STUDY GUIDE

to accompany

Carnes/Garraty

THE AMERICAN NATION

Volume One

Twelfth Edition

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Del Mar College
## CONTENTS

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To the Student

This Study Guide is intended to help you review and deepen your understanding of the material in the textbook, THE AMERICAN NATION, Volume One, Twelfth Edition, by Mark Carnes and John Garraty.

Each chapter of the Study Guide follows the same format. Each chapter begins with an Anticipation/Reaction exercise intended to help you connect your prior learning in American history to that you are about to learn, then to show you some things you learned and unlearned as a result of reading each chapter. Each chapter’s Learning Objectives introduces the key themes of the chapter and suggests what you will know and be able to do after studying the chapter. A Chapter Overview follows these objectives. This is a summary of the chapter's content. Next is an interactive section called People, Places, and Things. Here you will have space to write definitions of key concepts and terminology, descriptions of significant events, and identifications of important groups and personalities that are discussed in the chapter. In several chapters there are Map Questions requiring you to identify historically significant places, both by name and geographic location. Following these exercises is a set of Self-Test questions, both multiple-choice and essay, which will help you check your comprehension of the chapter material and your attainment of the Learning Objectives.

Next is a section titled Critical Thinking Exercise. The purpose of these exercises is to help you develop selected critical thinking skills, especially those that are crucial to the study of history: classifying information, comparing and contrasting relationships, understanding cause and effect relationships, and distinguishing among facts, inferences, and judgments. These exercises use material from the textbook, so they will also aid your comprehension and understanding of the text.

You can attain maximum benefit from the Study Guide by using the following procedure:

- Read and complete the Anticipation part of the Anticipation/Reaction section.
- Read the Learning Objectives.
- Read the Chapter Overview.
- Read the textbook chapter carefully.
- Complete the People, Places, and Things items.
- Complete the Critical Thinking Exercise.
- Rehearse for the Self-Test by rereading the Learning Objectives and Chapter Overview carefully.
• Double-check any misunderstandings, information gaps, or confusion with the appropriate section of the textbook.
• Take the Self-Test.
• Reread the Learning Objectives. You should be confident of your ability to do what they ask.
• Read and complete the Reaction part of the Anticipation/Reaction section.

Answers to the Map Questions, Self-Tests, and Critical Thinking Exercises are in the Answers Section beginning on page 233.

Please send your comments or suggestions to the author’s e-mail address: kweather@delmar.edu

Ken L. Weatherbie
PROLOGUE

Beginnings

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following four statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. _____ The first humans to arrive in North America came from northern Siberia.</td>
<td>_____ 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. _____ The ancient peoples’ transition from a hunting-gathering to a predominantly agricultural way of life first occurred in North America.</td>
<td>_____ 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. _____ The first true urban center in what is now the United States was established by the Spanish in the sixteenth century.</td>
<td>_____ 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. _____ When they came in contact with each other, the peoples of North America were decimated by infectious diseases carried by Europeans.</td>
<td>_____ 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading the Prologue you should be able to:

1. Account for how ancient Clovis people became such successful hunters and for their eventual demise.
2. Assess the effect of the Neolithic revolution on the peoples of North America.
3. Compare and contrast the European and North American societies on the eve of contact between them.

PROLOGUE OVERVIEW

Passage to Alaska

As the supply of wooly mammoths grew scarce elsewhere, ancient hunters pursued them into northern Siberia. Around 1000 B.C.E., during the Ice Age, some of these hunters crossed what is now the Bering Strait to Alaska, and then moved east and south to the grassy northern Great Plains, where large and smaller mammals abounded.
The Demise of the Big Mammals

These Clovis people who entered the Great Plains had developed an advanced spear technology that enabled them to hunt numerous large animals nearly to extinction. The resulting absence of large mammals in the Americas had a profound effect on the subsequent course of human events.

The Archaic Period: A World Without Big Mammals, 9000 B.C.E.—1000 B.C.E.

The early Archaic period descendants of the Clovis hunters were compelled to find new sources of food, clothing, and shelter. Faced with scarcity, they adapted themselves to a particular habitat, but had to search for game continuously. Gradually, as they became more knowledgeable about local food sources, they traveled less frequently and developed a far-ranging trading system. They became the first inhabitants of what is now the United States to domesticate plants (around 2500 B.C.E.). Archaic period women conceived late and had children infrequently, so there was a steady but fairly low population growth.

The First Sedentary Communities, 1000 B.C.E.

Archaic peoples in the Pacific Northwest and in New England survived on plentiful fish and shellfish and were not compelled to move often in search of food. One of the sedentary communities in the Mississippi flood plains (Louisiana) also became adept at fishing with nets. With a hierarchical social structure and strong leaders, the people of this culture at Poverty Point built enormous earthen mounds. Other mound-building cultures developed later in the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys. The impermanence of these communities suggests the fragility of sedentary life.

Corn Transforms the Southwest

About two thousand years ago, urban civilizations emerged in the central valley of Mexico and the Peruvian Andes and the cultivation of corn was the life-blood of these Aztec and Incan peoples. It made possible the transition from a hunting-gathering to a predominantly agricultural way of life—the Neolithic revolution. Eventually, the peoples of Arizona and New Mexico acquired corn and it became the focus of their religious beliefs and the key to political power in their culture. These corn-growers overcame formidable environmental challenges to build their villages, roads, and irrigation systems.

The Diffusion of Corn

Some hunting and gathering tribes viewed corn cultivation as subsidiary to the hunt and, with its unrelenting demand for labor, a task best relegated to women. Gradually, however, as an alternative to starvation, corn cultivation spread east and north from the Southwest.

Population Growth After 800

The cultivation of corn stimulated population growth. Corn growers did not have a particularly nutritious diet, but they were less likely to starve than hunting and gathering peoples. They also had more children—a high caloric corn diet promoted fertility. For a time, hunters and corn
growers engaged in mutually advantageous trade, but eventually they came into conflict and the more populous corn-growers prevailed.

**Cahokia: The Hub of Mississippian Culture**

By 1000 Cahokia (near present-day St. Louis) had emerged as the largest and most important of the mound-building corn-cultivating communities. It was a major center of trade—the first true urban center in what is now the United States. Sharp class distinctions and a ruling elite characterized Cahokian society. Although it had a defensive palisade, Cahokia was predominantly a cultural and religious center rather than a fortress.

**The Collapse of Urban Centers**

By 1500, the urban centers of the Mississippi Valley and the Southwest were abandoned—victims of droughts, deforestation, soil exhaustion, and other environmental damage associated with large population growth. In addition, the recurrence of famine and disease undermined the credibility of ruling elites, and warfare became endemic. The collapse of the cities disrupted the trade networks and encouraged the breakup of large groups and tribes.

**American Beginnings in Eurasia and Africa**

By 1500 the peoples of Eurasia had domesticated scores of nutritional cereal crops, vegetables and fruits, and a variety of animals. Consequently, the Eurasian population increased rapidly and many road networks and large cities appeared. Unfortunately, poor sanitation gave rise to recurrent plagues that swept across Eurasia, but those who survived acquired biological resistance to further infection.

West Africa evolved differently. Just south of the Sahara desert, a trans-Sahara trade in gold, salt, and slaves spawned great kingdoms. The relatively insulated peoples of the West African coast mostly kept to themselves. But their lives were about to change.

**Europe in Ferment**

By 1500, population pressure in Europe was acute and hunger riots destabilized the political order. A shortage of land uprooted peasants and caused warfare to become constant. Improvements in metallurgy produced larger and more expensive weaponry. Warfare now depended on the resources of entire nations.

New ideas further unsettled European society. Books made by moveable type advanced new ideas and weakened the hold of traditional ones. Books also excited the imagination of men like Christopher Columbus, who devoured books on geography and navigation.

By 1500 Europe was in ferment. A hunger for land, a population made resistant to diseases from recurrent exposure to them, an explosion in communication and knowledge, acceptance of new technologies of warfare, and the emergence of powerful monarchs all gave European society a fateful dynamism. Still, Europe had problems: Population growth exceeded the food supply, and poverty and war undermined political order.
There were problems in North America as well. Hunting-gathering cultures were vulnerable to starvation and the encroachment of corn-growers, and urban centers had faded so no national political organization existed to support broad enterprises. Also, no military technology comparable to Europe’s existed, and North Americans lacked immunity from the infectious diseases that were about to arrive from Europe. At this point, adept European sailors were about to cross the Atlantic Ocean and bridge the European and American worlds, and sub-Saharan West Africa as well.

PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

sedentary

endemic

Describe the following:

Bering Strait/Beringia

Azatlan

Cahokia

Mesoamerica

Neolithic revolution
Identify the following:

Cro-Magnon man

Clovis culture

Archaic peoples

mound-builders

Anasazi

Eurasians

Leif Ericson

SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The earliest of the ancient peoples who “most resemble us in their aptitude for tools and facility with language” were the
   A. Clovis.
   B. Cro-Magnon.
   C. Neolithic.
   D. Archaic.

2. The first humans to arrive in North America did so by crossing the
   A. Pacific Ocean.
   B. Arctic ice cap.
   C. Bering Strait.
   D. Isthmus of Panama.
3. The Archaic peoples in North America were mostly
   A. hunters and gatherers.
   B. corn farmers.
   C. traders.
   D. bandits and raiders.

4. North American mound-building cultures included all the following EXCEPT
   A. Poverty Point.
   B. Cahokia.
   C. Anasazi.
   D. Hopewell.

5. Cahokian culture was characterized by
   A. a large, well-trained army.
   B. respect for preserving the natural environment.
   C. hunting and gathering.
   D. sharp class divisions.

6. Compared to Europeans at the time, the people of North America in 1500 had
   A. “national” political organization.
   B. more and larger cities.
   C. well-developed military technology.
   D. low immunity to infectious diseases.

Essay Questions

1. Explain how ancient Clovis hunters contributed to the destruction of their own culture.

2. Evaluate the impact of the adoption of corn cultivation on the early peoples of North America, especially on population growth.

3. In what ways were European and North American societies similar on the eve of the Atlantic crossings by European sailors? In what ways were they different?
CHAPTER 1

*Alien Encounters: Europe in the Americas*

**ANTICIPATION/REACTION**

*Directions:* Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you *now* agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you *then* agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

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<td>Native American cultural achievements were inferior to those of the Europeans who arrived in the New World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>When they settled in America, English colonists quickly adopted many Indian practices and values.</td>
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**LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

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

1. Assess the impact of the European invasion on Native American cultures.
2. Summarize the accomplishments of the Spanish in opening the New World to exploration, conquest, and colonization.
3. Explain why English settlers came to North America.
4. Evaluate Massachusetts Bay’s role as a hub of English settlement in New England.
5. List the requirements of successful colonization that evolved in English America.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Columbus

Christopher Columbus’ voyages in the 1490s opened the New World to European migration, exploitation, and settlement after 1500. Columbus explored the Caribbean basin thinking he was near China and Japan. Since he was intending to find an all-water route that would connect European markets to Asian products, Columbus never realized he had discovered a “New World.”

Earlier, Portugal’s Prince Henry and his school of navigators led the search for a new route to East Asia around Africa. But Columbus believed a western route across the Atlantic would reduce the travel distance and increase the profits of European trade with East Asia. Spain’s Queen Isabella commissioned his first expedition in 1492.

Spain’s American Empire

Spanish conquistadores eagerly explored the New World Columbus found. They discovered the Pacific Ocean, subdued the Aztec and Inca empires, and explored Florida, the Gulf Coast, and the present southwestern United States. To these regions, the Spanish brought their culture and the Roman Catholic religion. Greed for gold and power, a spirit of adventure, and a passionate desire to Christianize the Native Americans motivated them. They saw the New World as a land that offered infinite potential to make better lives for themselves, and they could not resist the opportunity to exploit it.

Indians and Europeans

The European settlement of the New World was an unprovoked act of aggression. To the Native Americans, the Europeans seemed as gods and European products fascinated them. But Columbus and the conquistadores tricked and cheated the Indians, drove them from their lands, and, through the Requerimiento, compelled them to recognize the sovereignty of the Spanish monarchy. The Spanish, like virtually all Europeans who settled in the New World, mistreated, exploited, and nearly exterminated the Native Americans they encountered.
Relativity of Cultural Values

Cultural differences led Europeans to assume that Indians were inferior beings. The non-Christian Indians were damned as contemptible heathens even though many were deeply religious people. Indians left a far lighter imprint on the American landscape than the Europeans, and they had little use for the concepts of personal property and individual wealth that Europeans valued. The Europeans’ inability to grasp the Indians’ kinship relationships and the communal nature of land tenure among Indians resulted in innumerable quarrels. Europeans were also infuriated by the Indian way of war—ambush by raiding parties rather than the European tradition of pitched battles between heavily armed mass armies.

Disease and Population Losses

The Indian population of the Western Hemisphere at the time of the arrival of Columbus is widely debated. Whatever their number in 1492, it declined sharply thereafter. Although many Europeans who came to the Americas depended on Indians for labor, trade, and knowledge, the barbarity of the conquest of the New World brought death to thousands of Native Americans. To little avail, Spanish missionary Bartolomé de Las Casas indicted his countrymen for their cruelty.

The most destructive weapons of the Europeans were the lethal microbes they brought from the Old World that caused decimating disease epidemics among Native Americans—smallpox, bubonic plague, influenza, and typhoid among them. Over the next three centuries, these diseases killed millions of Indians.

Spain’s European Rivals

England and France based their claims to the New World on the explorations of John Cabot and Giovanni da Verrazano, respectively. But, unlike Spain, these two nations were slow to follow exploration with permanent settlement. Both nations were torn by internal strife in the sixteenth century, and Catholic Spain, growing wealthy on New World gold and silver, seemed too powerful to be challenged. But, by the late sixteenth century, that very New World wealth was undermining Spain’s economy, the Spanish court was corrupted, and the Protestant Reformation was disrupting the Catholic Church throughout Europe.

The Protestant Reformation

The spiritual lethargy and bureaucratic corruption of the Roman Catholic Church in the early sixteenth century made it a target for reform. Martin Luther and John Calvin challenged Rome’s spiritual authority, and local European monarchs established their nation’s independence from the power of the Church. In the mid-sixteenth century, Henry VIII of England founded the
Anglican Church and England became a Protestant nation. In parts of Europe, business classes supported Protestant leaders and English, French, and Dutch trade and industry began to flower. In England, joint-stock companies pooled investment capital and offered limited liability to investors. These companies became important tools for expanding English trade and colonization.

**English Beginnings in America**

English merchants sought new routes to East Asia, a northwest passage through the Americas, and gold. Queen Elizabeth I supported these efforts because she hoped to break Spain’s overseas monopoly. For that purpose, she also commissioned English sea dogs like Francis Drake to capture Spain’s treasure ships. She was also involved in the earliest colonization efforts by Englishmen Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland and Walter Raleigh on Roanoke Island. These early efforts failed, but England’s defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 ended Spain’s ability to block English penetration of the New World.

These early experiences had shown that the cost of colonization was too expensive for any individual investor. In his *Discourse on Western Planting*, propagandist Richard Hakluyt made a strong argument for Crown support for English colonization based on military advantage and economic benefit. It was merchant capitalists in quest of quick profits, however, and not the queen and larger national interests, that was the primary organizing force behind English efforts to found colonies in North America.

**The Settlement of Virginia**

In 1607, the joint-stock London Company founded Jamestown as England’s first permanent settlement in America. There were problems from the start. The colony was located on a swamp and the settlers lacked agricultural skills; therefore, many starved. Company officers, looking only for quick profits, directed the settlers into fruitless activities. They also failed to take advantage of the economic hardships in England that were making skilled farm laborers available for migration. In Virginia, Captain John Smith provided some discipline and leadership in Jamestown, but the lack of a sense of common purpose among the settlers, infection and disease, and Indian attacks all ravaged the early colony.

Jamestown was saved when it began to produce its own food supply and John Rolfe initiated the cultivation of tobacco for export. To attract new settlers, the company made it easier for settlers to obtain their own land and gave them a rudimentary form of self-government in the House of Burgesses. But with these actions the London Company destroyed the colonists’ reliance on the company, and, profitless, it lost its charter in 1624 and Virginia became a royal colony.
“Purifying” the Church of England

The promise of economic opportunity motivated most English settlers to come to America, but religious persecution motivated others. Some religious dissidents in England objected to the ritual and doctrine of the Anglican Church. These Puritans accused the Anglican clergy of Arminianism—preaching a doctrine of good works instead of predetermination. Puritans also preferred a more decentralized system of church government, making each congregation self-governing or governed by representative presbyteries elected by laymen. Though they tried to purify it of its “popish” elements, most Puritans remained members of the Anglican Church.

Bradford and Plymouth Colony

More radical Puritans, called Separatists, withdrew their membership from the Anglican Church and migrated to the Netherlands, then to America. These “Pilgrims” elected William Bradford as the governor of their Plymouth Plantation in New England. Their Mayflower Compact established a society based on laws chosen by its members. The Indian named Squanto helped the hard-working new settlers, but Plymouth never grew rich nor well populated.

Winthrop and Massachusetts Bay Colony

English Puritans organized the Massachusetts Bay Company to establish a religious refuge in America. Their Great Migration began in 1630, and their carefully planned colony was blessed with good luck and a constant influx of industrious and prosperous settlers. The colony’s government was a practical democracy headed by an elected legislature—the General Court—chosen by the vote of male church members, and by an elected governor, John Winthrop. Church membership was obtained through a conversion experience. Most early male settlers satisfied this standard and could vote for governor and deputies of the General Court.

Troublemakers: Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson

Two zealous Puritans gave Massachusetts authorities trouble. Roger Williams insisted that the company’s charter was invalid because the company did not buy its land from the Indians. This, and his advocacy both of separation of church and state and of religious libertarianism, led to Williams’ banishment. He founded Rhode Island with a democratic government, rigid separation of church and state, and near-universal religious toleration.

Anne Hutchinson challenged the Massachusetts clergy’s admonition to church members to lead morally pure lives and serve as models for the unregenerate. She was accused of advocating the heresy of antinomianism—that the saved were exempt from the rules of good behavior and the constraints of law. Her disclosure of an experience with divine revelation led to her banishment
and she too went to Rhode Island. Both Williams and Hutchinson, two outspoken individualists, posed a genuine threat to the cooperative spirit of this Puritan community.

