the U.S. include them in the new international balance of power.

As Nixon and Kissinger made deals with China and the USSR, the two men sought to crush any social movements in Third World nations. When Chile democratically elected Salvador Allende president of their country in 1970, it was only a matter of time before the CIA funded a right-wing military coup. In the 1973, the coup took place, President Allende died in the fighting, and the new dictatorship brutally suppressed civil liberties and murdered thousands. Where repressive regimes were already in place, like racist South Africa and Iran, the U.S. did everything in their power to support them with arms and money.
B. Scandal in the White House

In June 1972, Washington police caught agents of Nixon’s reelection campaign breaking into the Democratic National Committee headquarters. These agents had wanted to plant listening devices and the White House rushed to cover up its connections to the criminals. Since the break-in had taken place at the Watergate Hotel, the ensuing scandal is known as “Watergate.”

The break-in was only one part of a wider Nixon campaign of illegal dirty tricks against his political opponents. An insecure and unhappy loner, Nixon was racked with paranoid suspicion of even his own staff and proceeded, with Kissinger, to set up illegal wiretaps on reporters and administration officials. FBI and CIA officials were told to harass antiwar activists while the IRS was ordered to investigate prominent Democrats.

After the bungled Watergate break-in, Nixon oversaw a massive cover-up while lying to the nation about it. For almost a year, Nixon was successful in covering up his crimes but by early 1973, the administration began to crack. The President’s men started to look for ways to save themselves and refused to take the blame for Nixon’s actions. By the spring of 1974, the House of Representatives had passed bills of impeachment and Nixon looked certain to be found guilty in the Senate. So, Nixon resigned on August 9, 1974.

C. A President Laid Low

Although Nixon was the first president forced from office, the scandal deeply discredited American political institutions. Fewer and fewer citizens went to the polls as voter turnout began to drop severely. Replacing Nixon was Republican Gerald Ford who, although widely liked, lost much popularity by giving Nixon a full pardon in spite of overwhelming public opinion that Nixon should be tried for his crimes. In addition to the continued fallout from Watergate, Ford had to watch as the U.S. client state in South Vietnam fell to the combined assault of the NLF and North Vietnamese.

II. Discovering the Limits of the U.S. Economy

A. The End of the Long Boom

Stagnation, when prices and wages stay the same or drop, and inflation, when prices rise and jobs grow, normally can’t happen at the same time. In the 1970s, employment and wages stagnated but prices went upward as the cost of the Vietnam War had forced the government to print more money. Average real wages dropped by 2 percent yearly from 1973 into the 1990s. Unemployment increased and only the flow of women into the economy kept many families afloat. The number of families in poverty began to grow again. The gap between rich and poor kept (and keeps) growing larger.
This economic decline was partially caused by economic competition from Japan and West Germany. In response, American corporations moved production facilities to places with low wages and few taxes. Within the U.S., companies moved to the South and the Southwest while many simply left the country altogether. High unemployment and shrinking real wages helped fuel the growth of anti-immigrant feelings among some. Latinos suffered violence as right-wing officials and citizens made little distinction between native-born Americans of Latino heritage and undocumented immigrants. This backlash extended to African Americans who saw further assaults on their hard-won civil rights. While the courts had ordered school integration, the fact was that most schools remained segregated.

B. The Oil Embargo

The increased American economic weakness was illustrated by the boycott by the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC). Outraged at what they saw as unfair and often anti-Arab policies by the U.S., OPEC initiated an embargo on selling oil to the United States. Oil supplies dwindled and the prices Americans paid at the pump went to four times previous prices. Even after the end of the embargo, OPEC reduced production to keep prices high. Given the central role the automobile played in American culture, higher gas prices were sure to fuel inflation.

C. The Environmental Movement

In the 1970s, environmental consciousness spread rapidly as people worried about the impact of industrial growth on their quality of life. Groups like the National Wildlife Federation saw their membership soar while, for the first time, the media began reporting on ecological problems. Environmentalism had a more radical implication than even women’s liberation, since before this everyone from right-wing capitalists to Communists had agreed that industrial growth was a good thing. Environmentalists pointed out that unlimited consumption of natural resources was fundamentally unsound and ultimately unsustainable.

The issue of toxic waste was brought home by the crisis at Love Canal in New York, where tons of poisonous waste had been buried in a dry canal. The town that had developed around this now hidden danger began to suffer high rates of cancer and other ailments. The ground around Love Canal sometimes caught on fire for no apparent reason. There was soon a backlash to the cost of environmental clean ups as some Americans resented the idea of limits to growth. Yet, others began to adopt healthier lifestyles such as more exercise and eating organic foods.
III. Reshuffling Politics

A. Congressional Power Reasserted

The shock of Watergate and defeat in Vietnam caused Congress to reassert itself rather than merely deferring to the president in foreign affairs. In 1973, for instance, Congress passed the War Powers Act to limit the president’s ability to fight undeclared wars. Congress also investigated the covert operations that characterized, particularly, American foreign policy and revealed numerous abuses of power by the CIA and the FBI.

B. “I Will Never Lie to You”

President Ford was crippled in his election bid in 1976 by attacks from Ronald Reagan and the right-wing of the Republican Party and lingering resentment of his pardon of Nixon. Still, Democrat Jimmy Carter only narrowly defeated Ford. Carter promised openness and honesty with more than a little of the Sunday School teacher’s emphasis on morality. The first President from the deep South in a century, Carter entered the White House at a time when both the press and the public were extremely skeptical and Congress unusually suspicious of the presidency.

Carter had few ties to establishment types in either party and his moralistic stands were taken by many as another sign of his inexperience and isolation. Failing to cultivate relations with powerful Congressional Democrats, Carter was looked on with suspicion and contempt even by members of his own party.

C. Rise of a Peacemaker

Carter had far more success in refashioning U.S. foreign policy. He began his term with granting a full pardon to those who had evaded military service during the Vietnam War and placed human rights at the center of his view of international relations. Carter fired CIA director George H.W. Bush and reined in the agency’s covert operations. In 1977, Carter signed treaties to return sovereignty of the Panama Canal to Panama. Another great foreign policy victory was the Camp David accord whereby Egypt’s president Anwar Sadat and Israel’s prime minister Menachem Begin officially recognized each other and the framework for peace was established.

D. The War on Waste

Carter created a Department of Energy and granted tax incentives to promote the development of alternative fuels like solar power. Nuclear power, however, grew at the same time. 11 percent of nation’s electricity was generated by nuclear power in 1979 but 22 percent by 1992. In 1979, a revolution in Iran cut off the United States from the world’s second largest oil producer. While Carter understood the problem of excessive energy consumption, he failed to come up with a popular solution.
IV. Diffusing the Women’s Movement

A. The Meaning of Women’s Liberation

Feminists called for equality between the sexes as the women’s movement pushed for justice in both the private sphere of personal relations and public sphere of work and law. The millions of women whose lives were changing did not all have the same focus. Women of color balanced awareness of gender discrimination with the always-present problem of racism. Working-class women often stressed issues of importance to all workers regardless of gender. Even when many women were uncomfortable with the label “feminist,” they tended to believe in equal pay for equal work, abortion rights, and more equal sharing of household duties.

B. New Opportunities in Education, the Workplace, and Family Life

In the 1970s, educated women began to develop careers in increasing numbers. In the decade following 1970, female students in law school shot up from 5 to 40 percent. More and more women worked outside the home while the biggest gains went to professional women, although even these only averaged 73 percent of male pay. Family life changed, not always for the better as the stress of working outside the home and still having primary responsibility for the home brought new marital stresses and divorce rates climbed.

C. Equality Under the Law

Much like the black civil rights movement, feminists pressured government to eliminate legal gender discrimination. Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 required schools to spend as much money on women’s sports programs as those for men. The Equal Rights Amendment won an overwhelming victory in the Congress although it later failed to be ratified by enough states to become law. The Roe v. Wade decision handed down by the Supreme Court in 1973 protected a woman’s right to abortion. All of these legal rights raised the question of military service which women had previously been exempt from. Although the Selective Service act of 1980 only required men to register for the draft, women would increasingly serve in the armed forces as volunteers.

D. Backlash

While most Americans accepted the basic ideals of feminism, some desperately sought to defend existing gender roles. With the media often painting feminists as angry man-haters, the fundamental issues affecting most women were often overlooked. Many men wondered what equality for women meant for them. Must they now do half the housework and avoid commenting on a female’s physical appearance? Some men, feeling defensive, resisted the changes.
Although it is not surprising that men would be threatened, some women also found their identity as homemakers and mothers under attack. They attacked feminists as self-centered and charged that the new gender roles would destroy the family. Opponents of women’s liberation were able to pass the Hyde Amendment in 1976 preventing federal money from being used for abortions. In addition, the ERA Amendment was stopped when only 35 (out of the required 38) states ratified it by the deadline. Despite these defeats, feminism grew in influence within the United States. Women became religious leaders and in 1981, Sandra Day O’Connor became the first female Supreme Court justice.

**Identification**

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Karen Silkwood:

2. SALT I:

3. CREEP:

4. *Mayaguez*:

5. “Stagflation”:

6. OPEC:

7. *Earth First!:

8. Love Canal:

9. Clark Amendment:

10. COINTELPRO:
11. Church Committee:

12. Watergate:

13. Camp David accords:

14. Three Mile Island:

15. MS magazine:

16. ERA:

17. Hyde Amendment:

18. Roe v. Wade:

19. Sandra Day O’Connor:

20. Title IX:

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover
   A. hated Communism.
   B. kept secret files on important politicians.
   C. thought the women’s movement was part of the enemy.
   D. cross-dressed in private.
   E. all of the above.
2. Nixon and Kissinger’s “realpolitik” approach to foreign policy resulted in
   A. sending more U.S. troops to Vietnam.
   B. a diplomatic opening to the People’s Republic of China.
   C. the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.
   D. the collapse of the Soviet Union.
   E. all of the above.

3. Socialist Salvador Allende was democratically elected President of Chile, so Nixon
   A. had the CIA overthrow his government with great loss of life.
   B. asked him to help improve relations with Cuba.
   C. respected the wishes of the people of Chile.
   D. invited Chile to join NATO.
   E. none of the above.

4. After the bungled Watergate break-in, President Nixon
   A. admitted he was at fault and asked the public for forgiveness.
   B. resigned from office, leaving Spiro Agnew to become president.
   C. won a massive re-election victory in 1976.
   D. directed the cover-up from the beginning, then lied about it to the public.
   E. none of the above.

5. When the Watergate tapes became public, they revealed Nixon as
   A. a victim of circumstances.
   B. a man of deep pacifist beliefs.
   C. crude, vindictive, and full of ethnic and racial prejudice.
   D. innocent of all but the most minor infractions of the law.
   E. all of the above.

6. Stagnation and inflation hit the U.S. economy in the 1970s largely because of
   A. increased welfare fraud.
   B. massive government spending on the Vietnam War without raising taxes enough.
   C. higher taxes that choked private enterprise.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

7. The OPEC Oil Embargo revealed that the United States was
   A. overly dependant on foreign oil.
   B. under attack by world communism.
   C. too friendly with Arab nations.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.
8. Environmentalists argue that unlimited consumption of natural resources is
A. part of the chain of life.
B. fundamentally irresponsible to future human generations.
C. okay as long as the resources are organic.
D. fair to non-human species.
E. all of the above.

9. The Clark Amendment in 1976 cut off U.S. aid to
A. the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam).
B. whites in South Africa.
C. Cuba.
D. anticommunist forces in Angola.
E. the Soviet Union.

10. The Church Committee of the U.S. found out that the U.S. had
A. hired criminal underworld types to try and assassinate Fidel Castro.
B. attempted to assassinate leaders in the Congo and the Dominican Republic.
C. been involved in the assassination of the leader of South Vietnam.
D. subverted the elected government of Chile.
E. all of the above.

11. In the Presidential election of 1976, Democrat Jimmy Carter
A. was the landslide winner over Republican Ronald Reagan.
B. won the popular vote but lost in the electoral college.
C. narrowly defeated Republican Gerald R. Ford.
D. lost to conservative Ronald Reagan.
E. none of the above.

12. Upon taking office, Jimmy Carter
A. hired George Bush, Sr., as director of the CIA.
B. was immediately involved in a sex scandal.
C. repealed President Ford’s Panama Canal treaty.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

13. The Three Mile Island reactor hit the news in March 1979 because it
A. was the first nuclear reactor to go online in the U.S.
B. suffered a partial meltdown.
C. was the setting for the popular movie *The China Syndrome*.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.
14. Of some 500 feminist publications to appear, one of the most important was
A. MS.
B. The National Review.
C. MRS.
D. Playboy.
E. The New Republic.

15. The Equal Right Amendment stated that
A. women must serve in the armed forces.
B. affirmative action in all federal hiring for lesbians was necessary.
C. equality of rights shall not be denied on account of sex.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

MAP QUESTION:
After looking at Map 27.3, evaluate the policy of building nuclear power plants. Do you think the risks to nearby population centers is outweighed by the need for energy? Explain.

CONNECTING HISTORY
Discuss how and why the United States became and remains so dependent on fossil fuels. Do you predict any change? Why or why not?

INTERPRETING HISTORY
After reading the excerpt from the Church Committee, do you think the United States should be in the business of secretly assassinating foreign leaders? Explain your reasons for your answer.
Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. E
2. B
3. A
4. D
5. C
6. B
7. A
8. B
9. D
10. E
11. C
12. E
13. B
14. A
15. C
Chapter 28
The Cold War Returns—and Ends, 1979–1991

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 28, you should be able to:

1. Discuss the causes for the revival of anticommunism in the United States.
2. Detail the changes in Iran and Afghanistan that provoked the U.S.
4. Discuss why and how the Reagan administration re-started the Cold War.
5. Analyze the economic effects of “Reaganomics” and the attack on welfare programs.
6. Explain the reasons behind the renewed assault on the environment.
7. Detail the ways that American society became divided during the Reagan years.
8. Discuss how the rise of the religious right changed American politics and culture.
9. Understand the ways in which liberal and radical reformers fought the conservative tide.
10. Comprehend the significance of the immigration surge that hit the U.S. in the 1980s.
11. Understand what the Iran-Contra scandal showed about the Reagan administration.
12. Discuss the ways that George H.W. Bush used race, sex, and patriotism to become president.
13. Analyze the importance of the Gulf War for the Bush administration and the U.S.

Time Line

1979
Iranian militants seize U.S. embassy in Teheran
Russian army entered Afghanistan

1980
Ronald Reagan defeated Jimmy Carter in presidential election

1981
CIA created Contra army to attack Nicaraguan government

1982
Boland Amendment limited aid to Contras

1983
Scientists identified HIV as cause of AIDS
I. Anticommunism Revived

A. Iran and Afghanistan

In 1979, the Iranian people overthrew the U.S.-backed monarchy of Shah Reza Pahlavi. Under the Shah, the tremendous oil revenues of Iran flowed only to a small elite, while the majority remained poor and increasingly resentful of the monarch and his American allies. The leader who replaced the Shah was a religious leader, the Ayatollah Khomeini, who demanded the U.S. return the Shah, who had fled, to Iran for trial. When President Carter refused the Iranian request, militants stormed the U.S. Embassy in Iran and held the staff prisoners until the Shah’s death and the end of Carter’s presidency. Carter focused on engineering the hostages’ release, a distraction from his re-election campaign that may have cost him the 1980 election.