Other New England Colonies

Massachusetts Bay’s Puritan intolerance and its growing population produced new settlements in New England. Maine, New Hampshire, and Connecticut were all spin-off colonies from Massachusetts.

French and Dutch Settlements

While the English settled Virginia and New England, the French established colonies in Canada and the West Indies. Dutch settlers inhabited New Netherlands in an area earlier claimed by Henry Hudson. They purchased Manhattan Island from the Indians, traded for furs, and plundered Spanish treasure ships. The Dutch also tried without success to promote large-scale agriculture in the Hudson Valley.

Maryland and the Carolinas

Outside of Virginia and New England, most English colonies were not corporate ventures organized by merchants, but proprietary grants to landowning individuals or partnerships. The proprietors received their grants as personal property and they assumed near sovereign political power. But the realities of life in America limited their freedom of action and their profits.

The Calvert family founded Maryland as a haven for English Catholics. To attract settlers Lord Baltimore had to abandon his feudal plans, make his land easily available to settlers, and give them some power over local affairs. He also agreed to a Toleration Act that guaranteed religious freedom to all Christians.

John Locke’s elaborate social plan for Carolina—the Fundamental Constitutions—proved unworkable because it restricted settlers’ access to land. Carolina’s first settlers were from Barbados and they organized a thriving fur trade and exported foodstuffs to the West Indies. North and South Carolina were separated in 1712.

The Middle Colonies

King Charles II gave his brother, the Duke of York, a proprietary grant to the Dutch settlement north of Maryland. In 1664, English forces captured New Amsterdam without a fight and renamed it New York. To attract settlers, the proprietors of New Jersey offered land on easy terms, guaranteed freedom of religion, and established a democratic system of government.
English Quakers purchased New Jersey and established settlements in Pennsylvania where settlers were offered these same terms. Quakers believed in an individualistic mystical experience with God, pacifism, religious toleration, and freedom of conscience. William Penn founded the Quakers’ Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania. He was unusual for his fair treatment of local Indians and his colonists were guaranteed freedom of worship and individual civil rights. Through the Frame of Government, Penn established a paternalistic approach to governing the colony, but he sold land on easy terms and Pennsylvania became one of the most prosperous colonies.

**Indians and Europeans as “Americanizers”**

Interaction between Indians and Europeans caused a “Columbian Exchange”—each learned from the other. The Indians’ domestication of corn was an especially important contribution to the success of English colonization, while Indians eagerly adopted European metal tools and weapons technology. The fur trade best illustrates the consequences of Indian-European interaction. European demand for furs made Indians more efficient hunters and trappers and caused Indians to absorb European ideas about private property and material wealth. The trade also altered tribal organization; tribes formed confederacies to control more territory for trapping, and farming tribes relocated to settle along trade routes.

Colonists learned much from the Indians, but they had no desire to be like the Indians whom they considered savage barbarians. In fact, conflicts with the Indians caused whites to draw closer together and, over time, they developed a sense of having shared a common history. This process Americanized the transplanted Europeans.

**PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS**

*Define the following:*

*conquistadores ____________________________

*joint-stock company ____________________________

*predestination ____________________________

13
Arminianism

antinomianism

proprietor

Describe the following:

Treaty of Tordesillas

Protestant Reformation

House of Burgesses

Church of England (Anglican Church)

Mayflower Compact

Great Migration

Toleration Act
Identify the following:

Christopher Columbus

Prince Henry

John Cabot

Martin Luther

John Calvin

Henry VIII

Sir Walter Raleigh

Richard Hakluyt

Queen Elizabeth I
London Company

John Smith

Puritans

Separatists

Pilgrims

William Bradford

Squanto

John Winthrop

Roger Williams

Anne Hutchinson

Lord Baltimore
Duke of York

Quakers

William Penn

Locate the following places on the maps on the next page. Write in both the place name and its map location number. Questions 1-6 refer to Map I, question 7 refers to Map II.

1. That portion of the New World explored by Christopher Columbus in the 1490s.

2. Where Sir Humphrey Gilbert attempted to establish an early English colony in the New World.

3. Where the first permanent English settlement in the New World was located.

4. New World island purchased by the Dutch from local Indians in 1624.

5. Island from where the early English settlers to the Carolinas came.

6. River scouted by the explorer Cartier to help establish French claims to the New World.

7. The 12 English mainland colonies founded in North America in the seventeenth century.
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. When he sailed from Spain in 1492, Columbus intended to find
   A. the northwest passage.
   B. a new world.
   C. a new route to the Orient.
   D. the lost continent of Atlantis.

2. All of the following Spanish conquistadores explored regions of what is now the United States EXCEPT
   A. Hernán Cortés.
   B. Pánfilo de Narváez.
   C. Hernando de Soto.
   D. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca.

3. Wherever European explorers went in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they
   A. established more democratic political institutions.
   B. mistreated the native people they encountered.
   C. enriched the local economy.
   D. quickly assimilated the native people into their culture.

4. Invading Europeans found Native American cultures that were remarkably
   A. underdeveloped.
   B. weak.
   C. savage.
   D. varied.

5. Europeans usually viewed Native Americans as
   A. overly possessive and materialistic.
   B. politically weak and disorganized.
   C. incapable of Christian education.
   D. racially and culturally inferior.

6. From the perspective of European invaders, Native Americans lacked respect for all the following EXCEPT
   A. private property.
   B. nature.
   C. God.
   D. political authority.
7. England was slow to colonize in the New World in the sixteenth century because
   A. it was torn by domestic political and religious differences.
   B. it had no early territorial claim to the New World.
   C. Queen Elizabeth I had no interest in colonization.
   D. it was a Protestant nation.

8. During the Protestant Reformation, all of the following challenged the authority of the Roman Catholic Church EXCEPT
   A. Martin Luther.
   B. Henry VIII.
   C. John Calvin.
   D. Phillip II.

9. The joint-stock company was an effective tool for colonization because it
   A. created large pools of investment capital.
   B. prohibited foolish investments in risky ventures.
   C. held each investor personally responsible for all company debts.
   D. restricted investments to short-term payoffs.

10. Richard Hakluyt’s *Discourse on Western Planting* was
    A. a pamphlet used to recruit English colonists.
    B. a manual summarizing Indian agricultural techniques.
    C. a settler’s guide to the American colonies.
    D. an essay promoting and justifying English colonization.

11. Early Jamestown nearly failed as a colony because of all of the following EXCEPT
    A. few farming skills among early settlers.
    B. poor leadership from Captain John Smith.
    C. lack of a common sense of purpose among early settlers.
    D. unrealistic direction from company officials.

12. Eventually, the London Company encouraged immigrants to come to Jamestown by offering them an opportunity to
    A. own their own land.
    B. become titled nobility.
    C. gain religious freedom.
    D. search for gold.

13. Puritan reformers of the Anglican Church hoped to focus the act of worship on
    A. traditional rituals using candles, incense, and music.
    B. reading the Bible and analyzing the Scriptures.
    C. sermons emphasizing the doing of good works.
    D. the forgiveness of sins by the granting of indulgences.
14. To establish a civil government for themselves, the Separatist Pilgrims at Plymouth Plantation signed the
   A. Frame of Government.
   B. Fundamental Constitutions.
   C. Toleration Act.
   D. Mayflower Compact.

15. Of the following, the concept most highly valued by the Puritans was
   A. religious toleration.
   B. separation of church and state.
   C. fair treatment of the Indians.
   D. community harmony.

16. Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts Bay because he advocated
   A. separation of church and state.
   B. a war of annihilation against the Indians.
   C. the doctrine of predestination.
   D. Calvinist theology.

17. Anne Hutchinson’s heresy of antinomianism called into question
   A. the right of Puritans to possess Indian land.
   B. the application of the colony’s laws to those who were in possession of saving grace.
   C. the truth of predestination.
   D. the possibility of divine revelation.

18. The proprietary form of colonization became the usual form of planting English colonies immediately following the
   A. restoration of the monarchy after the English Civil War.
   B. Glorious Revolution.
   C. chartering of the London Company.
   D. founding of Jamestown.

19. Quakers were NOT committed to
   A. freedom of conscience.
   B. pacifism.
   C. toleration of other religions.
   D. placing the sermon at the center of worship.
20. Arrange the following in correct time order: (A) the restoration of the English monarchy, (B) the Puritans’ Great Migration, (C) the founding of Jamestown, (D) the Protestant Reformation.
A. B, C, A, D
B. A, D, C, B
C. D, C, B, A
D. D, B, C, A

Essay Questions

1. Describe the ways Native American and European cultures were similar to and different from each other when Europeans arrived in America in the 1500s.

2. Explain why Spain was the first European nation to establish a New World empire and why England ultimately became so successful as a New World colonizer.

3. Compare and contrast the roles of economic and religious motives in the beginnings of English settlement in the New World.

4. Describe the religious views and social values of Massachusetts Bay Puritans and explain why Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson posed a real threat to that colony.

5. State the motives for founding of the proprietary colonies in English America in the late seventeenth century, and explain how they benefited from earlier colonizing experiences.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Classification

Classification is one of the historian’s most important tools. Historical information usually comes in complex and confusing disarray, and it is the historian’s skill at classifying this information—organizing it into patterns that make sense—that makes narrative history comprehensible.

Historians often place information into geographical, sequential (chronological), topical, or other categories. For example, this chapter classifies information geographically when it separates the discussion of European voyages of exploration and discovery into three categories: those in the Caribbean, in South and Central America, and in North America. Secondly, the information in the chapter has been classified sequentially: first, voyages of exploration; second, Spanish colonization; and last, early English settlement. Finally, some of the information in the chapter is classified topically; for example, there are discussions of Native Americans, the Protestant Reformation, and New England religious dissenters. It is with classification schemes such as
these that historians make sense of the wealth of data in history that once led an observer to define history as just “one damn thing after another!”

Classification is a basic critical thinking skill. It is vital to gaining control of a large amount of information and arranging it in a comprehensible order. The skill of classification requires the classifier to systematically group many seemingly isolated facts into a few categories. Placement of a fact into a category is based on the classifier’s perception that some facts are related to each other in a given way, but not to other facts in the same way. It is an inductive process; that is, the classifier assembles several facts and then places particular facts into separate categories. These categories, called generalizations or concepts, describe the relationship among all the selected facts for that category. It is a skill that requires some familiarity with the information being classified. Greater familiarity means sharper perception of relationships and a more accurate placement of facts into proper categories.

The following exercise tests your familiarity with the information presented in Chapter 1. Of the four items in each of the ten groupings below, three of the items are related or associated with one another—that is, they can be classified together. The fourth item is not related to the other three in the same way they relate to one another. Your task is to:

1. Identify the three related items.
2. Cross out the unrelated item.
3. State the relationship of the three selected items in a single sentence.
Example: Group X

X. Queen Isabel, Treaty of Tordesillas, Columbus, New World

Relationship: Queen Isabella commissioned Christopher Columbus’s voyage, which led to the “discovery” of the New World when he landed at San Salvador in 1492.

1. Ponce de León, Hernando de Soto, Francisco Pizarro, Francisco Coronado

Relationship: ___________________________________________________________________

2. geographically immobile, deeply religious, ecologically conscious, communal land ownership

Relationship: ___________________________________________________________________

3. Walter Raleigh, John Calvin, Humphrey Gilbert, Richard Hakluyt

Relationship: ___________________________________________________________________

4. Newfoundland, Roanoke Island, Chesapeake Bay, Florida

Relationship: ___________________________________________________________________

5. Puritans, Anglicans, Separatists, Quakers

Relationship: ___________________________________________________________________

6. William Bradford, John Smith, John Winthrop, John Cabot

Relationship: ___________________________________________________________________
7. revelation, Arminianism, antinomianism, predestination

Relationship: 


Relationship: 

9. social experimentation, access to land, political rights, religious toleration

Relationship: 

10. New York, Carolinas, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts

Relationship: 
CHAPTER 2

American Society in the Making

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. Use the column entitled “Anticipation.” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Use the column entitled “Reaction.” Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Most European immigrants to England’s southern colonies in North America in the seventeenth century were indentured servants, not free men.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. English colonists were racists and that explains why they enslaved black Africans.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Southern colonists faced the constant danger of slave rebellion.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Most colonial planters were idle aristocrats concerned chiefly with the conspicuous display of their wealth.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. In colonial America, wives were expected to be subordinate to their husbands, and children were expected to be obedient to their parents.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. There is no rational explanation for the outbreak of witchcraft hysteria in colonial Salem.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. All of England’s North American colonial governments in the seventeenth century included elected representative assemblies.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 2 you should be able to:

1. Identify the influences that transformed seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century European immigrants into “Americans.”
2. Explain why slavery came to be the dominant labor system in England’s southern North American colonies.
3. Compare and contrast the demographic characteristics, political institutions, and economic pursuits of the New England, middle, and southern colonies.


5. Explain the origins and assess the impact of the several domestic rebellions that occurred in England’s North American colonies.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

What is an American?

What was the process by which the colonists fashioned for themselves a new identity and the outlines of a distinct civilization in North America? The answer lies in America’s distance from Europe, its landscape, and its population patterns, all of which gradually shaped a new mosaic of social arrangements.

Spanish Settlement

Franciscan friars who established missions from Florida to the upper Rio Grande shaped life in Spanish North America. The friars were dedicated to converting the Indians to Catholicism, but in so doing undermined the Indians’ traditional way of life and exacted a heavy price in Indian labor. Poor treatment led to Indian rebellions in the late seventeenth century, but the Spanish regained control and learned to deal less harshly with their Indian charges.

The Chesapeake Colonies

The seventeenth-century colonial South included the tidewater around Chesapeake Bay, the low country of the Carolinas, and the backcountry west of the fall line. Only gradually did a common South emerge, characterized by cash crop agriculture, black slavery, and a rural and small town society. In the disease-ridden Chesapeake colonies, life expectancy was short and women were scarce. Life there was precarious, frustrating, and often violent.

The Lure of Land

Agriculture was the bulwark of life in the colonial South. The offer of land had the effect of encouraging immigration; therefore, all southern colonies adopted the headright and indentured servant systems to trade their plentiful land for the labor they needed. Indentured servants who came to America under the terms of these systems were often abused, but court-enforced binding contracts limited their time of service to a few years. Well over half of the white settlers of the southern colonies came as indentured servants. Most eventually became small landowners, but
poor land, low tobacco prices, and high taxes kept them impoverished. As their number increased and many squatted on unclaimed western land, the resulting conflicts caused the large landowners to seek an alternative source of labor.

“Solving” the Labor Shortage: Slavery

Blacks first came to England’s North American colonies in 1619, but slavery was not codified into law until the 1660s. The English were already racially prejudiced against blacks, and they followed the Portuguese and Spanish example of enslaving Africans. These factors, and the demand for a reliable labor force, eventually spread slavery throughout the colonies. Still, until late in the seventeenth century, white indentured servitude remained the primary source of labor because Africans were so utterly alien, and slaves were relatively expensive. But when England’s economic conditions improved in the 1670s, few indentured servants left for the colonies. Africans now became a more attractive labor force because the Royal African Company made slaves more readily available; plus the realization grew that, as life-long slaves, they would never compete with whites for land and political power.

Prosperity in a Pipe: Tobacco

Though discouraged at first, tidewater tobacco was exported when English merchants and Virginia colonists recognized its marketability. It was easy to plant and grow, but it required intensive human labor. In fact, overproduction of tobacco caused prices to fall in the late seventeenth century. This drove many small farmers out of business, but it improved the position of large landowners who could absorb the losses. Unfortunate losers in this competition moved to the frontier where they became involved in conflicts with the Indians.

Bacon’s Rebellion

In 1676, Virginia’s western planters rebelled against the colony’s governor, William Berkeley, because he was insensitive to their problems with the Indians. In defiance of Berkeley’s authority, westerners rallied behind Nathaniel Bacon. They attacked the troublesome Indians, then raided Jamestown and briefly unseated Berkeley, but Bacon died and the rebellion collapsed. Nevertheless, the rebellion helped fix slavery and the plantation system on the colony, and it produced a harmony among whites that was based on white supremacy and black exclusion.

The Carolinas

As in the Chesapeake, Scotch-Irish settlers in North Carolina grew tobacco, but South Carolina’s cash crop was rice. Together with furs, indigo, and timber products, the rice crop was traded to English factors for manufactured goods. But the factor system made southerners dependent on
European middlemen, inhibited the development of a diversified economy, and retarded the growth of cities. Slavery was used in South Carolina from the beginning, and by 1730 blacks were a majority of the colony’s population. There, as throughout the South, as slaves grew in numbers, regulations governing their behavior became more restrictive and severe.

Slaves resented their condition, but their response to it depended on their place in slave society. Acculturation to white society made a slave more valuable to the owner, but it also increased the slave’s independence and mobility; most runaways were slave artisans, not field hands. Organized slave rebellions were rare, although whites exaggerated their danger and were always on guard. Whites accepted their “peculiar institution” of slavery as a fact of life and, except for a few Quakers, talk of abolishing slavery was rare.

**Home and Family in the South**

Life for most people in the colonial South was isolated, crude, and uncomfortable. Houses were small and furniture was crudely built, but there was plenty of food. White women rarely worked in the fields; they maintained the household and, in rare instances, managed the farm or plantation. Children were not as strictly disciplined as in New England; there were few schools, and most southerners were illiterate. The Anglican Church was the established religion in the southern colonies, but churches were few and far between and were not a powerful force. Large planters led more comfortable lives and controlled the region’s politics, but they were usually responsible leaders and hardworking plantation managers, not idle grandees.

**Georgia and the Back Country**

The South’s backcountry included land that lay west of the fall line—the Virginia Piedmont and Georgia. Georgia was founded as a buffer between Spanish Florida and South Carolina, and to provide a new opportunity for debtors released from English prisons. Hoping to build a colony of sober and industrious yeomen, James Oglethorpe and Georgia’s trustees limited the size of land grants, banned liquor, prohibited slavery, and regulated trade with the Indians. But settlers rejected these restrictions and Georgia’s economy gradually developed along the lines of South Carolina’s.