The hostility of the new Iranian leadership was based on their strict Islamic beliefs, which rejected the American acceptance of materialism, gender equality, alcohol consumption, and so on. Equally hostile to the Soviet Union, the new Iranian regime represented a new challenge to American power. Reacting to a similar movement in neighboring Afghanistan, the Soviet Union sent the first of 110,000 troops in an attempt to shore up the pro-Soviet government there. Moscow had decided that the spread of Islamic revolution threatened to move into the heavily Muslim regions of the USSR and acted accordingly. Rather than seeing the Russian invasion as defensive, the U.S. saw this as Soviet aggression and Carter organized a western boycott of the
1980 Olympic games in Moscow. The CIA began funding the Islamic radicals fighting the Soviets as the U.S. increased military spending.

B. The Conservative Victory of 1980

Unable to free the hostages in Iran or to force the USSR out of Afghanistan and plagued at home by a declining economy, the Carter presidency was in crisis by mid-1980. Challenged by liberal Ted Kennedy within his own party's primaries, Carter faced Ronald Reagan in the November election. Appealing to nostalgia for a time of rising wages and U.S. military might, Reagan gave simple answers and the voters responded by giving him an overwhelming victory over Carter. The Reagan victory showed the meshing of politics and entertainment since Reagan understood that public image was far more important than detailed policy proposals. The media loved Reagan, who was a master of the brief “sound bite.”

Beyond Reagan's winning personality also lay the renewal of American conservatism. Not only did Reagan triumph, Republicans managed to defeat a number of respected liberal Democrats in congressional elections. The basic values that united the Republicans were a belief in unhindered private business, free markets, and individual responsibility.

C. Renewing the Cold War

Rejecting the policy of détente that had been practiced by Nixon, his Republican predecessor, Reagan blamed the Soviet Union for all the world's problems. The Reagan administration launched the largest military build-up in peacetime, with a 40 percent budget increase from 1980 to 1984. At the same time, covert operations were given the green light to back anticommunist governments and rebels. Even so, Reagan was unwilling to put U.S. troops in harm's way. In Nicaragua, a leftist government had taken over in 1979. In response, Reagan had the CIA organize and fund a counterrevolutionary army to fight an undeclared war against the Nicaraguan government. By 1987, 40,000 Nicaraguans had died, mainly civilians. With many other nations condemning the “Contras,” Congress passed the Boland Amendments in 1982 and 1984 to restrict U.S. intervention.

II. Republican Rule at Home

A. “Reaganomics” and the Assault on Welfare

The domestic side of the Reagan administration concentrated on tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans while cutting social programs which helped the poor. Unwilling to cut popular programs that helped the middle class, Reagan's cuts fell far short of making up for the revenue lost by tax breaks for the rich. The assault on welfare had racial links as Reagan painted welfare recipients, most of whom were rural whites, as mainly urban and African American. Pushing responsibility from the federal government to state governments was a popular policy among
southern white supporters of “states’ rights”—a slogan which often was a code for racist beliefs. Despite its many failures, “Reaganomics” did curb inflation, which dropped from 14 percent to less than 2 percent in the first three years of his first term.

B. An Embattled Environment

The 1980 election reversed two decades of bipartisan support for environmental protection. The President made fun of preserving the wilderness and even claimed “trees cause more pollution than automobiles do.” Federal lands saw grazing, logging, and mineral rights sold to private interests at far below market prices. Among the more extreme Reagan appointees was James Watt, who said there was little need to preserve public lands since Christ would soon be returning and the world would be ending. These extreme anti-environmental policies alarmed many Americans and membership in environmental organizations soared.

C. A Society Divided

Under Reagan, the gap between poor and rich widened as the wealthy became ever more affluent. By 1989, the top 1 percent possessed more assets than the bottom 90 percent, as real wages declined for most Americans. The explosion of wealth at the top fueled a culture of extravagance much like that of the late 19th century and the 1920s. Meanwhile, the broad middle class saw job security slip away as more than a million industrial jobs disappeared in 1982 alone.

Organized labor suffered as the government encouraged corporate opposition to unions. The poorest Americans saw their incomes decline by 10 percent. More than 1 million people were homeless and 20 percent lived in poverty. Still, many blue-collar Americans voted for Reagan because he made clever cultural appeals, stressing Republican opposition to abortion, homosexuality, and affirmative action.

III. Cultural Conflict

A. The Rise of the Religious Right

Outraged by the Supreme Court's legalization of abortion and ban on organized school prayer, many conservative white Protestants became involved in politics. Upset by the shift in mainstream values away from respect for traditional authorities, this new religious right gave the Republican Party a distinctly southern, grassroots flavor. This group coexisted uneasily with the free-market wing of the party, which believed in an unrestrained capitalism with no inherent respect of tradition.

Gender and sexuality particularly upset the religious conservatives, who blamed feminism for the rising number of divorces and family problems. The sexual revolution ended in 1983 when the AIDS epidemic spread from gays to heterosexuals, while the Reagan administration refused to
mobilize against the disease. Another epidemic of the 1980s was the use of crack cocaine, which contributed to increased gang violence and murder rates.

B. Dissenters Push Back

The liberal and radical forces did not disappear during the 1980s. Many activists worked for social justice and there was increased activity in defense of the environment. Racial justice continued to loom as a major issue, as the Republican administration seemed to be trying to reverse the gains that people of color had made. The most important personality of left-leaning politics was the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who ran in the Democratic presidential primaries in 1984 and 1988. Gay rights activists fought against both AIDS and homophobic violence.

C. The New Immigration

Legislation in 1965 allowed more immigrants to enter the U.S. legally. A wave of new immigrants grew until in the 1980s, 6 million entered the country legally and about the same number arrived without documentation. These new immigrants brought an unprecedented cultural and ethnic diversity. Forty percent of these immigrants came from Asia and fifty percent came from Latin America, particularly Mexico, and the Caribbean. Recent immigrants came for a variety of reasons, most especially for economic opportunity. Willing to work hard for low wages, immigrants were an employer’s dream. Many conservatives began to fear that immigrants were changing American culture and that poor immigrants would wind up on welfare. In response, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was expelling 1.7 million undocumented workers a year by the 1990s.

IV. The End of the Cold War

A. From Cold War to Detente

In the 1980s, internal Soviet politics ended the Cold War, as Gorbachev reformed his system and cut back on military spending. Unable to control the forces he had unleashed, the Soviet Union began to fall apart. Once he was convinced of Gorbachev’s seriousness about reform and friendship with the United States, President Reagan moved away from his Cold War position and signed a number of important arms reduction treaties.
B. The Iran-Contra Scandal

Although successful with the Russians, Reagan suffered his worst foreign policy failure when he tried to get Iran to help free hostages held in Lebanon in return for secret arms sales. The profits from the arms sales would then be diverted to support the Contra army fighting the government in Nicaragua. While Oliver North, staff member of the National Security Council, called this a “neat idea,” it was also an illegal one. When caught, Reagan defended North but denied remembering anything about the illegal operation. By early 1987, 90 percent of Americans did not believe Reagan was telling all he knew. Still, his personal popularity continued.

C. A Global Police?

When George H. W. Bush was elected president over Democrat Michael Dukakis in 1988, it was a victory that rested on a vicious campaign based on symbols, like the Pledge of Allegiance, rather than on issues. Once he was president, Bush was careful; one of his most important actions was the appointment of Clarence Thomas, a right-wing African American, to the Supreme Court. As the Soviet Union dissolved, Bush’s only response was to urge Soviet citizens to move slowly.

Closer to home, Bush was less timid in his foreign policy. In December 1989, Bush had U.S. troops invade Panama and seize Manuel Noriega, that nation’s dictator and a former ally in the Contra war against Nicaragua. When, in 1990, Iraq invaded the small but oil-rich kingdom of Kuwait, Bush responded and three months later, Operation Desert Storm sent Iraqi troops in headlong retreat back across the border. Bush decided not to take over Iraq and remove its dictator, Saddam Hussein. The war proved the importance of controlling the media; Americans saw only safe photos of exact hits on military targets, but not those of Iraqi soldiers being slaughtered during their retreat. The war demonstrated U.S. power, but it also furthered the growth of anti-American sentiment among Islamic militants such as Osama bin Laden.

Identification

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. Ayatollah Khomeini:

2. 1980 Olympics (Moscow):

3. John Anderson:

4. Contras:
5. “Reaganomics”:

6. “states’ rights”:

7. James Watt:

8. religious right:

9. Sandra Day O’Connor:

10. Chernobyl:

11. Jesse Jackson:

12. INS:

13. Gorbachev:

14. Iran-Contra scandal:

15. Oliver North:

16. National Security Council:

17. Willie Horton:

18. Clarence Thomas:
19. Manuel Noriega:

20. “Operation Desert Storm”:

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. In 1979, the Shah of Iran fled his country when faced with
   A. invasion by the Soviet Union.
   B. assault by U.S.-led “Operation Desert Storm.”
   C. a popular uprising by his own people.
   D. attack by Saddam Hussein’s Iraq.
   E. war with Jordan.

2. The Soviet Union sent troops into Afghanistan because it feared
   A. the fall of the pro-Soviet government there.
   B. Islamic extremism reaching into the USSR.
   C. instability on her border.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

3. Ronald Reagan was elected president in 1980 in part because
   A. the Democrats nominated a Catholic.
   B. Jimmy Carter was so unpopular.
   C. his background as an actor allowed him to perform well on television.
   D. he was from the South.
   E. B and C only.

4. Between 1980 and 1984, under Reagan, the military budget
   A. grew 40 percent.
   B. increased only slightly.
   C. stayed about the same.
   D. actually declined in real dollar terms.
   E. none of the above.
5. In which of the following did the CIA help death squads kill insurgents?
   A. El Salvador
   B. Nicaragua
   C. Guatemala
   D. all of the above
   E. A and C only

6. Because of “Reaganomics,” the United States became the world’s largest
   A. democracy.
   B. debtor nation.
   C. creditor.
   D. exporter of Steel products.
   E. none of the above.

7. Who said “trees cause more pollution than automobiles do”?
   A. Ronald Reagan
   B. James Watt
   C. Jimmy Carter
   D. no one
   E. Walter Mondale

8. James Watt, Reagan’s first Secretary of the Interior, believed that there
   A. was a need to preserve the wilderness for future generations.
   B. existed too little public land for recreation.
   C. would soon be an end to the world.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

9. By 1989, the top 1 percent of Americans possessed more assets than the
   A. bottom 90 percent.
   B. bottom 70 percent.
   C. bottom 50 percent.
   D. bottom 30 percent.
   E. bottom 15 percent.

10. Many working-class Americans voted for Ronald Reagan because they
    A. thought he would advance civil rights.
    B. liked his opposition to abortion, homosexuals, and affirmative action.
    C. personally benefited from his economic policies.
    D. knew he supported trade unions like PATCO.
    E. all of the above.
11. The Religious Right is disproportionately
   A. southern Protestants.
   B. urban Catholics.
   C. Jewish.
   D. members of the United Church of Christ.
   E. none of the above.

12. An epidemic that swept through the U.S., hitting poor urban areas hardest, was
   A. swine flu.
   B. SWAT.
   C. the use of crack cocaine.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

13. The most prominent face of left-leaning politics in the 1980s was
   A. Jimmy Carter.
   B. Jesse Jackson.
   C. Oliver North.
   D. Bob Dole
   E. none of the above.

14. Most new immigrants to the United States from 1970 to 1990 were
   A. seeking new economic opportunity.
   B. from Latin America, Asia, or the Caribbean.
   C. more willing than U.S. residents to work for low wages.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

15. When the Soviet Union began to collapse in 1990 and 1991, President Bush
   A. urged Soviet citizens to move cautiously.
   B. rejoiced at the fall of Soviet power.
   C. asked Congress to pray for the Russians.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

MAP QUESTION:

After looking at Map 28.4, evaluate the importance of oil in motivating U.S. involvement in the Gulf War, 1990-1991.
CONNECTING HISTORY

Discuss the dilemma faced by those whose hard work brings material success B is this success ultimately corrupting? Why or why not?

INTERPRETING HISTORY

What is your evaluation of the critique of the moral majority given by Brown? Explain why you agree or disagree.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. C
2. D
3. E
4. A
5. D
6. B
7. A
8. C
9. A
10. B
11. A
12. C
13. B
14. D
15. A
Chapter 29
Post-Cold War America, 1991–2000

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 29, you should be able to:

1. Discuss the causes for the economic expansion of the 1990s.
2. Detail the changes in the economy caused by the end of the Cold War.
3. Understand the reasons behind the widening gap between rich and poor.
4. Discuss why poverty continued to be more concentrated among people of color.
5. Analyze the way trade unions responded to the problem of sweatshops.
6. Explain the limits of racial tolerance.
7. Detail the ways in which threatened males attempted to maintain their status.
8. Discuss how the Clarence Thomas hearings highlighted the problem of sexual harassment.
9. Understand how the changing face of ethnic diversity impacted U.S. society.
10. Comprehend the significance of domestic terrorism, such as the Oklahoma City bombing.
11. Understand what factors led to the increase in killings by children.
12. Discuss the importance of Clinton being elected as a “New Democrat.”
13. Analyze the reasons behind the Republican victory in the 1994 congressional elections.
14. Explain the deeper meaning of the Clinton impeachment crisis.
15. Understand why free trade agreements like NAFTA became increasingly unpopular.
16. Discuss the reasons behind the U.S. war in Yugoslavia.
17. Analyze the way in which George W. Bush became president in 2000.
18. Detail the fallout from the 2000 presidential election controversy.

Time Line

1990
Americans with Disabilities Act passed

1991
Recession hit economy
Football coach Bill McCartney formed the Promise Keepers
Rodney King beaten by L.A. police
Clarence Thomas appointed to Supreme Court

1992
Bill Clinton defeated Republican George H.W. Bush for presidency
1993
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) approved by Congress

1994
Republicans take control of House and Senate

1995
Bombing of Federal Building in Oklahoma City kills 168
Nation of Islam’s Louis Farrakhan organized Million Man March

1996
President Clinton reelected over Republican Bob Dole

1998
House of Representatives impeached President Clinton in Monica Lewinsky scandal
Senate failed to convict Clinton

1999
Clinton sent troops to Kosovo war with Yugoslavia
Cuban-American relations strained over U.S. delay in returning six-year old boy to his father
Protests against World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle

2000
George W. Bush became president, although Democrat Al Gore wins more votes

I. The Economy: Global and Domestic

A. The Post-Cold War Economy

With the end of the Cold War, defense plants closed and half a million people lost their jobs. At the same time, the technology sector expanded, opening up new possibilities for young computer experts and businessmen while generating fortunes for corporate executives. Business mergers concentrated wealth into an ever-smaller number of corporations and the last three years of the 1990s saw mergers worth $5 trillion. In response, there were efforts to control the power of these ever-growing corporations, for example, the (unsuccessful) attempt to break Microsoft into two distinct companies. The 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act allowed Native Americans to build Las Vegas-style casinos on their land, bringing jobs and something like $4 billion a year to poor tribal members.
B. The Widening Gap Between Rich and Poor

In the 1990s, the bottom 60 percent of Americans saw their income decline even as the economy expanded. The accumulated wealth of the top 1 percent was greater than all that of the bottom 90 percent combined; Microsoft chair Bill Gates alone was wealthier than the bottom 45 percent of U.S. households together. In 1980, a typical CEO of a large company made 40 times the average earnings of one of his factory workers; by 1998, the ratio had grown to 419 times. African Americans had fewer resources than whites and almost 50 percent of black children lived in households below the poverty line. The unemployment rate of blacks remained twice as high as for whites. Recent immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America were also concentrated in the jobs at the bottom of the economy. Two percent of able-bodied citizens were in jail particularly because the “war on drugs” had hit minority communities the hardest. Those Americans at the bottom of the economy received little or nothing from the economic boom of the 1990s.