Movement to the backcountry was delayed as long as Indians were a threat and cheap land remained available in the tidewater and low country. But a rush to the frontier began in the 1750s, headed by Scotch-Irish and German immigrants. The result was frequent conflict between politically underrepresented western settlers, called Regulators, and the governing elite in the eastern counties.
Puritan New England

New England, with its dependable water supply, was a healthier place to live than the southern tidewater or low country. With early death less of a threat, New England settlers found it easier to attend to their spiritual, economic, and social well being.

The Puritan Family

Central to the Puritans’ plan for the proper order of society was a covenant—an agreement to insure the good behavior of everyone in the community. The primary vehicle for achieving this was the Puritan family. Each New England household was nuclear—containing one family, and each family was patriarchal—the father was boss. The woman’s role was subordinate—she was to be an obedient wife and loving mother.

Puritan Women and Children

The infant mortality rate in New England was lower than in the Chesapeake or in Europe; consequently, New England families were often quite large. More than in the Chesapeake, New England children were expected to be obedient; and corporeal punishment, chore assignments, and apprenticeships were used to train and discipline them.

The Puritans’ Great Migration ended in the early 1640s, and population growth in New England thereafter resulted from a high birth rate and low mortality rate. Unlike in the South, the male/female ratio was nearly equal.

Visible Puritan Saints and Others

The first arrivals in New England had to meet strict standards to become members of the Puritan church and qualify their children for baptism. Third-generation settlers were less often members of the church, and, in 1657, the ministers adopted a Half-Way Covenant so that they and their children could be baptized. This new covenant reflected a loss of some religious intensity in New England, but church membership rose.

 Democracies Without Democrats

New England governments used their relative independence from British supervision to protect the prerogatives of the Puritan church and enforce its system of laws and values. The primary responsibility for monitoring the peace and good order of Puritan society fell to local town governments.
The Dominion of New England

In the 1680s, the English government tried to bring its American colonies under firmer control. The Massachusetts charter was annulled and the New England colonies were placed in the Dominion of New England, governed by Edmund Andros. Andros made himself unpopular by abolishing popular assemblies, enforcing religious toleration, and altering the land grant system. But the Glorious Revolution in England in 1688 toppled Andros from power, and Massachusetts became a royal colony.

Salem Bewitched

In Salem Village, social and generational discord resulted in a series of witchcraft trials that led to 20 executions. The mass hysteria associated with this event marred the reputation of the Puritan ministers. The witchcraft episode highlights the Puritans’ anxiety toward women. They feared Satan worked his will through the allure of female sexuality, especially those who—like many in the Salem affair—lived apart from the patriarchal authority of men.

Higher Education in New England

New England Puritans established schools to train ministers. Both Harvard College and new laws requiring local towns to provide grammar schools appeared in the mid-seventeenth century. With the help of the family and church, these schools produced a highly literate population in New England. Generally, schooling promoted secularism and religious toleration in New England. Puritan minister Cotton Mather invoked modern science when he advocated inoculation against smallpox and Boston’s Ben Franklin satirized the pretentious intellectualism of New England’s leaders.

Prosperity Undermines Puritanism

Most New Englanders were farmers who produced their own food. They also fished the Atlantic and generally had plenty to eat and a nutritious diet. Unlike in the South, however, New Englanders did not produce surplus cash crops for export. This was not a problem for the earliest Puritan settlers since theirs was a spiritual mission, not a commercial enterprise, and they held the accumulation of wealth in low regard.

A Merchant’s World

The first generation of New Englanders tried to establish direct trade links to Europe, then turned to indirect trading schemes. Their “triangular trade” became immensely profitable and it brought
New England merchants both wealth and status. Boston was the commercial hub of the region, and it became the home of wealthy merchants, middle-class artisans and shopkeepers, and propertyless sailors, workers, and transients. This had not been the social vision of the Puritans.

The Middle Colonies: Economic Basis

The Middle Colonies were similar to New England in that most people were farmers who grew their own food for consumption, or worked in seacoast cities and interior towns. They were similar to the southern colonies in that they owned slaves, grew a cash crop for export, and lived on the land they cultivated.

The Middle Colonies: An Intermingling of Peoples

The Middle Colonies were distinctive for their ethnic and religious diversity. This mixing of ethnic groups gave rise to many prejudices; however, the different groups generally got along peacefully. “The Best Poor Man’s Country”

Ethnic differences in the Middle Colonies seldom produced conflict because they seldom limited economic opportunity. Non-English settlers came to America for the promise of prosperity, and, especially in Pennsylvania, they found it. Most became farmers, but others became artisans. Countless opportunities existed in cities like New York and Philadelphia, cities that benefited from navigable rivers that penetrated deep into the back country.

The Politics of Diversity

Politics in the Middle Colonies was more contentious and sophisticated than in New England or the South. Like the colonies in New England and the South, the Middle Colonies all had popularly elected representative assemblies and adult white male suffrage. As in the Chesapeake, representatives were elected from counties, but in the Middle Colonies, voters did not defer to the leadership of the landed gentry.

In New York, politics first became polarized after Jacob Leisler’s Rebellion in 1689, then polarized again between large landowners and wealthy merchants. Their squabbles produced John Peter Zenger’s trial for seditious libel—a celebrated test of freedom of the press in America.

Two interest groups also contested for power in Pennsylvania: William Penn, the proprietor, battled a coalition of Philadelphia Quakers and Pennsylvania Dutch who controlled the assembly. In their standoff, popular opinion became important. The colony’s leadership was tested by the
Paxton Boys’ uprising in 1763—a revolt triggered by eastern indifference to the western settlers’ Indian problems. Benjamin Franklin brought the crisis to a peaceful resolution.

**Rebellious Women**

This politically disputatious and contentious era suffered anxiety over the role of women. Anne Hutchinson and the Salem witch trials agitated New Englanders, and there was widespread uneasiness toward women among the power-conscious planter elite. The general trend was away from patriarchal authority in the household, but mid-eighteenth-century white women were being pushed to the margins of political life and were expected to confine themselves to private matters within the home.

**People, Places, and Things**

*Define the following:*

- headright system
- quitrent
- indentured servitude
- squatters’ rights
- slavery
- peculiar institution
- covenant

33
nuclear family

town meeting

triangular trade

Describe the following:

Royal African Company

Bacon’s Rebellion

Half-Way Covenant

Dominion of New England

Glorious Revolution

Leisler’s Rebellion

Paxton Boys’ uprising
Identify the following:

- William Berkeley

- Eliza Lucas

- factors

- James Oglethorpe

- Edmund Andros

- Cotton Mather

- Scotch-Irish

- Ben Franklin

- John Peter Zenger

- Pennsylvania Dutch
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Franciscan friars who staffed Spanish missions in the regions that are now part of the Southwestern United States were committed to all the following EXCEPT
   A. instructing Indians in the rudiments of the Catholic faith.
   B. using Indian labor to serve the needs of the friars and other Spanish colonists.
   C. protecting the lives of individual Indians.
   D. preserving the Indians’ traditional way of life.

2. Most early immigrants to England’s seventeenth-century North American colonies
   A. intended to develop a new civilization.
   B. were not from England.
   C. wanted to improve the condition of their own lives.
   D. settled in the backcountry.

3. In which of the following pairs is the geographical subdivision NOT correctly matched with one of the colonies in it?
   A. tidewater—Virginia
   B. Chesapeake—New York
   C. low country—South Carolina
   D. back country—Georgia

4. In contrast to the New England colonies, the Chesapeake colonies had a
   A. low mortality rate.
   B. scarcity of women.
   C. high birth rate.
   D. healthy environment.

5. Indentured servants
   A. were bound by temporary labor contracts.
   B. were given headrights when they agreed to migrate to the American colonies.
   C. had no legal rights.
   D. constituted a small part of the southern colonies’ population.

6. Slavery in England’s North American colonies was first used on a large scale
   A. in 1619 when the first blacks arrived.
   B. late in the seventeenth century when the demand for labor increased.
   C. in the Middle and New England colonies.
   D. in the mid-eighteenth century when England began losing control over the colonies.
7. In 1676, frontier settlers rebelled against the royal governor of Virginia. This was
   A. Bacon’s Rebellion.
   B. the Paxton Boys’ uprising.
   C. the Regulator movement.
   D. Leisler’s Rebellion.

8. The enactment and severity of slave codes in each colony was closely related to the
   A. kind of crops grown there.
   B. structure of that colony’s government.
   C. ethnic origins of the white settlers.
   D. size of the black population.

9. Skilled slaves were generally LESS __________ than field hands.
   A. valuable
   B. independent
   C. mobile
   D. satisfied

10. In the colonial South,
    A. white women often worked in the fields.
    B. food was scarce.
    C. most people were illiterate.
    D. children were more strictly disciplined than in New England.

11. Georgia’s original trustees did NOT restrict their settlers’
    A. ownership of slaves.
    B. access to land.
    C. religious freedom.
    D. use of liquor.

12. In New England families it was usual that
    A. the father and mother equally shared authority.
    B. more than one family inhabited a household.
    C. children were held to strict obedience.
    D. wives had servants to do their housework.

13. As compared to the Chesapeake colonies, New England had
    A. a high infant mortality rate.
    B. smaller families.
    C. a low birth rate.
    D. a balanced gender ratio.
14. The Half-Way Covenant was intended to allow the baptism of
   A. the children of those who were not church members.
   B. adult church members only.
   C. the children of church members only.
   D. adult women.

15. The primary local governing institution of the New England colonies was the
   A. governor’s council.
   B. county court.
   C. Congregational Church.
   D. town meeting.

16. In the 1680s, the English monarchy tried to gain greater control over the New England colonies by appointing Edmund Andros to govern the
   A. New England Confederation.
   B. House of Burgesses.
   C. Dominion of New England.
   D. Congregational Church.

17. The driving force of New England’s economy in the early eighteenth century was
   A. local agriculture.
   B. fishing.
   C. production of cash crops for export.
   D. the “triangle trade.”

18. The Middle Colonies were similar to South Carolina in all the following ways EXCEPT
   A. slavery was legal.
   B. they grew a cash crop for export.
   C. most people were farmers.
   D. the majority of the population was black.

19. The most distinctive feature of the Middle Colonies was
   A. the ethnic and religious diversity in their populations.
   B. the absence of ethnic and religious prejudice among their inhabitants.
   C. the limited economic opportunity there.
   D. their lack of cities.

20. John Peter Zenger was charged with
   A. organizing an armed rebellion.
   B. religious heresy.
   C. seditious libel.
   D. advocating the abolition of slavery.
Essay Questions

1. Explain how Europeans who settled in England’s North American colonies were “Americanized” by that experience. Write a statement that defines a colonial “American.”

2. Explain the origins of slavery in England’s North American colonies.

3. Compare and contrast the economic, political, and social features of life in the New England, Middle, and Southern Colonies.

4. Explain why the religious fervor of New England Puritans declined after 1660. Show how the Salem witchcraft trials were related to this decline.

5. Account for the several little rebellions that broke out periodically in England’s North American colonies; notably, Bacon’s Rebellion, Leisler’s Rebellion, and the Paxton Boys’ uprising.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Comparing and Contrasting

Comparing and contrasting is a fundamental critical thinking skill. It involves classifying information into two categories: similarities (comparisons) and differences (contrasts). Comparative and contrasting relationships help historians relate facts and generalizations in a way that promotes greater understanding of both items being compared.

There are at least three specific ways that this form of classification is useful to historians. First, it helps define or clarify key terminology. For example, comparing and contrasting the characteristics of each of the two labor systems can clarify both “slavery” and “indentured servitude.” Second, comparing and contrasting helps generate useful generalizations. For example, contrasting the number of blacks as a percentage of the population in each colony helps produce the generalization, “Black codes were more strict where the percentage of blacks in the population was highest.” Third, comparing and contrasting helps establish a frame of reference; it always poses the question, “Compared to what?” For example, any information or generalization about slavery in England’s southern colonies in the seventeenth century can be better understood by comparing and contrasting it to slavery in the middle colonies and New England, or to southern slavery in the eighteenth century, or to slavery in the British West Indies, or to Spanish and Portuguese slavery in the Americas, or to slavery in antiquity, and so on.

Thus, comparing and contrasting helps clarify the characteristics of a topic of study, and like classification, of which it is a special kind, comparing and contrasting helps the historian order otherwise seemingly unrelated facts.
A matrix is a useful way to represent information for comparing and contrasting. It helps organize the similarities and differences of two or more topics being compared. Chapter 2 considers two topics we can compare: the development of life in colonial New England, and the southern colonies in the seventeenth century. Along the way, the authors discuss each regions’ economy, society, demography (characteristics of the population), and politics. A matrix will help us quickly determine the similarities and differences between seventeenth-century New England and the southern colonies.

Your task is to draw information from throughout Chapter 2 that helps you complete the boxes in the matrix on the following page. Some boxes have been filled in to cue you to specific areas of comparison and contrast.
# Comparing and Contrasting the New England and Southern Colonies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economy</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>New England</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash crop agriculture</td>
<td>fishing, trade, agriculture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undiversified</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-sufficient farms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Slavery vital to the economy</td>
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CHAPTER 3

America in the British Empire

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

*Directions*: Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you *now* agree. Use the column entitled “Anticipation.” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you *then* agree. Use the column entitled “Reaction.” Note any variation in the placement of checkmarks from *anticipation* to *reaction* and explain why you changed your mind.

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The British government usually left American colonists to make their own laws pertaining to local matters.

American colonial trade was severely crippled by British trade laws.

The European Enlightenment had little influence on the thought of American colonists.

Because they were part of the British empire, colonists were constantly involved in England’s imperial wars with France and Spain.

Parliament taxed the American colonists as a way to express its authority over them, not because it needed the money.

Colonists protested the Sugar Act and Stamp Act as violations of their rights as Americans.

Colonists protested the Tea Act because it threatened to raise the price of tea.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

*After reading Chapter 3 you should be able to:*

1. Define the basic assumptions of the British colonial system and describe its operation.
2. Assess the impact of the Great Awakening and Enlightenment on the spiritual and intellectual life of the colonies.
3. Describe the relationship between the French and Indian War and the coming of the American Revolution.
4. Trace the course of key events between 1763 and 1775 that worsened relations between England and the colonies.
5. Identify the principles the colonists used to justify their resistance to Parliament’s legislation between 1763 and 1775.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The British Colonial System

While English political and legal institutions took hold everywhere in the colonies, their distance from England combined with British political inefficiency to give colonists considerable political control over local affairs. There was a basic pattern to all colonial governments; most colonies had an appointed governor, council and judges, and all had elected representative assemblies. Assemblies, because they had financial power and popular support, usually controlled the government. While colonial legislators gradually gained power and experience, royal officials were handicapped by lack of tenure, impractical instructions, and few ways to influence the assemblies.

The British never developed an effective centralized government for the American colonies, and the colonies were never called upon to conform to a single set of governing principles. Even the Board of Trade created in 1696 was an inconsistently efficient policy-recommending agency with little power. In fact, Parliament nearly always accepted the board’s recommendations and rarely legislated specifically for the colonies, and the board only infrequently vetoed acts of colonial assemblies.

Mercantilism

English mercantilists believed that national power depended on national prosperity and that colonies could contribute to national wealth by supplying raw materials and by purchasing English manufactured goods. In the mercantilists’ view, national economic self-sufficiency and a favorable balance of trade were England’s ticket to power, merchants were the agents of national prosperity, and colonial markets were vital to the imperial system.

The Navigation Acts

The Navigation Acts were designed to implement mercantilists’ planned economy principles. They barred Dutch and all other foreign ships from England’s colonial ports, prohibited the colonists from marketing certain “enumerated articles” outside the empire, and required that all foreign imports destined for the colonies first be transshipped through England. The acts gave
southern tobacco planters a monopoly of their crop within the empire, paid bounties to colonial producers of indigo and naval stores, and regulated colonial manufacture of iron and woolen goods.

The Effects of Mercantilism

England was the colonies’ main trading partner, but much colonial trade and manufacturing was left untouched by the Navigation Laws. The Navigation system stimulated colonial shipbuilding, but it also caused colonists to pay higher prices for manufactured imports. The system had the potential for hampering colonial economic development, but serious problems were alleviated by the inefficiency of British enforcement; smuggling and bribery were common. The fact is, the colonial economy was almost continuously prosperous and practical British leaders followed a policy of “salutary neglect”—ignoring American violations of the Navigation Acts.

The Great Awakening

The Great Awakening had direct effects in all the colonies. Its outbreak in the 1730s ended a period of slackening religious fervor. George Whitefield’s oratorical brilliance and uncomplicated theology released an epidemic of religious enthusiasm for a forgiving God that responded to good intentions and was willing to grant salvation to all. The Awakening often split established churches along class lines, and it led many people to question all forms of authority.

The Rise and Fall of Jonathan Edwards

By 1750, except in the South, a traditionalist backlash had set in against Jonathan Edwards’ and other Awakening preachers’ religious enthusiasm. While it caused divisions and controversy, the Great Awakening also fostered religious toleration and it marks the time when the previously distinct histories of the colonies began to intersect. It was the first truly national event in American history and pointed ahead to an America marked by religious pluralism.

The Enlightenment in America

The Enlightenment had a great impact on American intellectuals. Enlightenment thinkers believed that universal natural laws governed all behavior. They saw God as the Creator, but not as an intrusive force in ordinary life. Human reason, they thought, not God’s revelations, were the key to knowledge. This view implied people’s ability to control their own destiny.

Enlightenment thinkers challenged orthodox religious beliefs and many embraced Deism, a faith that revered God for the wonder of his creation, not for his omnipotence. American intellectuals
avidly read and discussed the publications of Europe’s scientists, political theorists, and philosophers. As a result, ministers lost their monopoly of the intellectual life of America.

**Colonial Scientific Achievements**

Colonists contributed significantly to the collection of scientific knowledge. Ben Franklin was the representative Enlightenment man in America. He personified the colonies’ mid-eighteenth century intellectual climate that was characterized by curiosity, practicality, flexibility, and confidence.

**Repercussions of Distant Wars**

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century mercantilistic competition for markets and raw materials generated conflict among European powers, their colonists, and the Indians in North America. Nevertheless, colonists played only a minor role in England’s colonial wars with France between 1689 and 1748. Frontier settlers were sometimes killed, some colonies suffered inflation and higher taxes, and some colonial soldiers were killed in militia campaigns against enemy strongholds like Louisbourg. These wars generated some trouble between England and the colonies, but the conflicts were seldom serious.

**The Great War for the Empire**

By the mid-eighteenth century, English colonists’ interest in land in the Ohio Valley was challenging France’s dominance in the area. The resulting showdown, called the French and Indian War, or Great War for the Empire, at first went poorly for the British. The English outnumbered French colonists, but British campaigns were mismanaged and most Native American tribes sided with the French. In 1756, William Pitt took charge of England’s war effort. He recognized the potential value of North America, so he poured the full resources of the empire into the campaign to drive the French from the continent. By 1760, both Quebec and Montreal had fallen, and France abandoned Canada to the British.

**The Peace of Paris**

The 1763 Treaty of Paris ended the Great War for the Empire. France lost almost all her American territory, while Britain took control of Canada and the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley. Britain also got East and West Florida from Spain, and (in a separate treaty) Spain received New Orleans and former French claims lying west of the Mississippi River. British regular troops and the royal treasury had cleared North America of the French threat to the colonial frontier. Colonial troops and assemblies contributed little to the fighting or costs of the
war except in defense of their own homes, but the English victory produced a great expression of loyalty to the king and mother country.

**Putting the Empire Right**

England now had a larger, more complex, and more costly empire—and a huge national debt. Colonists were eager to expand westward into the newly conquered territories, so British authorities now faced problems with conflicting land claimants, rival land companies, unapacified Indians, and fur traders hoping to hold back the wave of new settlement. Unfortunately for them, British officials failed to provide effective leadership. King George III proved to be inept, and even the best English statesmen were wholly ignorant of American conditions. They generally held the colonists in low regard, and many English people resented the colonists’ relative wealth and potential power.

**Tightening Imperial Controls**

The American Revolution resulted from the inefficient and ill-informed British government’s failure to deal effectively with postwar problems following the Great War for the Empire. Colonists, having grown used to managing their own affairs, resisted England’s postwar attempts to both restrict their freedom of action and to intervene in their affairs. Pontiac’s Rebellion provoked the English to proclaim a new western policy. This Proclamation of 1763 frustrated many colonial land development schemes by prohibiting settlement in the Ohio Valley. The British saw the Proclamation as a way to save money, prevent trouble with the Indians, and keep the colonists closely tied and subordinate to England. Americans disliked the new policy, but their protest was muted.

**The Sugar Act**

Even more alarming to colonists was Prime Minister George Grenville’s plan to use the new Sugar Tax—a revenue tax on colonial imports—to compel the colonists to help pay the costs of colonial administration. Grenville planned to end salutary neglect, smuggling, and the corruption and inefficiency of the customs service. The colonists saw the Sugar Act as a threat to their right as English subjects not to be taxed without their consent.

**American Colonists Demand Rights**

The British and Americans disagreed over the meaning of representation. By “virtual” representation, the English asserted that colonial interests were represented by every member of Parliament. American colonists insisted on “actual” representation that was geographically based, as with the colonial assemblies. Colonists were provincials who defined their obligations
to the empire very narrowly. They had prospered without a parliamentary tax burden before 1763, and they saw no reason to change. Still, calls for coordinated protest against the Sugar Act were met with widespread indifference. But in 1765, Parliament provided the measure necessary for coalescing colonial opinion.

**The Stamp Act: The Pot Set to Boiling**

The 1765 Stamp Act was an excise tax on printed matter that Grenville hoped would defray the costs of empire by raising revenue in the colonies. Colonial resistance was swift and widespread. Virginia’s Patrick Henry denied Parliament’s authority to tax the colonies, and the Stamp Act Congress claimed the colonists’ right to no taxation without representation. The Sons of Liberty initiated extralegal organized resistance against British tax policies, often resorting to violence. This marked the start of the revolution.

**Rioters or Rebels?**

The resort to violence worried the colonial elite who feared a social revolution within the colonies. But most colonists were property owners and could vote, so they were not social revolutionaries seeking to overthrow the established order. Protests against the Stamp Act were so strong because it was imposed while the colonies were still in a post-war depression and it struck directly at the interests of the most articulate and influential groups in America. More basically, it was a clear British rejection of the principle of “no taxation without representation;” thus, it was a threat to colonial self-government and an arbitrary invasion of the colonists’ constitutional rights as English subjects. Parliament’s Quartering Act, meant to support a standing army in the colonies, further heightened colonists’ fears that British authorities were conspiring to subvert their liberties.

**Taxation or Tyranny?**

Colonists saw the English system of balanced government that was designed to protect their liberties being corrupted by greedy and ambitious politicians. In fact, British leaders were not conspiratorial tyrants, but they were committed to centralizing imperial authority at the expense of colonial autonomy. They wanted a British army in America to control both the western Indians and troublesome colonists. British leaders saw the colonists as dependent “children” and refused to deal with them as equals. This arrogant and unrealistic attitude had as much to do with the coming of the revolution as any specific act of Parliament. Still, by resorting to resolutions, mob violence, and especially economic boycotts, colonists eventually forced Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act in 1766.
The Declaratory Act

When it repealed the Stamp Act, Parliament passed the Declaratory Act as a bold statement of Parliament’s authority and colonial subordination. The British and Americans now disagreed about the meaning of representation, constitution, and sovereignty. To the British, a constitution was the totality of laws, customs, and institutions that governed the realm. Americans defined a constitution as a written document that limited the powers of government. The British saw Parliament’s sovereignty as absolute, indivisible, and necessary for the preservation of social order. Americans were beginning to conceive of the possibility that “unconstitutional” Parliamentary laws had no force in America.

The Townshend Duties

Charles Townshend, new head of the British government in 1767, mistakenly believed that colonists objected only to direct taxes and would accept an indirect tax on trade. The Townshend duties imposed taxes on several colonial imports, and colonists responded with a boycott of British goods and efforts to stimulate colonial manufacturing. Townshend also insisted on strict enforcement of the trade laws and extraordinary penalties for smugglers. In response, Massachusetts issued a Circular Letter asserting the unconstitutionality of the Townshend duties, conservative John Dickinson stated plainly that Parliament had no right to tax the colonies, and radical Samuel Adams believed Parliament had no right to legislate for the colonies at all. The British dismissed these protests and sent troops to Boston.

The Boston Massacre

The presence of British troops in Boston created tensions that finally broke in the Boston Massacre in 1770. British troops, taunted by local citizens, fired upon a crowd and killed five colonists. In England, confrontation gave way to adjustment and the Townshend duties were repealed except for the tax on tea, and a post-massacre truce settled over the empire for the next two years.

The Pot Spills Over

Colonists broke the truce by burning a British customs ship in 1772, a crime against which no one could be found to testify. The British now viewed the colonists as utterly lawless. When news arrived that henceforth governors would be paid by the Crown and not by local assemblies, colonists knew they had lost their control of royal officials. They formed committees of correspondence to coordinate intercolonial resistance.
The Tea Act Crisis

In 1773, Prime Minister Lord North decided to assist the financially strapped British East India Company by allowing it to sell its tea directly to the colonies at bargain prices. Colonists viewed this as a diabolical attempt to entice them to violate their principles and buy the tea—on which they would have to pay the Townshend duty—and Parliament’s favoritism toward the East India Company threatened the pocketbooks of colonial merchants. So, in Boston, colonists threw the tea into the harbor, a crime British officials knew would go unpunished by an American jury. In Britain, leaders now agreed that colonists must be taught a lesson in obedience.

From Resistance to Revolution

In 1774, Parliament passed the Coercive Acts, which threatened the economic health and political freedom of Massachusetts. These unwise and unjust acts signaled a shift in British policy from persuasion and conciliation to coercion and punishment.

Since 1763, colonists had been driven by new British policies and a growing awareness of their common interests to take political action into their own hands and act in concert. When the First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in 1775, Joseph Galloway called for a restructuring of the empire, but the majority of delegates were more radical; they denied Parliament had any authority to govern the colonies. Congress drafted a list of grievances and proposed that people take up arms to defend their rights. It also organized the Continental Association to enforce a total boycott against British goods. In the minds of the American people, the Revolution had already begun.

PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

mercantilism

favorable balance of trade

enumerated articles
salutary neglect

Deism

“no taxation without representation”

virtual and actual representation

provincials

direct and indirect taxation

boycott

Describe the following:

Navigation Acts

Iron and Wool Acts

Great Awakening

Enlightenment
Great War for the Empire

Treaty of Paris (1763)

Pontiac’s Rebellion

Proclamation of 1763

Sugar Act

Stamp Act

Declaratory Act

Circular Letter

Boston Massacre

Boston Tea Party
Coercive/Intolerable Acts

Continental Association

Identify the following:

Board of Trade

George Whitefield

Old and New Lights

Jonathan Edwards

Benjamin Franklin

Five Nations

William Pitt

George Grenville
Patrick Henry

Sons of Liberty

Charles Townshend

John Dickinson

committees of correspondence

First Continental Congress

Joseph Galloway

SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The most effective governmental institution in the colonies was the
   A. appointed governor.
   B. elected assembly.
   C. appointed council.
   D. customs office.

2. English mercantilists believed that England’s power depended on
   A. finding gold and silver in America.
   B. a ruthless exploitation of the colonists.
   C. subsidizing colonial manufactures.
   D. a favorable balance of trade with other nations.
   A. banned Dutch ships from colonial ports.
   B. allowed the colonists to sell certain enumerated articles to foreign markets.
   C. failed to implement mercantilistic assumptions.
   D. were strictly but fairly enforced.

   A. hat
   B. shipbuilding
   C. iron
   D. woolen

5. One effect of the Great Awakening was that it
   A. weakened religious fervor in the colonies.
   B. promoted religious toleration in the colonies.
   C. unified colonial congregations.
   D. renewed colonists’ respect for authority.

6. Enlightenment thinkers believed that humankind’s future was tied to the
   A. arbitrary actions of an omnipotent God.
   B. instance of divine revelation.
   C. exercise of human reason.
   D. unpredictability of uncontrollable fate.

7. Which of the following statements is TRUE?
   A. Mercantilistic principles reduced the level of international conflict.
   B. Left alone by their imperial governments, French and English colonists in America had little reason for conflict.
   C. Before 1750, colonists played a minor role in the imperial wars between Britain and France.
   D. The early colonial wars created serious strains between England and the colonies.

8. William Pitt made Britain’s _______ the primary British objective in the French and Indian War.
   A. acquisition of the Caribbean sugar islands
   B. domination of North America
   C. banning of Dutch trade from America
   D. elimination of Indian resistance on the colonial frontier
9. In the 1763 Treaty of Paris,
   A. France lost all her North American possessions.
   B. England got New Orleans and former French territory west of the Mississippi River.
   C. Spain got East and West Florida.
   D. England got Canada.

10. Which of the following statements about the British in 1763 is NOT true?
   A. Most British officials knew little about America.
   B. British leaders held colonists in contempt.
   C. British officials finally began to exercise effective leadership of the empire.
   D. The expanded empire in America presented several new problems for British administration.

11. The Proclamation of 1763
   A. held that writs of assistance were unconstitutional.
   B. declared war on Chief Pontiac and his followers.
   C. invalidated all colonial land claims.
   D. prohibited colonial settlement in the Ohio Valley.

12. The Grenville administration did NOT enact
   A. new duties on glass, paint, and tea.
   B. direct taxes on all legal papers.
   C. lower taxes on West Indian sugar.
   D. strict enforcement of the trade laws.

13. Colonial resistance to the Sugar Act generated a debate between Parliament and the colonists about the definition of
   A. representation.
   B. imperialism.
   C. federalism.
   D. mercantilism.

14. Protest against the Stamp Act was very strong and widespread for all of the following reasons EXCEPT that it
   A. was imposed at a time when the colonial economy was depressed.
   B. provoked the most vocal interest groups in the colonies.
   C. was an indirect tax designed to regulate colonial trade.
   D. was an open threat to colonial self-government.
15. The Declaratory Act was
A. an invitation to colonists to work out a system for sharing governing power between Parliament and the colonial assemblies.
B. a statement of the colonists’ claim that they could not be taxed without their consent.
C. a bold assertion of Parliament’s sovereign power over the empire.
D. a strongly worded colonial protest against the Stamp Act.

16. Charles Townshend, author of the Townshend Acts in 1767, believed that colonists
A. made no distinction between direct and indirect taxes.
B. objected to both direct and indirect taxes.
C. objected only to indirect taxes.
D. objected only to direct taxes.

17. The Boston Massacre was directly followed by the
A. repeal of the Stamp Act.
B. enactment of the Declaratory Act.
C. repeal of the Townshend Acts.
D. enactment of the Quartering Act.

18. After the Gaspee was burned in 1772, colonists created _______ to coordinate intercolonial resistance to British “tyranny.”
A. the Continental Association
B. the Sons of Liberty
C. committees of correspondence
D. the First Continental Congress

19. Parliament intended the Tea Act to
A. compel the colonists to pay import taxes.
B. aid the financially troubled British East India Company.
C. punish Massachusetts for the Boston Tea Party.
D. provoke the colonies to armed rebellion.

20. Most delegates to the First Continental Congress
A. accepted the concept of virtual representation.
B. denied that Parliament had any authority to legislate for the colonies.
C. called for a restructuring of the British colonial system.
D. demanded independence for the colonies.
Essay Questions

1. Describe the relationship between mercantilistic assumptions and the operation of the Navigation Acts as central elements in the British colonial system.

2. Identify the basic beliefs and assumptions of the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening. Evaluate their importance to colonial development.

3. Explain how the Great War for the Empire can be seen as a major cause of the American Revolution.


5. Make an argument that the American colonists’ resistance to British authority between 1763 and 1775 was based on either principle or self-interest (pick one).

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Cause and Effect

Discerning cause-and-effect (or causal) relationships is perhaps the most important critical thinking skill for the study of history. Historians are always asking the cause-and-effect questions, how and why did something happen? It involves identifying a cause (whatever brings about something else) and an effect (the result of the cause). Cause-and-effect is the most basic organizing and structuring scheme for historical information.

Like classifying and comparing and contrasting, historians use cause-and-effect relationships to organize otherwise seemingly isolated facts into comprehensible patterns. These patterns take at least two forms. First, a causal chain is a sequence of events each of which was the effect of the preceding event that then becomes the cause of the next event until a whole series of causes produces a climactic event at the end of the chain. For example, the outcome of the Great War for the Empire caused the British to reorganize their North American empire, which resulted in the enactment of new tax laws that provoked colonial resistance, culminating in the American Revolution.
A second cause-and-effect pattern involves *contributory causes*—a set of causes that act *simultaneously* to bring about an effect. Each cause contributes to producing the effect, and each cause reinforces the other causes. Thus, the effect is the result of several different factors working together. For example, it might be said that the simultaneous interaction of the colonists’ assimilation of ideas from the Enlightenment, the consequences of the Great War for the Empire, and the ineffective handling of colonial issues by the British government contributed to the coming of the American Revolution.

Your task in the following cause-and-effect exercise is to rearrange the items in each group into a causal chain. Correctly arranged, the items will show a series of events, each of which will be the effect of the preceding event that then became the cause of the next event. Therefore, the chain must be sequential. The first event on your list (give it number 1) should be the event that initiated the chain, the last event (give it the highest number) on your list will be the last effect in the preceding chain. Number the intermediate events in their proper cause-and-effect sequence. Finally, link all the items in the group in a short explanatory paragraph that clearly expresses the cause-and-effect relationship among the items in the group. Group One is an example.

*Group One*

3. British need to maintain peace on the frontier
2. Pontiac’s Rebellion
4. Proclamation of 1763
1. End of the Great War for the Empire

The end of the Great War for the Empire resulted in Pontiac’s Rebellion, a defensive war against the westward migration of colonists into former French territory. As a way to minimize Indian-white conflict and maintain peace on the frontier, the British government adopted the Proclamation of 1763 that delayed the westward migration of colonists.

*Group Two*

Sugar Act passed
British argue for virtual representation
British face new expenses in their expanded empire
Americans protest being taxed without their consent
**Group 3**

- Declaratory Act passed
- Sugar Act fails to produce needed revenue
- Stamp Act Congress claims “no taxation without representation”
- Stamp Act passed
- Stamp Act repealed

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**Group 4**

- Circular Letter issued
- Townshend duties adopted
- Boston Massacre occurs
- British send troops to Boston
- Townshend duties repealed
Group 5

______  Coercive Acts passed
______  Tea Act passed
______  First Continental Congress meets
______  Boston Tea Party occurs
______  British East India Company needs to dump surpluses
CHAPTER 4

The American Revolution

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. Use the column entitled “Anticipation.” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Use the column entitled “Reaction.” Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

Anticipation                                     Reaction

_____ 1. The first major battle of the Revolutionary War occurred before independence was declared.   _____ 1.


_____ 3. Once independence was officially declared, Americans unified in support of the Patriot cause.   _____ 3.

_____ 4. The individual states drafted constitutions before a national constitution was ratified.   _____ 4.

_____ 5. Ironically, Americans, incensed by British taxation, financed the Revolutionary War by imposing heavy taxes on themselves.   _____ 5.

_____ 6. The winning of independence was accompanied by significant social reforms and basic changes in the structure of American society.   _____ 6.

_____ 7. A sense of national loyalty was more a product of the Revolutionary War than a cause of it.   _____ 7.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 4 you should be able to:

1. Analyze the intent and the content of the Declaration of Independence.
2. Compare and contrast the advantages and disadvantages of the British and Americans as the Revolutionary War began.
3. Identify the key battles of the Revolutionary War and explain how the Americans were able to win their independence.
4. Describe the main characteristics of the national and state governments that were created during the Revolutionary War.
5. Summarize the major short-term consequences of the Revolutionary War for the United States.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

“The Shot Heard Round the World”

The American Revolutionary War began in 1775 when Parliament declared Massachusetts in a state of rebellion and Massachusetts Patriots took up arms. Massachusetts “Minute Men” confronted British regulars at Lexington and Concord and sniped at British troops as they returned to Boston. Massachusetts received reinforcements as other colonies rallied to the cause.

The Second Continental Congress

Compared to their predecessors, it was a more radical group of delegates that met at the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia in May 1775. Although it had no legal authority, the Congress set about dealing with the military crisis. It created the Continental Army and appointed George Washington as its commander.