C. Labor Unions

Low-wage workers in the service industry increasingly organized successfully into unions, in part because, unlike manufacturing, their jobs could not be sent overseas. In Las Vegas, for example, 40,000 employees of the large casino hotels were organized into unions. Unions did little to help nonunionized and sweatshop laborers, although a coalition of unions and human rights groups tried to force minimum standards on overseas factories. Since the agreements were voluntary and largely unenforceable, it is difficult to say how effective this really was.

II. Tolerance and Its Limits

A. “We Can All Get Along”

In 1991, Rodney King, an African American motorist, was arrested after a high-speed chase on a Los Angeles freeway. Four police officers dragged the unarmed man from his car and beat him with batons for 15 minutes. The beating, which left King with numerous broken bones, was recorded on videotape. When the police were found innocent after a jury trial, five days of rioting broke out which left 58 people dead and 4000 businesses destroyed.

B. Values in Conflict

Although white men continued to control nearly all major institutions, a 1993 poll found that a majority felt that their advantages were declining. Insecurity about their roles fueled groups like the Promise Keepers, an organization dedicated to restoring the traditional privileges and responsibilities of husbands and fathers in the home. Efforts geared to black men also were popular, for example, the Million Man March organized by Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan.
At the same time, gay men and lesbians mobilized to gain acceptance and many pushed for the legalization of same-sex marriages. Native Americans clashed with environmentalists over their hunting and fishing practices, which Indians maintained were part of their traditions and protected by treaty.

C. Courtroom Dramas

Two of the most watched and controversial legal events of the 1990s centered around successful black men. In October 1991, President G.H.W. Bush nominated conservative Clarence Thomas to take the place of retiring Supreme Court justice Thurgood Marshall. Despite receiving the lowest rating in 30 years from the American Bar Association, the real controversy started when Anita Hill, a former colleague of Thomas, accused him of sexual harassment. In the end, Thomas was confirmed but not before a bitter fight. In 1994, T.V. viewers were drawn to a spectacular murder case involving former football great and film star O.J. Simpson. Simpson was charged with killing his former wife and a friend of hers, both of whom were white. When the mostly black and female jury found him not guilty, most blacks were relieved and most whites angry.

D. The Changing Face of Diversity

There is evidence that Americans began to accept the nation’s growing diversity, as 10 percent of the population was made up of immigrants. Still, in California, voters passed Proposition 187 which denied public education and most public services to undocumented immigrants; Proposition 227 ended bilingual education. Even so, Latinos increased in political power as their numbers grew; they became the largest single ethnic group in Los Angeles in the 1990s.

Racial internixing found expression in plays and movies, while Tiger Woods, the son of a black father and Thai mother, became a golf superstar. Reflecting these changes, the 2000 census allowed people to check more than one box to indicate their racial identity.

III. Violence and Danger

A. Domestic Terrorism

In April 1995, a homemade bomb exploded at the Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 people. Although the first news reports speculated that the terrorists were Arabs, it turned out that the bombing was the work of American citizens who had a hatred towards the government. Timothy McVeigh, a Persian Gulf War veteran, and his accomplice Terry Nichols were found guilty. Some anti-government extremists worked alone, like Ted Kaczynski, known as the “Unabomber.”
The FBI tried to prevent extremists from causing harm but their actions sometimes went awry, as in the assault on the anti-government sect called the Branch Davidians. The FBI assault on their armed compound started a fire which killed 80 people. Although Oklahoma City was the worst case of domestic terrorism, it was not the only one. A small fringe group of anti-abortion crusaders attacked abortion clinics and even shot abortion providers.

B. Kids Who Kill

Although violent crime declined throughout the decade, there was a rash of school shootings in which children murdered other children. The worst of these shootings took place on April 20, 1999 at Columbine High School near Denver, where two boys opened fire and murdered 12 of their schoolmates and a teacher before killing themselves. The common factors in the various killings by children was that children used guns and that guns were easy to get. Gun control advocates noted that in 1992, 367 people were killed by handguns in Great Britain, Sweden, Switzerland, Japan, Australia, and Canada combined, while 13,220 people died due to gun violence in the U.S. that same year. Although polls showed strong support for gun control, powerful gun lobbies like the National Rifle Association (NRA) blocked most gun control legislation.

C. A Healthy Nation?

Although Americans seemed to have an obsession with fitness, both rich and poor alike suffered from a number of afflictions. Eating disorders plagued millions; young women were particularly prone to excessive dieting while men often took drugs to build muscle tissue. Among the poor, obesity increased dramatically, as poor people increasingly ate at high-fat fast food outlets. Illegal drugs remained a problem, despite official efforts to curb the trade. Legal drugs were also a problem, with mind-altering drugs, like Prozac, being over-prescribed by doctors. New medical breakthroughs, such as cloning, raised moral and ethical concerns among many people.

IV. The Clinton Presidency

A. Clinton: The New Democrat

President George H.W. Bush was in trouble coming into the 1992 presidential election. The economy was faltering and the national debt had skyrocketed to $4.4 trillion. Democrats nominated Arkansas’ Bill Clinton, who selected a fellow southerner, Al Gore of Tennessee, as his running mate. H. Ross Perot, a Texas billionaire, ran as an independent, using his money and the media to tap into discontent with both parties. Clinton easily won but Perot got 19 percent of the vote, the largest showing for a third party candidate since Teddy Roosevelt in 1912.
B. Clinton’s Domestic Agenda and the “Republican Revolution”

Clinton ran into difficulty when he tried to allow gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military and compromised in a way which satisfied few people. Likewise, his promise to reform the health care system was a failure in the face of stiff opposition from the medical establishment and drug companies. Clinton did achieve success in pushing through Congress a budget that raised taxes on the rich and cut spending to reduce the deficit. In the next three years, the economy clearly improved.

The 1994 congressional elections dealt a blow to Clinton when the Republicans seized control of both houses of Congress. The new Congress passed a large tax cut and a tough anticrime bill, increased military spending, and reduced protection of the environment. Clinton limited these measures by use of the presidential veto but also took on some Republican issues as his own, such as free trade and welfare reform. President Clinton easily won reelection over Republican Bob Dole of Kansas and met a much weaker challenge by third party candidate H. Ross Perot.

C. The Impeachment Crisis

Clinton’s personal behavior allowed political enemies to discredit him. After surviving charges of financial wrongdoing and sexual harassment in his past, Clinton was finally charged with having an extramarital affair with a young White House intern, Monica Lewinsky. Although Clinton denied the charges, the evidence suggested that he was lying. The Republicans pressed the investigation with zeal, while the media filled the public with sordid and graphic details of the president’s sexual encounters with the young intern. While most Americans disapproved of Clinton’s personal behavior, they did not want him to resign. The Republican-controlled House of Representatives impeached Clinton on December 19, 1998. Afterwards, a trial was held in the Senate, and the majority of senators determined that Clinton’s misdeeds were not severe enough to warrant his removal from office.

V. The Nation and the World

A. Trade Agreements

In 1993, Clinton pushed Congress to approve the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), eliminating tariffs and trade barriers among the U.S., Canada, and Mexico. The next year, Congress approved the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), reducing tariffs on thousands of goods and ending import quotas imposed by the U.S. Liberal Democrats and labor unions feared these measures would result in jobs going overseas. For those jobs that stayed, the threat of moving gave employers a weapon to keep wages low. In Mexico, things were even worse, with wages falling from an average of $1.45 an hour to $.78 an hour.
Clinton also made China a full trading partner with the United States, despite that country’s poor human rights record. When it came to Cuba, however, Clinton continued the old Cold War tactics and refused to push for improved relations. When a six-year old boy was saved off the U.S. coast after his mother and all others in their boat had died, a new crisis took place. The boy’s father demanded his son Elian be returned to him in Cuba. The U.S. stalled but finally, after months of negotiation, U.S. agents seized the boy from his Florida relatives and returned the child to his father.