The Battle of Bunker Hill

Meanwhile, American forces took a heavy toll of British regulars before withdrawing from the Battle of Bunker Hill, a battle that virtually eliminated the possibility of reconciliation between the colonies and Great Britain. General William Howe took command of British troops in America, and King George III formally proclaimed the colonies to be “in open rebellion.” The Continental Congress condemned recent British policies and refused to submit to British “tyranny.” Congress then ordered an attack on Canada, commissioned a navy, and began seeking foreign aid.

The Great Declaration

Still, many hesitated at declaring independence. They disliked being labeled traitors, feared the possibility of social revolution upheaval in the new states, and were apprehensive about the likely success of self-government. But two events moved the colonies toward independence: Britain’s callous employment of Hessian soldiers, and Thomas Paine’s publication of Common Sense. Paine’s call for independence and republican government profoundly affected public
opinion. Congress commissioned privateers to attack British commerce, opened all ports to foreign shipping, and called upon the states to draft constitutions and establish independent governments.

Finally, Congress appointed a committee to draft a Declaration of Independence. Thomas Jefferson’s Declaration justified the right of revolution and defined republican government. It also contained a bill of indictment against George III. The Declaration was a self-conscious attempt to convince the world that the Americas had good reasons to create a government of their own.

1776: The Balance of Forces

The British had the formidable task of bringing men and supplies all the way from England. Britain was also hampered by the mismanagement of its army, a reluctance to expend blood and money in another American war, and the need to protect its European flank. Nevertheless, Britain had superior resources in population, war materials, and industrial capacity, and it had control of the seas and a well-trained and experienced army. Americans, on the other hand, were chronically short of money and the tools of war. George Washington commanded an inexperienced and poorly-supplied army.

Loyalists

Perhaps a fifth of the colonists were Loyalists (Tories), who rejected independence for the colonies. Colonists who were most likely to be Loyalists were royal appointees, Anglican clergymen, merchants with close connections in Britain, or minority groups who counted on London for protection. Loyalists were not well organized and were often physically abused by Patriots, forced into exile, or had their property confiscated.

Early British Victories

British general William Howe failed to pursue his advantage promptly, or he may have ended the war with the Battle of Long Island in 1776. Washington learned rapidly, however, and he was seldom thereafter caught so vulnerable. Howe went into winter quarters in New York while the Americans boosted their morale with victories at Trenton and Princeton.

Saratoga and the French Alliance

The complicated British campaign to isolate New England from the other colonies in 1777 ended in a fiasco. Instead of following prearranged plans, Howe left New York to capture Philadelphia, and General Burgoyne’s army was forced to surrender at the key Battle of Saratoga. With the
victory at Saratoga, France allied itself with the colonies. This changed the course and character of the war in the Americans’ favor, but they did not yet have it won.

The War Moves South

In 1778, the British replaced Howe with General Clinton, moved back to New York, and changed strategy. They now focused on the southern colonies, hoping to utilize their sea power, Loyalist supporters, and southern slaves. They dealt the Americans their worst defeat of the war at Charleston. Nathanael Greene then conducted a guerrilla campaign against British general Cornwallis’ army as it moved north toward Virginia.

Victory at Yorktown

Cornwallis encamped at Yorktown, Virginia, where he hoped to be resupplied by sea. But the French navy took control of Chesapeake Bay, and Washington’s Continental Army, the Virginia militia, and French troops trapped Cornwallis’ army. Cornwallis surrendered in October 1781.

The Peace of Paris

Facing defeats elsewhere in the world and a doubled national debt, the British government gave up trying to suppress the rebellion after Yorktown and opened peace negotiations. American peace commissioners maneuvered the British into a generous peace. In the 1783 Treaty of Paris the British acknowledged American independence and transferred control of trans-Appalachia to the new nation. Further, the United States won fishing rights off Canada, and the British agreed to evacuate United States territory. The United States promised to recommend the restitution of Loyalist properties and not to impede the British collection of prewar debts. America’s diplomats shrewdly played the European powers against each other to achieve these favorable terms.

Forming a National Government

In 1777, the Continental Congress submitted a national constitution—the Articles of Confederation—for ratification by the states. But the Articles were not ratified until disputes over state representation and western land claims were resolved in 1781. Under the Articles, each state retained its essential sovereignty and was equally represented in the national congress. The central government had no power to tax or to enforce its authority.
Financing the War

The Continental Congress and the states cooperated in conducting the Revolutionary War. Congress supported the Continental Army and each state raised a militia. States spent money in support of the war and met Congress’ request for military supplies. Congress borrowed money by selling war bonds and accepting foreign loans. It also issued millions in depreciating paper currency that resulted in inflation. But, superintendent of finance Robert Morris got the country back on a hard money basis after Yorktown and was able to inspire confidence in the new government’s financial stability.

State Republican Governments

States began writing their constitutions even before the Declaration of Independence was drafted. Generally, the new state governments were responsive to public opinion, had a powerful elected legislature, and limited the power of governors and judges. Americans saw their legislators as actual representatives carrying out the wishes of the voters in their home districts. Each state constitution had a bill of rights to protect individual liberties. These state constitutions, written frames of government based on the compact principle of government, were one of the most important innovations of the era: a peaceful method for altering the political system.

Social Reform

Many states introduced important new social and political reforms. Steps were taken to reapportion state legislatures, reform inheritance laws, and separate church and state. Many states also acted against slavery. Enlightenment thought, Revolutionary rhetoric, and blacks’ service in the Patriot army and navy posed questions about the morality of slavery. During the Revolution, all the states abolished the slave trade. Beginning in 1780, northern states enacted legislation to gradually abolish slavery, and most southern states removed restrictions on voluntary emancipation of slaves. Still, slavery died only in the North where it was economically unimportant.

Overall, the Revolution produced little of the economic and political upheaval usually associated with revolution. People paid lip service to equality and less willingly deferred to elite leadership, but property confiscated from Loyalists was not redistributed to the poor, and high property ownership requirements for office holding remained the rule. Two other consequences of the Revolution were that the states initiated the convention system of drafting and rewriting constitutions, and state governments became more responsive to public opinion.
Effects of the Revolution on Women

Revolutionary rhetoric and the Declaration of Independence, with their stress on liberty and equality, helped strengthened the legal rights of women. It became easier for women to obtain divorces. Male attitudes toward women were not much changed, but the war effort increased the influence of women in several ways. During the war women demonstrated their competence by managing farms and shops. The education of women was vitalized by recognition of their role in training the next generation to be well-educated citizens of the new republic.

Growth of a National Spirit

The common goal of independence united the colonies, and American nationalism developed during the conflict with Great Britain. Although local ties remained strong, American nationalism sprang from the experience of shared sacrifices, the wartime mobility of leaders, and the need to find common solutions to wartime problems. Wartime disruption of the economy encouraged manufacturing and interstate trade that in turn encouraged pride in America’s greater self-sufficiency.

The Great Land Ordinances

When ceded to the national government, western lands also became a nationalizing force. The Land Ordinance of 1785 stipulated that the national government survey and sell the public lands at auction. While the ordinance ensured orderly development of the West, its provisions favored land-development companies over typical family farmers. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 established governments for the West, set guidelines for transforming territories into republican states, and banned slavery from the Northwest Territory. While they were territories, western governments would have appointed governors and judges, elected legislatures, and nonvoting delegates to Congress. Under these provisions, territories were nurtured toward guaranteed statehood.

National Heroes

The Revolution further fostered nationalism by providing national heroes. Above all others was George Washington, who was revered for his personal sacrifice while leading his forces in adversity. Washington was admired as a man of deeds, a bold Patriot, and a respected leader of unquestionable integrity.
A National Culture

Post-Revolutionary nationalism strengthened the desire for a distinctly American culture. American churches broke their ties to Europe, Noah Webster promoted nationalizing influences in language and education, and painters and writers chose patriotic American themes. Though still intensely loyal to their own states, Americans were becoming increasingly aware of their common interests and increasingly proud of their common heritage.

PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

right of revolution

actual representation

constitutional convention

nationalism

Describe the following:

Battle of Bunker Hill

Declaration of Causes and Necessity for Taking up Arms

Common Sense
Declaration of Independence

Battle of Long Island

Battle of Saratoga

Battle of Yorktown

Peace of Paris, 1783

Articles of Confederation

Land Ordinance of 1785

Northwest Ordinance of 1787

Identify the following:

Second Continental Congress

George Washington
William Howe

Hessians

Thomas Paine

Thomas Jefferson

George III

Loyalists/Tories

John Burgoyne

Horatio Gates

Nathanael Greene

Charles Cornwallis

Benedict Arnold
Locate the following places. Write in both the place name and its map location number.

1. Where the first skirmishes of the Revolutionary War occurred.

   __________________________________________________________    ______________

2. Site of the first pitched battle of the Revolutionary War.

   __________________________________________________________    ______________

3. Site of two psychologically important Patriot victories over British forces in 1776.

   __________________________________________________________    ______________

4. Where Washington’s army suffered a difficult winter encampment in 1777.

   __________________________________________________________    ______________

5. Where Americans suffered their worst defeat of the Revolutionary War.

   __________________________________________________________    ______________

6. Where the surrender of a British army helped forge a formal alliance between the colonies and France.

   __________________________________________________________    ______________

7. Where the surrender of a British army effectively ended the British effort to try to suppress the rebellion in the colonies.

   __________________________________________________________    ______________

8. The new territory the United States acquired from Britain in the Peace of Paris of 1783.

   __________________________________________________________    ______________

9. The area banned to slavery by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

   __________________________________________________________    ______________
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. What is the correct time order of (A) Battle of Bunker Hill, (B) George III proclaims the colonies in open rebellion, (C) Congress adopts the "Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms"?
   A. C, B, A
   B. B, A, C
   C. A, B, C
   D. A, C, B
2. The British view following the Boston Tea Party that other colonies would not rally to the aid of New Englanders was based on  
   A. the behavior of colonial militia units during the French and Indian War.  
   B. information provided by colonial agents who represented the colonies in Parliament.  
   C. the hesitancy of other colonies, southern colonies in particular, to resist the Sugar and Stamp acts and the Townshend duties.  
   D. intelligence reports from British spies in the colonies.

3. The Declaration of Independence did NOT  
   A. call upon the states to draft constitutions.  
   B. justify the right of revolution.  
   C. describe a theory of republican government.  
   D. blame George III for the colonies’ discontent.

4. As the Revolutionary War began, Britain’s disadvantages included all of the following EXCEPT  
   A. a poorly-disciplined army.  
   B. a long supply line.  
   C. inefficient and poor military leadership.  
   D. European enemies anxious to take advantage of the situation.

5. In the winter of 1776, Washington’s army boosted the Patriots’ morale by winning victories at  
   A. Philadelphia and Brandywine.  
   C. Trenton and Princeton.  
   D. Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

6. The British military strategy for 1777 was to  
   A. occupy Boston.  
   B. invade the southern colonies.  
   C. isolate New England from the other colonies.  
   D. hold colonial cities and let the Americans have the countryside.

7. The key significance of the Battle of Saratoga was that it  
   A. forced Britain to sue for peace.  
   B. began a successful colonial invasion of Canada.  
   C. encouraged the French to ally with the colonies.  
   D. proved the Continental Army was superior to colonial militia.
8. The worst American defeat of the Revolutionary War was at
   A. Bunker Hill.
   B. Trenton.
   C. Saratoga.
   D. Charleston.

9. The major fighting of the Revolutionary War began in ________, then moved to ________, and ended in ________.
   A. New England; the South; the Middle Colonies
   B. the South; New England; the Middle Colonies
   C. New England; the Middle Colonies; the South
   D. the Middle Colonies; New England; the South

10. In the 1783 Peace of Paris, the new boundaries of the United States did NOT include the
    A. Gulf of Mexico.
    B. Great Lakes.
    C. Mississippi River.
    D. St. Lawrence River.

11. In the 1783 Peace of Paris, Americans did NOT agree to
    A. recommend the return of Loyalists’ property.
    B. allow the British to collect prewar debts.
    C. end the alliance with France.
    D. accept British terms on Canadian fishing rights.

12. Ratification of the Articles of Confederation was delayed by a dispute over
    A. the financial obligation of each state to the national government.
    B. the cession of state-claimed western lands to the national government.
    C. the expansion of slavery into western lands.
    D. using actual or virtual representation in the national government.

13. Congress did NOT use _____ to finance the Revolutionary War.
    A. bond sales
    B. foreign loans
    C. currency issues
    D. heavy taxes

14. The most powerful institution in the new state governments was the
    A. governor.
    B. courts.
    C. legislature.
    D. bureaucracy.
15. During or just after the Revolutionary War, all of the following were true EXCEPT
   A. northern states abolished slavery.
   B. blacks served in the Patriot army and navy.
   C. southern states outlawed voluntary emancipation.
   D. slavery was banned from the Northwest Territory.

16. A political innovation of the new states as they established their independence was
   A. constitutional conventions.
   B. political parties.
   C. representative assemblies.
   D. bicameral legislatures.

17. An important consequence of the American Revolution was that
   A. each colony separated church and state.
   B. it produced major social and economic upheaval.
   C. governments became more responsive to public opinion.
   D. confiscated properties were redistributed to the poor.

18. The American Revolution did NOT significantly improve
   A. women’s ability to obtain divorce.
   B. women’s legal rights.
   C. men’s attitude toward women’s equality.
   D. the appreciation of women’s role in the education of the young.

19. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 did NOT provide for
   A. the survey and sale of public lands.
   B. a territorial form of government.
   C. a procedure for transforming territories into states.
   D. the banning of slavery from the Northwest Territory.

20. All of the following contributed to the development of American nationalism EXCEPT
   A. George Washington.
   B. George Clinton.
   C. Benjamin Franklin.
   D. Noah Webster.

Essay Questions

1. Compare and contrast the relative strengths and weaknesses of the British and Americans as they went to war in 1775.

2. Explain why, in 1776, Americans were prepared to declare their independence from Britain.

3. Explain how the Americans were able to win their independence in the Revolutionary War.
4. Describe the key features of the Articles of Confederation national government, the several state governments, and the land ordinances of the 1780s. Suggest how they each reflect the democratic republicanism of the Revolutionary generation.

5. List the significant consequences of the American Revolution for blacks and women, and for the national spirit.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Facts, Inferences, and Judgments

Being able to distinguish between a statement of fact, an inference, or a judgment is an important skill to critical thinking. It involves knowing what can be proven directly, what is a legitimate implication derived from the facts, and what is fair to conclude from the historical record.

Historians typically interweave facts, inferences they derive from the facts, and their own judgments into a seamless historical narrative. Active and analytical readers—critical thinkers—must be able to distinguish between these three types of communication:

- **A fact** reports information that can be directly observed, or can be verified or checked for accuracy.
  
  *Example:* The statement, “Until the adult male population of the entire area reached 5,000, it was to be ruled by a governor and three judges . . .” can be checked for factual accuracy by consulting the Northwest Ordinance.

- **An inference** is a logical conclusion based on factual information, yet goes beyond factual information to make a more general statement about something.
  
  *Example:* The statement, “The western lands . . . became a force for unity once they had been ceded to the national government” implies that by their act of giving up their individual claims to western territories, each state placed the union of all the states above their individual interests; thus, the western lands became a force for unity.

- **A judgment** expresses an evaluation based on certain criteria which may or may not be expressed but assesses the rightness or wrongness of an act, whether it was good or bad.
  
  *Example:* The statement, “Seldom has a legislative body acted more wisely,” expresses the author’s judgment that the enactment of the Northwest Ordinance was a good thing, that it was the right thing to do to advance the interests of the nation.
Generally, facts are constants in historical study. But a compendium of facts is inevitably incomplete and dull reading. Historians narrow the gaps in their knowledge about the past, increase our understanding, and enliven historical narrative by drawing logical inferences from facts they have assembled and classified. Often, they then use their expertise to arrive at a considered judgment about the wisdom or significance of past decisions and events.

Distinguishing statements of fact, inference, and judgment may at first seem difficult to do. That is because often they are woven closely together. It takes a special and conscious effort to distinguish between these three types of communication. But the effort will be rewarded because it will make reading history (or any subject) more interesting to you. And it will help develop your critical thinking abilities by enabling you to distinguish information from opinions.

Practice this skill on the following excerpt from the textbook. For each of the numbered statements in the excerpt, circle F for fact, I for inference, or J for judgment on the answer grid that follows the excerpt.
(1) Seeing no future in the Carolinas and unwilling to vegetate at Wilmington,
(2) Cornwallis marched north into Virginia, where he joined forces with troops under
Benedict Arnold. . . .
(3) General Clinton ordered Cornwallis to establish a base at Yorktown, where he
could be supplied by sea. . . . (4) It was a terrible mistake. (5) The British navy in
American waters far outnumbered American and French vessels, but . . . (6) the French had
a fleet in the West Indies under Admiral François de Grasse and another squadron at
Newport, Rhode Island, where a French army was stationed. (7) In the summer of 1781,
Washington, de Grasse, and the Comte de Rochambeau, commander of French land forces,
designed and carried out with an efficiency unparalleled in eighteenth-century warfare a
complex plan to bottle up Cornwallis.
(8) The British navy in the West Indies and at New York might have forestalled this
scheme had it moved promptly and in force. (9) But Admiral Sir George Rodney sent only
part of his Indies fleet. (10) As a result, (11) De Grasse, after a battle with a British fleet
. . . won control of the Chesapeake and cut Cornwallis off from the sea.
(12) The next move was up to Washington, and this was his finest hour as a
commander. (13) He desperately wanted to attack the British base at New York, but at the
urging of Rochambeau he agreed instead to strike at Yorktown. . . . (14) He soon had
nearly 17,000 French and American veterans in position.
(15) Cornwallis was helpless. (16) He held out until October 17 and then asked for
terms [of surrender]. . . .
CHAPTER 5

The Federalist Era: Nationalism Triumphant

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. Use the column entitled “Anticipation.” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Use the column entitled “Reaction.” Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

Anticipation                                      Reaction

_____ 1. Under the Articles of Confederation, the national government was too weak to accomplish anything of real significance.          _____ 1. 

_____ 2. As expected, when British mercantilistic trade laws were lifted from American trade, America’s foreign commerce immediately began to flourish.          _____ 2. 