B. Efforts at Peacemaking

Clinton also tried his hand at peacemaking. Clinton made several trips to Ireland to promote peace. In the Middle East, Clinton got Yasser Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), together with Yitzak Rabin, Israeli Prime Minister, to try and reach a peace settlement. In the final weeks of his presidency, Clinton took a historic trip to Vietnam.

C. Military Interventions and International Terrorism

Concerned mainly with domestic matters, Clinton had few goals in foreign policy beyond expanding trade and calming potential trouble spots. In 1994, the U.S. threatened an invasion of Haiti unless the elected president Aristide was returned to power and military coup leaders went into exile. Although successful, the U.S. would later criticize Aristide for vote fraud in his 2000 reelection. Fearful of the political fallout from American casualties, Clinton refused to intervene in the ethnic genocide in Rwanda in central Africa in 1994. With reluctance, the U.S. did attack Yugoslavia in response to ethnic murder in the southern province of Kosovo. While the U.S. interventions failed to prevent ethnic tension or end poverty, they did increase anti-American sentiment.

In 1996, 19 U.S. airmen were killed by a bomb in Saudi Arabia and two years later, bombs exploded at two U.S. embassies in east Africa. This event and the October 2000 attack on the USS Cole were seen to be the work of the terrorist network al Qaeda, led by Osama bin Laden. In 1993, a bomb planted at the World Trade Center exploded, killing five people in what was a prelude to the much worse attack eight years later.
VI. The Contested Election of 2000

A. The Campaign, the Vote, and the Courts

The 2000 campaign saw Clinton’s vice president, Al Gore, run for the Democrats against Texas Governor George W. Bush, son of the president Clinton had defeated in 1992. After a fairly lackluster campaign, only half of those eligible turned out to vote. In an extremely close race, Gore won the popular vote by about 500,000 votes, but Bush won the all-important electoral college by winning the disputed state of Florida. In Florida, whose governor was Bush’s younger brother, the election saw thousands of mismarked ballots, registered voters (mainly African American) turned away from the polls and not allowed to vote, and old voting machines which failed to count thousands of votes. After weeks of controversy, Katherine Harris, the Republican secretary of state, refused to extend the recount deadline and declared Bush the winner by 537 votes out of 6 million cast statewide. The Supreme Court had the final word, voting five to four in favor of Bush.

B. The Aftermath

In the arguments made afterwards, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission noted that black voters were nine times more likely to have their votes rejected than white voters. Many argued that had these black citizen’s votes been counted, Gore would have carried the state and become president. Likewise, the confusion of other voting practices highlighted how poorly designed ballots could change the outcome of a close election. Some called for a national debate over the Electoral College, which allowed a man with half a million less votes to become president.

C. Legacies of Election 2000

A first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, was elected senator from New York. Third party politics influenced the outcome of the election. In 2000, Ralph Nader, Green Party candidate for president, got fewer than 3 percent of the vote but clearly drew off enough left-leaning Democrats to cost Gore the presidency. The election left Congress closely divided. President George W. Bush immediately set out to reverse Clinton-era policies and passed a tax cut. Meanwhile, the economy went from boom to bust and headed into a recession.

Identification

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*


2. Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (1988):
3. “War on Drugs”:

4. Rodney King:

5. Million Man March:

6. Anita Hill:

7. *Lone Star*:

8. Timothy McVeigh:

9. RU-486:

10. Prozac:

11. Cloning:

12. H. Ross Perot:

13. “Don’t ask, don’t tell”:

14. “Contract with America”:

15. Welfare Reform Act:

16. Kenneth Starr:

18. Elian Gonzales:

19. Jean Bertrand Aristide:

20. War in Kosovo:

21. Katherine Harris:

22. “Butterfly” ballot:

23. Ralph Nader:

24. Hillary Rodham Clinton:


**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. After the sharp recession of 1991-1992, the U.S. economy
   A. slid into economic depression.
   B. stagnated, along with double-digit inflation.
   C. expanded in the 1990s.
   D. declined, as welfare payments were increased to the unemployed.
   E. none of the above.
2. One result of mergers of giant multinational companies was
   A. concentrated wealth and power in ever-smaller number of corporations.
   B. increased opportunity for the defense industry.
   C. expanded free economic competition.
   D. an end to foreign buyouts of U.S. corporations.
   E. greater rights and wages for unionized workers.

3. Microsoft chair Bill Gates alone was wealthier than the
   A. International Monetary Fund.
   B. World Bank.
   C. bottom 45 percent of all U.S. households together.
   D. bottom 25 percent of all U.S. households together.
   E. none of the above.

4. Labor unions were more successful in organizing service workers because
   A. they were largely native-born Americans.
   B. employers could not move their jobs overseas.
   C. they were traditionally paid high wages anyhow.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

5. The nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court was challenged because of
   A. the weakness of his professional qualifications.
   B. Anita Hill’s charge of sexual harassment against Thomas.
   C. his rigid conservative views, which alienated Democrats.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

6. The Bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City
   A. was the work of followers of Osama bin Laden.
   B. resulted from a plot by black nationalists led by Willie Horton.
   C. killed more people than handguns kill in a year.
   D. was planned by radical left-wingers.
   E. none of the above.

7. Abortion became ever more difficult to obtain, especially in rural areas because
   A. President Clinton made a strong public plea against it.
   B. violence and intimidation meant fewer physicians were willing to perform them.
   C. the Supreme Court reversed *Roe v. Wade*.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.
8. In 1992, handguns killed more people in the U.S. than in
A. Canada.
B. Japan.
C. England.
D. Sweden.
E. all of the above.

9. One of the most popular mind-altering drug sold legally was
A. medical marijuana.
B. bulimia.
C. Prozac.
D. LSD
E. none of the above.

10. H. Ross Perot’s run for the presidency in 1992 was
A. the first significant socialist campaign since Eugene V. Debs.
B. able to draw 19 percent of the vote.
C. made despite his lack of campaign funds.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

11. The Republican “Contract with America” called for all the following EXCEPT
A. a reduction in the military.
B. an end to legal abortion.
C. welfare reform.
D. more prisons.
E. none of the above.

12. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) resulted in
A. U.S. jobs going abroad.
B. average wages in Mexico falling from $1.45 to $.78 an hour.
C. a relaxation of environmental controls over companies leaving the U.S.
D. all of the above.
E. A and C only.

13. Ethnic conflict leading to genocide led to the U.S. to intervene in
A. Yugoslavia.
B. Rwanda in Central Africa.
C. Nairobi, Kenya.
D. Iran.
E. all of the above.
14. In the 2000 Presidential election, George W. Bush beat Al Gore because he
   A. received the majority of popular votes cast.
   B. won the election in the Electoral College.
   C. got more popular votes than Gore.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

15. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission argued that black voters in Florida were
   A. treated with fairness and respect.
   B. never removed from the voter registration lists unless they were felons.
   C. nine times more likely than whites to have had their votes rejected.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

**MAP QUESTION:**

After looking at Map 29.3, examine the reasons why the two major candidates for president in 2000 gained support in such different parts of the nations. Does this mean the United States is less of a united nation than we like to think? Why or why not?

**CONNECTING HISTORY**

Discuss the disenfranchisement of millions of American voters in the 2000 presidential election in the context of U.S. history and tradition. Is voting a right or a privilege? Explain.

**INTERPRETING HISTORY**

After studying the Vermont Civil Union law, discuss the pros and cons of such legislation. On the whole, do you think it is a good idea or not? Explain.

**Answers to Multiple Choice Questions**

1. C
2. A
3. C
4. B
5. D
6. E
7. B
8. E
9. C
10. B
11. A
12. D
13. A
14. B
15. C
Chapter 30
A Global Nation for the New Millennium

Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 30, you should be able to:

1. Discuss the place of the United States in the new global economy.
2. Detail how technological changes sped up the process of globalization.
3. Understand how the ideology of free trade was the basis for the new world economy.
4. Discuss who benefits from globalization and why.
5. Analyze the significance of the growing gap between rich and poor Americans.
6. Explain the reasons behind the ecological transformations of the twentieth century.
7. Detail the ways pollution increased as the population grew.
8. Discuss the strength and limitations of the environmentalist response to ecological threats.
10. Comprehend the motivations of those who opposed the spread of American popular culture.
11. Explain how Americans negotiate their multiple identities.
12. Discuss the ways in which the United States continues to be an immigrant society.

Time Line

1975
First personal computer offered as a kit

1977
Apple I personal computer

1984
Macintosh personal computer

1989
Slow Food Manifesto

1991
Dissolution of the Soviet Union

1999
Protests at WTO meeting in Seattle
U.S. women’s soccer team won World Cup
2000
Wal-Mart passed General Motors to become largest U.S. company

2001
U.S. spy plane crashed into Chinese fighter jet
Terrorist attack on World Trade Center killed some 3000 people

I. The George W. Bush Administration

A. The President and the War on Terrorism

Although he lacked a solid record of achievement before being elected Governor of Texas in 1994, George W. Bush had the opportunities that come from being the son of a U.S. President. Avoiding service in Vietnam, having a mixed career in business and known for his love of partying, at age 40 Bush gave up drinking and became a born-again Christian. His warm “regular guy” personality appealed to many working class Americans. September 11th shocked Americans and gave the president a new focus. By concentrating on fighting the war on terror, Bush gained renewed respect and support despite his failure to capture Osama bin Laden or destroy Al Qaeda.

B. Security and Politics at Home

Like the red scare of the 1950s, the war on terror meant a search for domestic traitors. Like the Cold War, the war on terror was framed as a long range fight against evil. The USA Patriot Act of 2001 increased the federal government’s power to spy and detain citizens and non-citizens alike.

Domestically Bush fashioned himself as a “compassionate conservative” and promoted private efforts to help the needy. Meanwhile, he cut taxes for the rich and ran up the largest deficit in American history. His compassion did not extend to the environment, which he saw as overprotected; he loosened federal regulation on industrial air pollution, war pollution, and a range of ecological measures. Sexual issues stayed at the forefront as conflicts over gay marriage allowed Bush to appear as the defender of traditional values.
C. The War in Iraq

In the spring of 2003, President Bush invaded Iraq although the country had neither threatened nor attacked the U.S. Unlike the war in Afghanistan, this war divided the country. Some say Bush was driven by personal desires to finish what his father had started in the Gulf War of 1991. A deeper reason may have been the administration’s view that 9/11 gave them the chance to reshape the Middle East into a place less hostile to the U.S. and Israel. The war went well at first but after the occupation began, the U.S. and their allies (mainly Great Britain) suffered ever-increasing losses.

D. The Election of 2004

With solid support from his party and his conservative base, Bush was able to win a narrow popular vote victory receiving 51 percent of the vote against Democrat John Kerry. Two issues seemed to hand him this victory. First, the war on terrorism and the war in Iraq demanded strong leaders, reasoned Americans who saw Bush as more firm than Kerry. Secondly, moral values were important to many voters who saw Bush as a man of personal integrity.

II. The American Place in a Global Economy

A. The Logic and Technology of Globalization

The purpose of corporations is to make money and, to do this, they want to keep labor and material costs as low as possible while constantly looking for new markets to expand into. At the close of the twentieth century, technological breakthroughs sped up the process of integrating the U.S. into the world economy. The integration of computers into every aspect of life increased the efficiency of business and the productivity of labor. VCRs and cable T.V. provided constant entertainment, while cell phones, beepers, and fax machines resulted from the desire for immediate gratification and efficiency. The Internet was already shaping American life.

B. Free Trade and the Global Assembly Line

The belief in or ideology of free trade supported the integration of Americans’ lives with the world economy. Free trade is the belief that goods should be sold across national borders without tariffs or taxes. Nations that have strong, developed industries always support free trade, while countries whose native industries would be ruined by foreign competition tend to support tariffs. The United States had average tariffs of 30-50 percent before 1945, whereas by 1990, the tariff was approximately 5 percent.

Consumers benefited from lower prices for goods but at the same time, the flight of industry overseas lowered wage levels at home. While the elites argued that free trade would ultimately
benefit all, labor and environmental groups opposed unregulated globalization as a “race to the bottom.” By that, they meant that corporations were re-locating production facilities wherever labor was cheapest and environmental regulations the weakest. Increasingly, corporations and their products became less national, as products were often assembled out of parts made in very diverse parts of the world. The new Boeing 777, for example, is manufactured piece by piece in 12 different countries.

C. Who Benefits from Globalization?

Increasing globalization at the end of the century created tremendous wealth as the stock market skyrocketed, yet the class differences sharpened. More and more of the affluent believed that welfare recipients should be forced to find work and that only the unregulated laws of supply and demand could maintain prosperity.

American consumers enjoyed lower prices in many areas such as computers, airline travel, and gasoline, all of which were less expensive (in real dollars) than in the previous generation. While goods and services may have gotten cheaper, average real wages declined steadily after 1973 and family incomes were maintained only by the addition of second or even third wage earners. Americans, also, spent more than they earned as the average household had 11 credit cards and carried $7000 in debt on them. More than a million citizens filed for bankruptcy every year.

The share of the national income going to the richest 1 percent nearly doubled in the last quarter of the century, while that going to the bottom 80 percent shrank. The political system did little to change the growing gap between rich and poor. For that and other reasons, the fraction of eligible voters who actually voted declined to just half in 2000 and in off-year congressional elections, to a mere third. Meanwhile, many citizens were disillusioned by the way money came to dominate the political process; for example, the average successful Senate race cost $5 million. In this spending contest, business won hands down, outspending labor by 15 to 1.

III. The Stewardship of Natural Resources

A. Ecological Transformation in the Twentieth Century

Ecosystems are always changing, but European settlement and industrialization altered the landscape in the most dramatic manner. The most important changes in the land in the twentieth century came about because of the exploitation of wood, minerals, and water, particularly west of the Mississippi River. Increasing diversions of the Rio Grande left it so dry that by 2001, it no longer reached the Gulf of Mexico, trickling to a halt 50 feet short of the Gulf. American prosperity came at the price of consuming ever-increasing amounts of energy. Although consisting of only 5 percent of the world, Americans used a quarter of the world’s energy.
B. Pollution

The world was consuming five times as much fossil fuel in 2000 as in 1950, resulting in a steady rise in average temperatures. Scientists for the first time found open water at the North Pole in 2000. Although industrial production was still a major part of the problem, internal combustion engines, used by cars and trucks, were the leading cause of pollution. With little public transportation, Americans quietly accepted an annual death toll of 40,000 from traffic accidents and sitting in traffic jams became an everyday part of life. Daily life came to depend on synthetics, with plastic, which is made from petroleum, being the most common. Meanwhile, the U.S. had some 3000 nuclear weapons sites which often caused fatal illness among uranium miners, military workers, and soldiers exposed to fallout.

C. Environmentalism and Its Limitations

Environmental consciousness grew in the 1960s, yet ecological issues remained among the most controversial problems in the U.S. Since 1980, the Republican Party has supported the exploitation of natural resources to produce wealth. Beyond partisan differences and the tendency of even the worst polluters to pretend to be friendly to the environment, Americans were deeply ambivalent about ecology. On the one hand, they claimed to support strong antipollution laws but then turned around and bought vehicles that get terrible gas mileage. Daily, Americans consumed more gasoline, electricity, and water than any other society on the planet.