_____ 3. While the national government under the Articles of Confederation was weak and ineffective, state governments proved to be financially sound and successful at solving problems.          _____ 3. 

_____ 4. The Founding Fathers—delegates to the Constitutional Convention—believed people were selfish by nature and could not be counted on to respect the interests of others.          _____ 4. 

_____ 5. The Great Compromise at the Constitutional Convention dealt with slavery.          _____ 5. 

_____ 6. The Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution after it was already ratified.          _____ 6. 

_____ 7. The Founding Fathers wrote no provision for political parties into the Constitution.          _____ 7.
LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 5 you should be able to:

1. Explain how the Articles of Confederation Congress failed as a national government for the new United States.
2. State the goals and describe the work of the Philadelphia Convention.
3. List the terms of Hamilton’s financial program and state his intentions for it.
4. Explain the origins of the party system in American politics, and compare and contrast the views of the Federalists and Republicans.
5. Trace the conduct of American diplomacy in the 1790s and describe how it influenced domestic politics.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Border Problems

Despite their promises in the Treaty of Paris, the British continued to occupy a string of forts in the Northwest, intrigue with the Indians, and dominate the fur trade. Americans found their national government’s inability to eject the British troops a national disgrace. In the Southwest, the Spanish first closed the Mississippi River to American commerce, and then imposed a tariff on U.S. goods. The United States was too weak in the 1780s to challenge either European power.

Foreign Trade

America’s release from British mercantilism was a mixed blessing. Congress successfully negotiated commercial treaties with Continental powers and the Far East, but Britain excluded the America from its imperial trade union while pouring low-priced manufactured goods into the United States. Thus, the new nation continued to have an unfavorable balance of trade with England. This aggravated the economy at a time of postwar depression. Congress’ inability to find money to pay its debts undermined public confidence, but efforts to empower Congress to tax imports failed, and some began to concede the need to revise the Articles of Confederation.

The Specter of Inflation

The depression and unfavorable balance of trade compelled many states to print more paper money and adopt debtor-friendly laws. The result was rampant inflation and a further weakening of public confidence. Rhode Island’s effort to compel creditors to accept depreciated currency in payment for debts alarmed conservatives.
Daniel Shays’s “Little Rebellion”

In Massachusetts, bad times, high taxes, and deflation led to foreclosures on western farms and the crowding of debtors’ prisons. Daniel Shays and his followers rebelled against the state government’s insensitivity to the farmers’ plight. Congress was powerless to respond to the state’s plea for help. Throughout the colonies, many were alarmed that liberty had become license and they insisted that the national government must have more authority.

To Philadelphia, and the Constitution

The 1786 Annapolis Convention, which was called to discuss common problems of trade, was poorly attended. But Alexander Hamilton, a procentralizing “nationalist” from New York, proposed another convention to address constitutional reforms. Congress endorsed this Philadelphia Convention, and all states except Rhode Island sent delegates. The convention elected George Washington as its president.

The Great Convention

The Founding Fathers were politically experienced, pragmatic, and optimistic about America’s future. They agreed that the nation ought to have a federal system of republican government, deriving its authority from the people and remaining responsible to them. They also agreed that people, though well-intentioned, were selfish by nature, that property must be protected, and that no single state, section, or group should be allowed to dominate the new union. Power, they thought, had to be balanced and divided. They saw their task as compromising clashing interests, and they met in secret proceedings, scrapped the Articles of Confederation, and decided to draft an entirely new frame of government.

The Compromises That Produced the Constitution

The Philadelphia delegates agreed to a massive shift of power away from the states and to the national government. They quickly establish a national government of three branches with the power to tax, regulate trade, and deploy armed force. The states could no longer issue money, make treaties, or tax trade. A long debate over representation in the national government was resolved in the Great Compromise that created the House of Representatives where representation was proportional and the Senate where each state had equal representation. Secondly, delegates divided over slavery. Northerners demanded that slaves be counted for taxation, and southerners insisted that slaves be counted for determining representation in the House. This dispute was resolved in the Three-fifths Compromise: three-fifths of the slaves would be counted for both purposes.
The Constitution gave the president remarkable administrative, military, diplomatic, appointive, and veto powers; a drastic departure from past experience. The president was to be elected by a cumbersome Electoral College system that was expected to throw the election into the House of Representatives. A national court system was set up, which soon exercised the right of judicial review—declaring laws void when they conflicted with the Constitution. While the Constitution greatly expanded the power of the national government, it limited the exercise of that power with an ingenious system of countervailing checks and balances.

**Ratifying the Constitution**

To get the endorsement of the people’s representatives and to bypass potentially hostile state legislatures, the framers submitted the Constitution to special state ratifying conventions. Federalists, who supported ratification, were more interested in orderly and efficient government than in safeguarding freedom of individual choice. Antifederalists believed that free choice was more important than power. They feared the new Constitution would destroy state sovereignty and that centralized republican government could not function well in a large country—a thesis destroyed by James Madison. When Federalists agreed to add amendments to protect civil liberties and states’ rights, most opposition to ratification disappeared. Leading Federalists wrote the *Federalist Papers* to try to persuade delegates at the vital New York convention to ratify the new Constitution.

**Washington as President**

Washington was the nation’s first, and—acutely aware that his every action set a precedent—one of its more cautious, presidents. He took the separation of powers seriously and believed that the veto should be used only when he considered congressional legislation to be unconstitutional. Although he respected the opinions of the department heads (Cabinet) he appointed for their own competence, Washington was a strong president who made his own decisions.

**Congress Under Way**

Congress created the executive departments, established the federal courts, and proposed the Bill of Rights to protect individual civil liberties and states’ rights from the power of the new national government. This did much to convince doubters that the new government would not become too powerful. It remained to be seen if the new government would be powerful enough to deal effectively with border problems, trade relations, and the national debt.
Hamilton and Financial Reform

The new Congress placed a light tariff on foreign imports to raise money, but the new nation had a large debt, shaky credit, and an uncertain economic future. Alexander Hamilton, a self-made man who distrusted the common people, dedicated himself to strengthening the national government by establishing its public credit. He called for funding the national debt at par and for federal assumption of the state debts. He proposed chartering a national bank to hold government funds and issue bank notes. In each case his proposals were deliberately intended to give a special advantage to the rich to attract their wealth to support of the national government.

Hamilton faced strong opposition to his bank proposal from Thomas Jefferson, who questioned its constitutionality. But the funding, assumption, and bank proposals were adopted and all were very successful. However, Congress rejected his call for government economic planning and national economic self-sufficiency gained through protective tariffs and subsidies to manufacturers.

The Ohio Country: A Dark and Bloody Ground

As Americans migrated into the upper Ohio River Valley, they found trouble. Indians fiercely defended their territory, and settlers blamed the British for inciting the Indians to violence. Westerners grew resentful of a federal government that seemed insensitive to their interests, and they detested the new national government’s excise tax on whiskey. Hamilton, however, was determined to enforce the new tax law.

Revolution in France

When war broke out between Britain and France in 1793, the United States ignored its moral obligation under the 1778 alliance to aid France. Instead, Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality. “Citizen” Genet, a French representative, was warmly welcomed by the American public, but was coolly dismissed by Washington, who objected to Genet’s illegal recruiting activities in America. Both the British and the French ignored America’s neutral rights on the high seas, but the powerful British navy made British violations more numerous and more costly. Anti-British sentiment in the United States was further aggravated by the continuing presence of British troops in the Northwest and the restrictions Britain imposed on American trade. In an attempt to avoid war, President Washington sent John Jay to negotiate a settlement with England.

Federalists and Republicans: The Rise of Political Parties

The strengthening of the national government created a need for political machinery that would focus discussion on national issues and nominate candidates for national offices. Jefferson’s
Republican party and Hamilton’s Federalist party sprang to life in the dispute over the national bank, and the controversy over the French Revolution and the resulting war between Britain and France widened the partisan split. Republicans admired the French revolutionaries, while the Federalists idealized the British as defenders of order. Still, both Jefferson and Hamilton endorsed Washington’s proclamation of neutrality and his decision to curtail “Citizen” Genet.

1794: Crisis and Resolution

Federal agents found it impossible to collect the whiskey tax in western Pennsylvania. But the Whiskey Rebellion there had disintegrated by the time federal troops arrived. Meanwhile, General Anthony Wayne’s victory over the Indians in the Battle of Fallen Timbers opened the Ohio region to settlement.

Jay’s Treaty

In the treaty John Jay negotiated with the British in 1794, England agreed to evacuate the northwest forts and compensate American merchants for ships seized in the West Indies. However, the British made no concessions to American neutral rights. Jay also assented to restrictions on American trade with the British West Indies, and to the United States paying pre-Revolutionary debts still owed British merchants. The treaty sacrificed principles of importance to the United States—a nation dependent on foreign trade.

1795: All’s Well That Ends Well

Objectionable as it was, Washington endorsed the Jay Treaty and its few but valuable benefits—reconciliation of Anglo-American relations and evacuation of the northwest forts. As an unexpected bonus, the treaty persuaded the Spanish to conclude the Treaty of San Lorenzo (Pinckney’s Treaty) that gave Americans free navigation of the Mississippi River, the right of deposit at New Orleans, and a favorable settlement of the Florida boundary dispute. A few months later, in the aftermath of the Battle of Fallen Timbers, the Treaty of Greenville opened huge sections of Indian lands and American settlers poured into the West.

Washington’s Farewell

Although he usually sided with Hamilton, Washington intended to be a symbol of national unity and was disturbed by party rivalry. In his Farewell Address, he deplored the baneful effects of partisanship. He also urged Americans to avoid both passionate attachments to foreign countries and permanent alliances.
The Election of 1796

Vice President John Adams narrowly defeated Jefferson in the 1796 presidential election. But, because of electoral chicanery by Hamilton that backfired, Jefferson was elected vice president. Although they belonged to rival political parties, both Adams and Jefferson disliked Hamilton.

The XYZ Affair

Adams’ three-man mission to the French government to discuss its violations of American neutrality was a fiasco. French commissioners (X, Y, and Z) demanded a pre-negotiation bribe that bruised Americans’ sense of national honor. Congress ended the French Alliance, Adams and Congress mobilized the armed forces, and the public demanded war.

The Alien and Sedition Acts

Conservative Federalists saw the war hysteria as an opportunity to smash the Republicans. The Federalist-controlled Congress passed several acts designed to intimidate recent immigrants from France and to limit their political activity. The Naturalization Act extended the residency requirement preceding citizenship, and the Alien Act empowered the president to deport “dangerous” aliens. The Sedition Act was an attempt to silence criticism by Republican newspapers. Unlike the alien acts, the Sedition Act was vigorously enforced in a series of patently unfair trials.

The Kentucky and Virginia Resolves

Jefferson believed that the Alien and Sedition Acts violated the Bill of Rights. In resolutions adopted by the Kentucky and Virginia legislatures, Jefferson and Madison argued from the compact theory of government that states could declare an act of Congress unconstitutional.

Adams made a second attempt at negotiations with the French and, much to the dismay of a warmongering Hamilton, the two nations negotiated the Convention of 1800. It ended the war scare and terminated the 1778 Franco-American Alliance, but nothing was said of French violations of American neutral rights.
PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

right of deposit ________________________________

______________________________

nationalist ________________________________

______________________________

federal system ________________________________

______________________________

republican government ________________________________

______________________________

equal and proportional representation ________________________________

______________________________

checks and balances ________________________________

______________________________

ratification ________________________________

______________________________

funding at par ________________________________

______________________________

implied powers ________________________________

______________________________

elastic/necessary and proper clause ________________________________

______________________________
Describe the following:

Shays’s Rebellion

Philadelphia Convention

Virginia and New Jersey plans

Great Compromise

Three-fifths Compromise

Federalist Papers

Bill of Rights

Report on the Public Credit

Bank of the United States
Report on Manufactures

Proclamation of Neutrality

Whiskey Rebellion

Battle of Fallen Timbers

Jay’s Treaty

Treaty of San Lorenzo/Pinckney’s Treaty

Farewell Address

XYZ Affair

Alien and Sedition Acts

Kentucky and Virginia Resolves

Convention of 1800
Identify the following:

Daniel Shays __________________________________________

Alexander Hamilton _____________________________________

Founding Fathers ______________________________________

James Madison _________________________________________

John Adams __________________________________________

Thomas Jefferson ______________________________________

Electoral College ______________________________________

Federalists and Antifederalists ____________________________

Federalist party ______________________________________

Republican party ______________________________________
“Citizen” Genet

John Jay

Thomas Pinckney

SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions:

1. The Articles of Confederation government did NOT
   A. establish a federal bureaucracy.
   B. negotiate foreign trade agreements.
   C. establish a federal land policy.
   D. end the postwar economic depression.

2. After the Revolutionary War, New England merchants were hard hit by being excluded from trade with the
   A. southern states.
   B. French.
   C. British West Indies.
   D. Spanish southwest.

3. To many who opposed it, Shays’s Rebellion was a reminder that
   A. the possibility of a military coup was always present.
   B. slaves could not be trusted.
   C. the national government was too weak.
   D. the states must be allowed to handle their own problems.

4. Most of those who attended the Philadelphia Convention were
   A. nationalists.
   B. states’ rightists.
   C. Antifederalists.
   D. Loyalists.
5. The major controversy at the Philadelphia Convention involved the question of  
   A. representation in the national government.  
   B. slavery in the new republic.  
   C. domestic rebellion in the states.  
   D. paper currency issued by the states.  

6. Delegates to the Philadelphia Convention did NOT agree that  
   A. the United States should have a federal system of government.  
   B. the national government should be republican in form.  
   C. government should protect property.  
   D. slavery should be abolished.  

7. The original Philadelphia Constitution did NOT specifically provide that  
   A. Congress could regulate interstate trade.  
   B. the president could veto acts of Congress.  
   C. states could issue paper currency.  
   D. states could tax their citizens.  

8. Opponents of the Philadelphia Constitution objected to the absence of a  
   A. provision for popular ratification.  
   B. specific list of powers of the national government.  
   C. guarantee of individual civil liberties.  
   D. provision for proportional representation.  

9. In New York, ratification of the Constitution was obtained after its supporters promised  
   A. commercial favoritism for the port of New York.  
   B. larger representation for the state in Congress.  
   C. the first vice presidency for the state’s governor.  
   D. a bill of rights would be amended to the Constitution.  

10. The *Federalist Papers* were written by  
    A. Hamilton as a platform for his new Federalist party.  
    B. Madison and Jefferson as a critique of Federalist policies.  
    C. Madison, Jay, and Hamilton in support of the ratification of the Constitution.  
    D. the Virginia delegates to the Philadelphia Convention in support of a federal system of government.  

11. The initial source of public revenue enacted by the first session of Congress was a tax on  
    A. whiskey.  
    B. imports.  
    C. personal incomes.  
    D. real estate.
12. Hamilton’s plan for funding the national debt assumed that people were primarily motivated by
   A. a concern for the welfare of the less fortunate.
   B. a keen sense of justice and fair play.
   C. religious conviction.
   D. economic self-interest.

13. Madison and Jefferson agreed to Hamilton’s assumption program in return for a promise involving the
   A. sale of western lands.
   B. location of the national capitol.
   C. levying of excise taxes.
   D. adoption of the Bill of Rights.

14. For Hamilton to get a national bank, he had to argue in favor of
   A. a “strict” view of the Constitution.
   B. the concept of “balanced government.”
   C. the “due process” clause of the Constitution.
   D. the doctrine of “implied powers.”

15. Congress enacted all of Hamilton’s financial program EXCEPT
   A. protective tariffs and subsidies to manufacturing.
   B. funding the national debt at par.
   C. creation of a national bank.
   D. federal assumption of the states’ debts.

16. Which one of the following is LEAST related to the other three?
   A. General Anthony Wayne
   B. Shays’s Rebellion
   C. Battle of Fallen Timbers
   D. Treaty of Greenville

17. In Jay’s Treaty, Jay got the British to agree to all of the following EXCEPT
   A. evacuation of northwest forts.
   B. recognition of America’s neutral rights.
   C. compensation for ships seized in the West Indies.
   D. opening British colonial ports in Asia.
18. Spain agreed to allow Americans’ use of the Mississippi River and the right of deposit in New Orleans in the
   A. Treaty of San Ildefonso.  
   B. Jay-Gardoqui Treaty.  
   C. Treaty of San Lorenzo.  
   D. Jay Treaty.

19. In his Farewell Address, Washington warned Americans against the dangers of foreign alliances and
   A. political parties.  
   B. a national bank.  
   C. implied powers.  
   D. trade agreements.

20. In which pair of items are the two items LEAST related to each other?
   A. Whiskey Rebellion—Farewell Address
   B. XYZ Affair—undeclared “quasi-war” with France
   C. Alien and Sedition Acts—Kentucky and Virginia Resolves
   D. Convention of 1800—Franco-American Alliance

Essay Questions

1. State what of real significance the Articles of Confederation Congress achieved between 1781 and 1787, and explain why, in spite of these achievements, it essentially failed as a national government.

2. List the major areas of agreement and disagreement among the delegates at the Philadelphia Convention. Explain how their key disagreements were resolved.

3. Explain why there was a need for Hamilton’s financial program, what the program contained, what he intended for it to do, and why it provoked opposition.

4. Compare and contrast the principles and public policy positions of the Federalist and Republican parties in the 1790s.

5. Show how foreign policy issues in Washington’s and Adams’ administrations influenced partisan politics in the United States.
CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Compare and Contrast

In Chapter 2 you completed a compare-and-contrast matrix on the New England and southern colonies. As you saw, it was an effective way to organize useful information from throughout the chapter, and it helped you improve your understanding of both the New England colonies and the seventeenth-century South.

Chapter 5 devotes considerable space to the political principles and public policies of Alexander Hamilton and the Federalists, one of the two new political parties that emerged in the 1790s. The other party, the Jeffersonian Republicans, is introduced in this chapter, but its political principles and views on public policy are more fully developed in Chapter 6.

Begin the following compare-and-contrast exercise with your reading of Chapter 5 and complete it when you have read Chapter 6. Read each of the two chapters carefully to glean information you can include in the matrix. For those places where there is no direct statement from the text about the position of Hamilton and the Federalists, or Jefferson and the Republicans, infer their position and include it in the matrix. Some blocks have been filled in as examples.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRINCIPLES AND POSITIONS OF REPUBLICANS AND FEDERALISTS</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>VIEWS ON . . .</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>human nature</td>
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<td>common people</td>
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<td>African Americans</td>
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<tr>
<td>constitutional interpretation</td>
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<td>government power</td>
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<td>states’ rights</td>
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<td>majority rule</td>
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<td>judicial review</td>
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<tr>
<td>military preparedness</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>POSITIONS ON . . .</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>funding the national debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assumption of state debts</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>Proclamation of Neutrality</td>
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<tr>
<td>French Revolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiskey Rebellion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jay’s Treaty</td>
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<tr>
<td>XYZ Affair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kentucky and Virginia Resolves</td>
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<tr>
<td>Louisiana Purchase</td>
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<tr>
<td>Embargo Act</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 6

Jeffersonian Democracy

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. Use the column entitled “Anticipation.” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Use the column entitled “Reaction.” Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
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<td>_____ 7.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Thomas Jefferson believed that humans were selfish by nature.

Thomas Jefferson was a superb political theorist, but he was an unskillful politician and ineffective president.

Although appreciated by later generations, the Louisiana Purchase was unpopular when it was made.

As president, Thomas Jefferson rejected the entirety of Federalist policies and programs, and he replaced them with his own as quickly as possible.

While he was Jefferson’s vice president, Aaron Burr was impeached, convicted of treason, and removed from office.

During Jefferson’s presidency, the war between Britain and France was enormously profitable for American commerce.

Military preparedness was of key importance to President Jefferson’s foreign policy.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 6 you should be able to:

1. State Thomas Jefferson’s key political principles.
3. Describe how the United States came to purchase the Louisiana territory from France, and explain why the purchase was significant in both the short run and the long run.

4. Evaluate Jefferson as president by highlighting his major successes and most disappointing failures.

5. Explain why Jefferson’s second administration was consumed with foreign policy concerns, and evaluate Jefferson’s attempts to deal with these matters.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The Federalist Contribution

Thomas Jefferson won the election of 1800 by defeating his running mate, Aaron Burr, in the House of Representatives (a curious development that was prevented from occurring again by the Twelfth Amendment). Federalists worried that the Republican victory would bring radical social reforms, a weakened national government, and financial chaos.

Federalists had strengthened the national government, established a sound financial system, tried to diversify the economy, and sought an accommodation with Britain. Before 1798 they had acted with moderation, posing no serious threat to states’ rights, democracy, or individual freedom. But their fear of the growing strength of the Republican opposition pushed them into antilibertarian excesses in 1798. The Republicans routed them in the election of 1800 as voters delivered a mandate for individual freedom and limited national power. The Republicans took power peacefully, demonstrating the usefulness of the two-party system. They then proceeded to confirm the great achievements of the Federalist era.

Thomas Jefferson: Political Theorist

Jefferson had wide-ranging interests. He shied away from controversy, but he could be stubborn and devious in the pursuit of power. Jefferson believed people were basically selfish, but improvable if left free to follow the dictates of reason. He suspected blacks were inferior to whites, yet he was a champion of democracy, limited government, and individual freedom. He did not think the rich and the well-born had any special virtues.

Jefferson objected to Hamilton’s effort to commercialize and centralize the country. He thought commerce would bring the growth of cities, complicate society, and require government regulation. He wanted the United States to remain a society of independent small farmers because he believed that city workers were easy prey for demagogues. Jefferson objected to Hamilton’s pro-British orientation because he thought of England as immoral, decadent, and corrupt. He was delighted to see the French Revolution strike a blow against monarchy and tyranny, and persisted in excusing the excesses of that revolution.
Jefferson As President

Jefferson’s presidency brought a change in style, but it was moderate and he was sensitive to minority rights. He opposed foreign alliances, but was in favor of limited government, paying off the national debt, and cooling partisan passions. His administration repealed the Federalists’ excise taxes, including the infamous Whiskey Tax, and cut military spending in order to reduce the national debt and balance the budget. The Alien and Sedition acts were allowed to expire. Jefferson made no effort to tear down Hamilton’s fiscal structure or alter the balance of federal-state power.

Jefferson played down the ceremonial aspects of the presidency. His egalitarianism was reflected in his pell-mell policy at White House functions. He was a superb politician and a skillful communicator, but he was also a partisan Republican who demanded party discipline in Congress and used his patronage power to reward his friends.

Jefferson’s Attack on the Judiciary

Jefferson held a stubborn prejudice against entrenched judicial power and, in part owing to their aggressive enforcement of the Alien and Sedition acts, he held a strong distrust of Federalist judges. Lame-duck Federalists compounded this sentiment when they shamelessly passed the Judiciary Act of 1801, expanding the number of federal judges. Adams appointed Federalist “midnight justices” to these new positions in the waning hours of his presidency. The new Republican Congress repealed the act and Jefferson refused to allow several commissions of appointment to be delivered. As a result, one appointee, William Marbury, sued in the Supreme Court. In Marbury v. Madison, Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that Marbury should receive his appointment. But he also ruled that the court could not issue a writ of mandamus to require Secretary of State Madison to deliver it because the Judiciary Act of 1789 in which Congress had empowered the Supreme Court to issue such writs was unconstitutional. The significance of the case lies in Marshall’s establishing the power of the Supreme Court to determine the constitutionality of federal laws.

Jefferson then pursued the removal of Federalist judges through impeachment. One, John Pickering, was impeached and removed, but an effort to remove justice Samuel Chase from the Supreme Court failed. Chase’s actions had been outrageous in enforcing the Sedition Act, but they were not “high crimes and misdemeanors,” the constitutional standard for removal by impeachment.

The Barbary Pirates

Presidents Washington and Adams had followed international convention by paying tribute (annual protection money) to Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean in order to protect American
commerce there. Jefferson dispatched a naval squadron to the Mediterranean, but little was accomplished and the United States continued to pay tribute until 1815.

The Louisiana Purchase

The major achievement of Jefferson’s first term was the purchase of Louisiana territory from France—a quite unexpected opportunity. Because access to the Mississippi River and New Orleans was vital to America’s economic growth, Jefferson was alarmed when Spain transferred its Louisiana territory to Napoleonic France in the Treaty of San Ildefonso in 1800. Napoleon saw Louisiana as a breadbasket for valuable French West Indian sugar plantations.

Jefferson sent James Monroe to Paris with an offer to buy New Orleans and Florida. Meanwhile, French efforts to capture Saint Dominique in the West Indies failed, thereby reducing Napoleon’s interest in Louisiana. Napoleon also needed money for a new campaign against the British in Europe. Thus, Napoleon offered to sell Louisiana to the United States. The deal was struck for $15 million, but there was a catch: The Constitution made no specific allowance for the purchase of foreign territory or the extending of citizenship to its inhabitants by executive act. Jefferson reluctantly abandoned his strict constructionist view of the Constitution, embraced Hamilton’s “implied powers” view, and urged Congress to ratify the Louisiana Purchase Treaty. The popular Louisiana Purchase nearly doubled the size of United States, assured Jefferson’s reelection, and dealt a heavy blow to the fortunes of the Federalist party.

The Federalists Discredited

The addition of new western states from the Louisiana Territory would eventually reduce New England’s influence in national affairs. This realization pushed New England’s Essex Junto of die-hard Federalists to consider secession. They looked to Aaron Burr for help, but Burr lost the race for governor of New York—partly due to Hamilton’s opposition. The secession movement failed, and Burr killed Hamilton in a duel.

Lewis and Clark

Jefferson commissioned Lewis and Clark to lead an expedition to explore the Louisiana Territory. He was interested in the flora and fauna of the region and the possibility of developing the fur trade. He also had an imperialistic vision of an expanding America. The expedition began in 1804, moved up the Missouri River Valley, crossed the Continental Divide, and traveled on to the Pacific. By the time they returned in 1806, Lewis and Clark had located several passes through the Rockies, established friendly relations with many Indian tribes, and obtained a wealth of information about the country. Later expeditions by Thomas Freeman and Zebulon Pike were less productive.
Jeffersonian Democracy

Jefferson stood midway between the skeptical democracy of the colonial period and the rampant democracy of the Jacksonians. He was deeply committed to majority rule, but he hoped the majority would continue to be independent property-owning farmers. Jefferson’s presidency demonstrated that a democratic egalitarian could establish and maintain a stable government, thus he calmed the fears of conservatives who had thought him a radical. He accepted Federalist ideas on public finance, admitted that manufacturing and commerce were vital to national prosperity, and adopted the view that the federal government should protect and promote economic development. He even learned to live with Hamilton’s bank. Thus, he achieved orderly government, security, and prosperity without resorting to heavy taxation or placing limits on individual liberty.

The Burr Conspiracy

Jefferson’s second term was less successful than the first. On the one hand, the lack of Federalist opposition weakened party discipline and encouraged fragmentation of the Republicans. In addition, Jefferson found trouble from fellow Republican Aaron Burr. The president was vindictive toward Burr following the election fiasco in 1800, and dumped him as his running mate in 1804. For his part, Burr flirted with treason in an empire-building scheme in the West. He was arrested and tried for treason, but despite Jefferson’s efforts on behalf of the prosecution, Burr was acquitted. The incident was a blow to Jefferson’s prestige and left him even more embittered toward the federal judiciary.

Napoleon and the British

Renewal of the war between Britain and France in 1803 stimulated the American economy. The two belligerents needed American goods and American shipping. However, by 1807 the two sides were stalemated, Napoleon ruled Europe, and the British navy controlled the seas. Because neither nation could strike directly at the other, they resorted to commercial warfare with the intention of disrupting each other’s economy. Napoleon’s Berlin and Milan decrees and his Continental System made all ships doing business with Britain subject to seizure, and was designed to make Europe self-sufficient and deny Britain access to the Continent’s markets. British Orders in Council blockaded continental ports and charged customs duties on all goods going to the Continent.

Clever American merchants found loopholes in the restrictive Rule of 1756 and greatly expanded their West Indies trade. In the Essex case (1806), however, the British outlawed this devious re-export trade. Without the re-export trade, and with Britain and France cracking down on direct trade by neutrals, American commerce and the nation’s prosperity were gravely threatened.
The Impressionment Controversy

American pride was dealt a blow by the cruel indignities of the British practice of impressment. This age-old policy empowered British naval commanders to forcibly “draft” British subjects into service in an emergency. The problem was that British subjects often worked on neutral vessels like those of the United States, and the British also refused to recognize the naturalization laws of the United States. Jefferson conceded the right of the British to impress legitimate British subjects from American merchant vessels, but he was irritated when naturalized Americans were seized, and he was outraged when even native-born Americans were taken by impressment. Frustrated as he was by impressment, the Essex decision, and harassment of neutral shipping, Jefferson nevertheless hated the thought of war. So, he refused to build a navy powerful enough to protect American commerce.

The Embargo Act

The nation’s frustration was compounded in 1807 when a British naval commander impressed three American sailors from the U. S. naval frigate Chesapeake. This was a clear violation of international law. When the American captain protested, his vessel was fired upon, and the incident stirred war sentiment in the United States.

Jefferson’s response was the Embargo Act. It prohibited all exports from the United States. Jefferson hoped to keep U. S. merchant ships off the seas, safe from seizure or impressment. He also hoped the embargo would increase pressure on the British and French by denying them access to American goods and the American market—a tactic (boycotts) that had worked during the crises that preceded the Revolution. Instead, the Embargo Act sharply reduced New England’s commerce, the nation’s prosperity, and Jefferson’s popularity.

Americans scrambled to avoid enforcement of the embargo. Merchant ships quickly left port before they could be compelled to stay; goods were smuggled in and out of Canada. At first Jefferson tried to vigorously enforce the hated law, then finally gave up. In 1809, Congress repealed the Embargo Act and replaced it with the Nonintercourse Act that forbade trade only with Britain and France. Thus, Jefferson’s political career ended on a sour note.

PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

*Define the following:*

writ of mandamus
impressment

Describe the following:

Election of 1800

Twelfth Amendment

Judiciary Act of 1801

*Marbury v. Madison*

Judiciary Act of 1789

Louisiana Purchase

Continental System

*Chesapeake* incident

Embargo Act
Nonintercourse Act______________________________

Identify the following:

Aaron Burr ________________________________

Thomas Jefferson ________________________________

John Marshall ________________________________

Barbary pirates ________________________________

Napoleon Bonaparte ________________________________

Essex Junto ________________________________

Lewis and Clark ________________________________

Sacajawea ________________________________

Zebulon Pike ________________________________
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. After the election of 1800, the Constitution was amended to change
   A. the suffrage requirements for voting in national elections.
   B. the date of the presidential inauguration.
   C. voting procedures in the Electoral College.
   D. the laws regarding political parties.

2. A major contribution of the Federalists was their
   A. leadership skill in organizing the national government.
   B. toleration of their political opponents.
   C. strict neutrality toward the European war.
   D. equal concern for the interests of northern merchants and southern planters and farmers.

3. Thomas Jefferson did NOT believe that
   A. humans were selfish by nature.
   B. blacks were an inferior race.
   C. manufacturing was the key to national prosperity.
   D. the majority should rule.

4. Thomas Jefferson did NOT favor
   A. states’ rights.
   B. individual freedom.
   C. military preparedness.
   D. limited government.

5. President Jefferson’s first administration was responsible for all of the following EXCEPT
   A. repealing the Whiskey Tax.
   B. reducing the national debt.
   C. revoking the National Bank’s charter.
   D. cutting appropriations for national defense.

6. Jefferson’s presidency was characterized by all of the following EXCEPT
   A. philosophical consistency.
   B. practical compromises.
   C. stability and prosperity.
   D. casual informality.
7. The legal precedent for the Supreme Court’s authority to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional was established when
A. the House impeached federal judge John Pickering.
B. the Marbury v. Madison ruling was handed down in 1803.
C. Congress repealed the Judiciary Act of 1801.
D. a federal court acquitted Aaron Burr of treason charges.

8. The case of Marbury v. Madison concerned
A. foreign alliances.
B. “high crimes and misdemeanors.”
C. “midnight justices.”
D. the National Bank.

9. President Jefferson’s first foreign policy decision was to
A. purchase Louisiana from the French.
B. send a naval squadron to the Mediterranean.
C. remove the British from northwest forts.
D. purchase Florida from Spain.

10. In a secret treaty with Spain in 1800,
A. the United States purchased Louisiana.
B. the Mississippi River was opened to American trade.
C. the United States acquired Florida.
D. France acquired Louisiana.

11. Which one of these Caribbean islands played a key role in the Louisiana Purchase?
A. Barbados
B. St. Croix
C. St. Dominique
D. Martinique

12. What is the correct time order of A) Louisiana Purchase, B) Election of 1800, C) Marbury v. Madison, D) Burr conspiracy?
A. A, B, C, D
B. B, C, A, D
C. C, A, D, B
D. A, D, C, B

13. The Lewis and Clark Expedition was commissioned to explore the
A. Red River Valley.
B. Spanish Southwest.
C. Louisiana Territory.
D. Trans-Appalachian West.
14. Jefferson’s presidency was characterized by all the following EXCEPT
   A. national prosperity.
   B. territorial growth.
   C. international peace.
   D. Republican popularity.

15. John Randolph of Roanoke was notable as
   A. the leader of the Essex Junto.
   B. a co-conspirator with Aaron Burr.
   C. a staunch defender of states’ rights.
   D. the man who negotiated the Louisiana Purchase Treaty.

16. After the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, the war between Britain and France became a war of
   A. guerrilla tactics.
   B. prolonged siege.
   C. economic attrition.
   D. trench warfare.

17. In the Essex case in 1806, a British court found the United States in violation of the
   A. Embargo Act.
   B. Rule of 1756.
   C. Milan Decree.
   D. Naturalization Act.

18. The Chesapeake affair involved flagrant use of
   A. the Rule of 1756.
   B. judicial review.
   C. the Continental System.
   D. impressment.

19. Thomas Jefferson’s political career “ended on a sour note” because of the failure of the
   A. Lewis and Clark Expedition.
   B. Louisiana Purchase.
   C. Republican effort to purge the federal courts of Federalists.
   D. Embargo Act.

20. In the following pairs the two items are directly related to each other in each case EXCEPT
   A. Continental System—impressment
   B. Marbury v. Madison—Judiciary Act of 1789
   C. Chesapeake affair—Embargo Act
   D. Election of 1800—Twelfth Amendment
**Essay Questions**

1. List Thomas Jefferson’s political principles and show how they relate to his position on such public policy matters as national finance, economic development, territorial expansion, and foreign policy.

2. State the significance of the *Marbury v. Madison* decision and describe how it was made.

3. Explain why the United States purchased Louisiana from France. State what the terms of the purchase were, what it accomplished, and what problems it presented to Jefferson.

4. Evaluate Jefferson as president. What of real significance did he achieve, and what would you count among his failings? Why?

5. Explain how the European war affected the United States during Jefferson’s presidency, and assess Jefferson’s conduct of foreign policy in response to the war.

**Critical Thinking Exercise**

**Compare and Contrast**

Complete the compare-and-contrast matrix in Chapter 5.
CHAPTER 7

National Growing Pains

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following nine statements with which you now agree. Use the column entitled “Anticipation.” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Use the column entitled “Reaction.” Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_____ 1. Defense of neutral rights, not ambition for territorial expansion, explains Congress’ decision to declare war against Britain in 1812.</td>
<td>_____ 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 2. Virtually all Americans rallied to support the president and the army once war was declared in 1812.</td>
<td>_____ 2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>_____ 3. The United States won the War of 1812.</td>
<td>_____ 3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>_____ 4. The Monroe Doctrine was a statement of U. S. isolation from world affairs.</td>
<td>_____ 4.</td>
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<tr>
<td>_____ 5. Income taxes were not the major source of federal revenue in the early nineteenth century.</td>
<td>_____ 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 6. Slavery was the most divisive sectional issue in the early nineteenth century.</td>
<td>_____ 6.</td>
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<tr>
<td>_____ 7. Early-nineteenth-century national land policies tended to restrict sales in order to conserve public land as a national resource.</td>
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<tr>
<td>_____ 8. Congress outlawed the importation of slaves into the United States at its first legal opportunity to do so.</td>
<td>_____ 8.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 7 you should be able to:

1. Explain why the United States and Britain went to war in 1812.
2. Explain why the United States was initially unprepared for war in 1812, why New England opposed the war, why America’s military strategy failed, and why the War of 1812 ended in a stalemate.
3. Describe the provisions of the Treaty of Ghent and the major diplomatic settlements the United States made with Britain and Spain in the aftermath of the War of 1812.
4. List the major issues that began to divide the nation into competing political sections in the 1820s. Identify the emerging leaders from the North, South and West in the 1820s and state their positions on these issues.
5. Define the key issues at stake in the Missouri controversy and list the terms of the Missouri Compromise. State the message contained in *The South Carolina Exposition and Protest* (1828). Explain how these two posed a potential threat to the Union.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Madison in Power

President James Madison was devoted to Jeffersonian principles, and, like Jefferson, he tried to use foreign trade as a tool of American diplomacy. Like Jefferson’s embargo, however, the Nonintercourse Act and Macon’s Bill No. 2 failed to force concessions from either the British or the French. But a wily Napoleon maneuvered Madison into demanding that Britain repeal the Orders in Council or face a declaration of war.