III. The Expansion of American Popular Culture Abroad

A. A Culture of Diversity and Entertainment

American popular culture proved to be powerfully attractive to people all over the world. Television was the leading source for the culture of entertainment and Hollywood. American music and fashion became symbols of informality and comfort. The idea of individualism and choice pervaded American culture; the U.S. became the largest market in the world, with 40,000 shopping centers by 2000. Advertising grew in importance as the link between popular culture and selling products, while sports became more and more commercial. The National Basketball Association (NBA) went from being an American league to a global sport, as games were telecast to more than 190 countries in 41 languages.

B. U.S. Influence Abroad Since the Cold War

Cultural influence flowed both out of but also into the United States, as immigrants brought with them traditions and perspectives that refreshed the cultural mix. English was the language of international commerce and 80 percent of the listings on the World Wide Web, while the U.S. dollar remained the world’s primary trading currency. McDonald’s appeared across the planet with 23,000 franchises, even including in Mecca, the holiest site in Islam. American religious
missionaries worked in poor countries converting people to their own version of Christianity. The United States retained its military superiority with a arms budget larger than the next ten largest military powers combined.

C. Resistance to American Popular Culture

“Freer” western and particularly, American, behavior offended many traditionalists across the Islamic world. Especially angered by different gender roles, fundamentalists attacked the West for importing immorality into their societies. Like Christian, Jewish, and Hindu fundamentalists, their Muslim counterparts rejected the egalitarianism and pursuit of pleasure so common in American popular culture. American decadence was condemned by the Taliban in Afghanistan and, along with U.S. support for Israel, was one of the major complaints of Osama bin Laden.

With the collapse of the Soviet bloc, Western influences flooded into those societies, bringing both opportunities and enhanced inequalities. Even Western Europeans remained unsure about the ever-growing strength of American culture and values. In response to American “fast food,” a “slow food” movement emerged in France as anti-McDonald’s protesters became national celebrities. Other nations often found the United States arrogant and resented its unparalleled military power. Two opposing trends existed: the first was the unifying force of economic internationalism and globalization and the other was the resistance of political and ethnic nationalism.

IV. Identity in Contemporary America

A. Negotiating Multiple Identities

Americans got their sense of identity from many different sources, including nationality, work, class, religion, race, ethnicity, family, gender, region, and sexual orientation. As the civil rights movement sought to end unequal treatment and gain inclusion for all citizens, the reality was that deeply embedded patterns of discrimination remained in place. Racial identity persists at the heart of the controversy over affirmative action. Many still used race as a concept they assumed had important meaning, although scientists point out that the genetic differences between races are miniscule compared with differences between individuals of the same race.

B. Social Change and Abiding Discrimination

Over the last 50 years, it is striking how public life has become more integrated. Latinos and Asians grew more numerous, while African-Americans emerged from the enforced segregation of Jim Crow days. Workplaces were more integrated and interracial marriage rose sharply. Women’s lives changed dramatically as most worked outside the home and by 2000, women made up a third of all medical students and half of all law students. Anti-homosexual attitudes remained, but gay men and lesbians became more open regarding their orientation on television.
and in politics. Violence and the threat of violence against people of color, gays and particularly, women, remained very real. Most prejudice, however, was more subtle, for example, the racial profiling which leads authorities to treat Latinos and African-Americans with more suspicion. Native Americans shared this situation of improving status and continuing discrimination.

3. Still an Immigrant Society

Economic opportunity and individual liberty continued to draw millions to the U.S. Only the most determined made the difficult and even dangerous move to the United States. Some fled political persecution in places like Vietnam and Cuba, making these immigrants fiercely anticommunist. Most immigrants sought economic advantage more than political rights. Native-born Americans reacted with both appreciation and apprehension to the high level of immigration, seeing the newcomers as both a source of strength and yet as possible competition for those already in the U.S.

Identification

*Explain the significance of each of the following:*

1. *Maquiladora:*

2. *Globalization:*

3. *“Y2K” problem:*

4. *Genoa, Italy (2001):*


6. *Mining Act of 1872:*

7. *Greenhouse effect:*

8. *Erin Brockovich:*
9. Slow Food Movement:

10. Religious fundamentalism:

11. “Family wage”:

12. “race”:

13. Condoleezza Rice:

14. Mia Hamm:


**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. Under the economic system known as capitalism, the purpose of corporations is to
   A. create jobs and good working conditions for employees.
   B. preserve traditional values and morals.
   C. produce a profit for their shareholders.
   D. make long-lasting and quality goods for consumers.
   E. all of the above.

2. The ideology of free trade holds that
   A. tariffs should be reduced.
   B. tariffs should be increased.
   C. taxes on imported or exported goods should remain high.
   D. trade must be heavily regulated by governments.
   E. none of the above.
3. Corporations often move factories overseas because they want
   A. lower wages.
   B. reduced environmental regulation.
   C. more compliant workers.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

4. In the last years of the twentieth century, strict dependence on the profit motive proved
   A. unable to pull the 36 million poor Americans out of poverty.
   B. that the market could eliminate poverty.
   C. able to dramatically improve the environment.
   D. helped all sectors of American society.
   E. none of the above.

5. After 1973, average real wages
   A. rose more slowly than in the 1960s.
   B. remained stagnant.
   C. declined steadily.
   D. more than doubled.
   E. none of the above.

6. Making up about 5 percent of the world’s population, Americans consumed
   A. 5 percent of the globe’s energy.
   B. 10 percent of the globe’s energy.
   C. 25 percent of the globe’s energy.
   D. 50 percent of the globe’s energy.
   E. none of the above.

7. Laws that reduced energy consumption passed since the 1970s were
   A. expanded in the 1990s.
   B. reversed by 2000.
   C. left unchanged in the last years of the twentieth century.
   D. proved to be unimportant by 2002.
   E. none of the above.

8. By 2000, freedom of choice came increasingly to mean not religion or politics but rather
   A. freedom itself.
   B. freedom for gays to marry.
   C. options for consumption in the marketplace.
   D. choice of majors in college.
   E. none of the above.
9. The “slow food” movement
   A. celebrated traditional home meals.
   B. supported eating in traditional cafes.
   C. began in France.
   D. was a challenge to the rise of fast food, fast eating restaurants.
   E. all of the above.

10. What type of religious fundamentalism grew prominent at the end of the century?
    A. Muslim
    B. Jewish
    C. Hindu
    D. Christian
    E. all of the above

11. Although immigration boosted the numbers of non-Christians, the U.S. remained
    A. primarily Protestant.
    B. mainly Catholic.
    C. largely Jewish.
    D. mainly non-Christian.
    E. none of the above.

12. A group once excluded but now considered “white” is the
    A. Germans.
    B. English.
    C. Irish.
    D. Swedes.
    E. none of the above.

13. The single most important source for new immigrants in 2000 is
    A. Mexico.
    B. China.
    C. India.
    D. England.
    E. none of the above.

14. By the end of the twentieth century, discrimination against women and people of color
    A. all but disappeared.
    B. remained very real.
    C. ended, as whites became the group most discriminated against.
    D. no longer was an important issue.
    E. none of the above.
15. Most new immigrants to the United States
   A. work hard for low wages.
   B. are leftist radicals from places like Cuba or Poland.
   C. come to get welfare.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

MAP QUESTION:

After looking at Map 30.2, analyze the significance of the United States’ trade with other nations. How do you think this influences U.S. foreign policy?

CONNECTING HISTORY

Discuss the impact of the Internet and the World Wide Web on American society. How do you see it changing communications in the future?

INTERPRETING HISTORY

After reading the *Slow Food Manifesto*, explain what are the strengths and weakness of the arguments presented.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. C
2. A
3. D
4. A
5. C
6. C
7. B
8. C
9. E
10. E
11. A
12. C
13. A
14. B
15. A