Tecumseh and Indian Resistance

Incorrectly, many American frontiersmen who were busily seizing Indian lands believed that British Canadians were responsible for provoking Indian attacks on their settlements. General William Henry Harrison’s aggressive campaign to try to solve this “Indian problem,” provoked an Indian counterattack led by Chief Tecumseh.

Together with his brother, the Prophet, Tecumseh attempted to organize an Indian confederacy and revitalize Indian culture. Harrison thwarted their efforts at the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, leaving the Indians disillusioned and their confederation shattered.

Depression and Land Hunger

The falling prices of agriculture goods threw the West’s economy into depression. American commercial restrictions and a poor transportation system were the major causes of these
conditions, but western farmers blamed their problems on the loss of foreign markets caused by British violations of American neutral rights.

Many westerners demanded war with Britain in hopes it would result in America’s acquisition of British Canada and Spanish Florida. Further, Madison saw a conquered Canada as a hostage the United States could use to compel the British to respect America’s neutral rights. Finally, western “War Hawks” demanded a war with Britain as the only way to uphold the nation’s honor and secure true independence.

Opponents of War

Many New England Federalists opposed war with Britain for partisan reasons and because they feared the damage war would do to New England’s commercial economy. They did not relish taking on the world’s largest navy and they self-interestedly counseled patience. Also, the United States and Britain had strong cultural and economic ties. Nevertheless, although Napoleonic France, rather than Great Britain, posed the greater potential danger to American interests and ideals, on June 18, 1812, Congress declared war on Great Britain.

The War of 1812

The United States was poorly prepared to achieve its military objectives in 1812. A handful of naval frigates and scores of commissioned privateers performed well in isolated engagements with the powerful Royal Navy early in the war, but by 1813 American ships were bottled up in port as British squadrons ranged offshore.

Poor military leadership doomed the United States to an overly complicated and unsuccessful invasion of Canada in 1812: a three-pronged offensive fell short at Detroit, the Niagara River, and Montreal. In 1813, Americans were more successful, winning a naval battle on Lake Erie, and General Harrison’s troops were victorious at the Battle of the Thames where Tecumseh was killed. Still, Americans were no closer to a conquest of Canada at year’s end and the British navy extended its blockade and freely harassed New England ports and shipping.

Britain Assumes the Offensive

With their defeat of Napoleon in early 1814, the British were able to expend a greater effort on their war with the United States. The British strategy for 1814 called for a three-pronged attack: full-scale invasion from Montreal; skirmishes and raids on Washington, D.C., and Baltimore in the Chesapeake; and an attack on New Orleans to bottle up the American west. This strategy was little more successful for the British than was America’s invasion of Canada, although Washington, D.C., was raided and burned.
“The Star Spangled Banner”

The British were repelled at Fort McHenry (Baltimore) where Francis Scott Key penned “The Star Spangled Banner.” The British-attempted invasion from Montreal was turned back at the Battle of Plattsburg in New York. That left only the British assault on New Orleans.

The Treaty of Ghent

In early 1814, both the United States and Britain agreed to discuss peace terms at Ghent, Belgium. The British made no concessions on neutral rights or impressments, and the Americans refused to yield any territory. Finally, the two sides agreed on a status quo ante bellum and ceased hostilities. The formal Treaty of Ghent was signed on Christmas eve, 1814.

The Hartford Convention

From its beginning, New England had opposed the War of 1812. Federalist-controlled state administrations there refused to allow state militia to participate in the fighting, and discouraged banks from making loans to the federal government to pay for the war. New England merchants conducted an illegal trade with British Canada throughout the war. The Federalist party was temporarily rejuvenated in New England by the war and some encouraged New England’s secession from the Union. The Hartford Convention, however, settled for a statement of states’ rights and a series of constitutional amendment proposals designed to serve New England’s economic and political interests. These Federalists and their proposals were discredited when news of the Treaty of Ghent reached Washington, D.C.

The Battle of New Orleans

The defense of New Orleans was entrusted to the tough, hot-tempered Indian fighter, Andrew Jackson_ “Old Hickory.” The early fighting was inconclusive, but with a well-conceived order of battle, Jackson’s forces repelled the British invasion with withering fire in early January 1815.

Victory Weakens the Federalists

The War of 1812 was a standoff. Many Americans, nevertheless, assumed that Jackson’s victory in New Orleans meant they had won the war. Relieved, they believed the war had completed their independence and affirmed their republican system of government. The Indians, forced to cede millions of acres of their land to the United States, were the main losers. The anti-war Federalist party was made an object of ridicule and scorn and disappeared in the wake of postwar patriotism.
With the end of the Napoleonic War in Europe, the United States now was freed from foreign involvement and the domestic conflict it had nourished. Peace, prosperity, patriotism, and an end to partisan bickering returned with a rush.

**Anglo-American Rapprochement**

Gradually the United States and Britain found their way to friendship. The war had taught the British to respect Americans. In the Rush-Bagot Agreement in 1817 the two nations agreed to naval arms limitations on the Great Lakes. In the Convention of 1818, they negotiated a boundary settlement along the 49th parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, agreed to a joint occupation of the Oregon Country, and settled a dispute over the use of Canadian fisheries.

**The Transcontinental Treaty**

In a spirit of intimidation, rather than friendship, the United States settled outstanding issues with Spain. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams initiated negotiations for the American acquisition of Florida in 1819. In the resulting Transcontinental Treaty, Spain relinquished Florida as part of a larger settlement that established the western boundary to America’s Louisiana Purchase Territory and extended the nation’s territorial claims to the Pacific coast.

**The Monroe Doctrine**

The Monroe Doctrine (1823) completed America’s withdrawal from European entanglement. The doctrine came in response to Russia’s threat to colonize along the Pacific Coast and to the threat of several European nations to recolonize the newly independent Latin American republics. In the Monroe Doctrine, the United States unilaterally asserted that the Western Hemisphere was no longer open to new colonization, that the United States opposed any European nation’s interference in Latin America’s political affairs, and that the United States would refrain from involvement in strictly European affairs.

Although the United States was too weak at the time to enforce these pronouncements, the Monroe Doctrine perfectly expressed the wishes of the American people. The doctrine may be seen as the final stage in a process of separation and self-determination that began with the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

**The Era of Good Feelings**

Less a figure than his predecessors, President James Monroe nevertheless came to embody American nationalism, and he presided over the brief postwar Era of Good Feelings. One reason for the harmony during his first term was that Republicans had come to accept most of the economic policies earlier advocated by the Federalists. A Republican Congress created a new
national bank, passed America’s first protective tariff, and appropriated federal aid for transportation improvements. The Jeffersonians had successfully struck a balance between individual liberty and responsible government. Soon, however, national expansion would threaten the postwar spirit of unity.

New Sectional Issues

Sectional tensions were fueled by disputes over the national bank, protective tariffs, federal land and internal improvement policies, and, most of all, slavery. Like all the other issues in the Era of Good Feelings, both the War of 1812 and the Panic of 1819 agitated the tariff controversy. The Tariff Act of 1816 was enacted to protect America’s new industries and jobs. Except for the commercial interests of New England, high tariffs were supported in every section of the country. In time, however, the South and Southwest turned against protective tariffs, concluding that they increased the costs of imports and inhibited the export of cotton.

The national bank’s charter was not renewed in 1811. Some opponents questioned its constitutionality; others opposed its competition with state banks and were alarmed that English investors owned most of the Bank’s stock. The absence of a national bank during the War of 1812 complicated war financing and lowered the value of bank notes. In response, Congress created a second Bank of the United States in 1816. The new bank was badly managed at first and was endangered by the Panic of 1819. New management and tighter credit policies saved the bank, but at the expense of public favor. All sections were split over the desirability of having a new bank, and westerners in particular opposed its tight money policies during the Panic of 1819.

The liberal land acts of 1800 and 1804 reduced the price of public land and the minimum unit offered for sale. Public land sales in the West boomed until 1818. Then, agricultural prices fell as foreign markets shrank and the Panic of 1819 destroyed many farms. The West strongly favored a cheap land policy while the North feared it would drain off cheap labor. The South worried about competition from cotton producers in the virgin lands of the Southwest. Westerners were also most enthusiastic for federally financed internal improvements like the National Road.

The most divisive sectional issue was slavery. This issue generated surprisingly little controversy from 1789 to 1819—most persons considered slavery mainly a local issue. Slave importations increased in the 1790s, but the foreign slave trade was quietly abolished in 1808. Free and slave states entered the Union in equal numbers (11 each in 1819). Southerners ardently defended slavery while most northerners, to the extent they took a position, opposed it. Many westerners, especially native southerners, also supported slavery.

Northern Leaders

In the post-War of 1812 years, a new generation of national leaders came to power. Monroe’s secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, was the North’s best-known political leader in the
1820s. Originally a Federalist like his father, Adams converted to the Republican party after 1800. Adams was capable, ambitious, and intelligent, but he was inept in personal relationships and was a demanding perfectionist. He was a committed nationalist: open-minded toward tariff policy, and supportive of federally-funded internal improvements. Like most New Englanders, Adams opposed slavery.

Daniel Webster was a congressional leader. He was a skillful constitutional lawyer and a remarkable orator. Webster had a powerful mind, but, though a nationalist, he was slavishly devoted to serving New England’s business interests. He opposed the War of 1812, protective tariffs, the bank, cheap land, and internal improvements.

The North’s most masterful politician was Martin Van Buren, the affable leader of New York’s Albany Regency. Van Buren seldom took a strong position on any of the key issues of the day. To him, issues were merely means of winning elections.

**Southern Leaders**

Georgia’s William H. Crawford, a spokesman for southern planters, was the South’s most prominent leader. South Carolina’s John C. Calhoun, the other major southern leader, was an ardent nationalist before 1825, although he was devoted to the South and its institutions.

**Western Leaders**

Kentuckian Henry Clay was one of the most charming political leaders of his generation. Intellectually inferior to Adams and Calhoun, Clay nevertheless used his charisma and skill at arranging compromises to carry him far in national politics. A nationalist, he authored the American System of protective tariffs and internal improvements to try to meld the economic interests of the East and West. He disliked, but tolerated slavery.

Another western leader was the colorful expansionist, Thomas Hart Benton. He supported homestead legislation and federal internal improvements, but strongly opposed all banks. He was the champion of small western farmers. Military heroes and Indian fighters William Henry Harrison and Andrew Jackson were emerging as political leaders in the West.

**The Missouri Compromise**

The depression of 1819-1822 worsened tension among the sections, and growing sectionalism repeatedly influenced the politics of the 1820s. The most sharply divisive event was the Missouri Crisis of 1819-1820. Many of Missouri Territory’s settlers were native southerners who owned slaves, and they petitioned for Missouri’s admission as a slave state. But New York Congressman James Tallmadge’s amendment to the Missouri Enabling Act called for the gradual
abolition of slavery in the proposed new state, the first attempt to restrict the expansion of slavery since the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

The debate generated by the Tallmadge Amendment did not deal with the morality of slavery or the rights of blacks; what was at stake was political influence. Northerners complained of the advantages the South gained from the Three-fifths Compromise and also feared having to compete with slave labor.

Henry Clay fashioned the Missouri Compromise that admitted Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state, and the Thomas Amendment barred slavery north of 36°30’ latitude in the old Louisiana Purchase Territory. Southerners accepted these terms since they believed the banned territory was environmentally hostile to slavery anyway. Clay also worked out a compromise when the Missouri constitution tried to ban free blacks from migrating into the new state. The Missouri controversy warned of the potential divisiveness of the slavery issue.

The Election of 1824

Federal internal improvements also proved to be a divisive, though less disruptive, issue. And southerners strongly opposed a new protective tariff law that was equally strongly supported by the North and West. The old two-party system was breaking down by 1824; Republicans were factionalized and in disarray, and political leaders concentrated on positioning themselves for the presidency. Consequently, the presidential fight in 1824 was waged over personalities, not issues. The Electoral College vote was split among Adams, Jackson, Crawford, and Clay. Clay’s support helped Adams, who was elected president by the House of Representatives.

John Quincy Adams as President

Adams hoped to make his presidency a tribute to nationalism. Yet the boldness of his program exceeded his political ability to make it happen. He often appeared insensitive to public feelings, and he failed to use his power to build support for his programs. Scrupulously honest, he nevertheless was dogged by charges that he and Clay had struck a “corrupt bargain” to gain Adams the presidency in 1824.

Calhoun’s Exposition and Protest

As the North and West grew more favorable toward high tariffs, the export-conscious South grew more anti-tariff. Outraged by the record-high Tariff of Abominations in 1828, southerners turned to Calhoun, who now reached a turning point in his career. In *The South Carolina Exposition and Protest* (1828), he repudiated his earlier nationalism and emerged as the states’ rights spokesman of southern interests. He argued from a concept of government as a contractual relationship that a state could interpose its authority to nullify any act of Congress it found to be in violation of the Constitution. Thus was born the doctrine of nullification.
The Meaning of Sectionalism

Postwar prosperity produced national growth that in turn produced sectional conflict. Nationalists like Henry Clay hoped federal action could make sectional difference work for the benefit of everyone. Another unifying influence was the postwar patriotism of Americans and their pride in their unique system of government.

PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

privateer

status quo ante bellum

rapprochement

protective tariff

sectionalism

internal improvements

factionalism

nullification
Describe the following:

Macon’s Bill No. 2 ________________________________

Battle of Tippecanoe ______________________________

Treaty of Ghent _________________________________

Hartford Convention ______________________________

Battle of New Orleans ______________________________

Rush-Bagot Agreement ______________________________

Convention of 1818 _______________________________

Transcontinental Treaty _____________________________

Monroe Doctrine _________________________________

Tariff of 1816 _________________________________
Panic of 1819

Second Bank of the United States

Albany Regency

American System

Tallmadge Amendment

Thomas Amendment

Missouri Compromise

“corrupt bargain”

Tariff of Abominations

*The South Carolina Exposition and Protest*

*Identify the following:*

James Madison
Locate the following places. Write in both the place name and its map location number.

1. The three places where the British attempted to implement their three-pronged attack on the United States in 1814.

__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

2. The Great Lake on which American naval forces achieved an important victory over the British in 1813.

__________________________________________________________________________

3. The area to which the United States acquired joint occupation rights with Great Britain in 1818.

__________________________________________________________________________

4. The western and eastern termini of the United States-Canadian boundary negotiated in 1818.

eastern ____________________________________________________________________

western ___________________________________________________________________

5. The Louisiana Purchase boundary line negotiated between the United States and Spain in 1819. (Name the treaty.)

__________________________________________________________________________

6. The territory whose “purchase” by the United States was negotiated with Spain in 1819.

__________________________________________________________________________

7. The 1811 battle where forces commanded by William Henry Harrison broke the back of Tecumseh’s bid to forge a formidable Indian confederacy in the West in 1811.

__________________________________________________________________________
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Like Jefferson, President Madison attempted to use _______ as a way to force Britain and France to recognize America’s neutral rights.
   A. secret alliances
   B. espionage
   C. foreign trade
   D. military preparedness

2. The “War Hawks”
   A. expressed the war sentiments of New England.
   B. supported Madison’s commercial retaliation as a means of conducting diplomacy with Britain and France.
   C. feared that Madison’s diplomacy was costing the nation its honor and, potentially, its independence.
   D. opposed the plan for an invasion of Canada.

3. All of the following issues helped Americans justify their declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812 EXCEPT
   A. recognition that Britain, not Napoleon, posed a greater threat to the United States.
   B. nonrecognition of neutral rights and the policy of impressment.
   C. British provocation of Indians in the Old Northwest.
   D. vindication of national honor and pride.
4. In the Treaty of Ghent ending the War of 1812, the British agreed to
A. the creation of an Indian buffer state in the Old Northwest.
B. stop the impressment of American sailors.
C. several territorial concessions to the United States.
D. stop the fighting.

5. Delegates to the Hartford Convention in 1814-1815
A. endorsed a secession ordinance.
B. proposed a number of constitutional amendments.
C. denounced the principles embedded in Madison’s and Jefferson’s Kentucky and Virginia Resolves.
D. adopted a resolution to form a New England confederation.

6. The attitudes of most Americans in the immediate aftermath of the War of 1812 included all of the following EXCEPT
A. self-confidence.
B. faith in republicanism.
C. national patriotism.
D. strident partisanship.

7. The United States and Britain agreed to limit naval armaments on the Great Lakes in the
A. Transcontinental Treaty.
B. Treaty of Ghent.
C. Rush-Bagot Agreement.
D. Monroe Doctrine.

8. In an agreement with Great Britain in 1818, the United States acquired
A. joint responsibility for defending the Western Hemisphere.
B. joint occupation rights in the Oregon Country.
C. a new western boundary to the Louisiana Purchase Territory.
D. possession of Florida.

9. The Louisiana Purchase boundary with Spanish territories in North America was first clearly defined in the
A. Rush-Bagot Agreement, 1817.
B. Treaty of Ghent, 1814.
C. Transcontinental Treaty, 1821.
D. Monroe Doctrine, 1823.

10. The Monroe Doctrine did NOT intend to prevent
A. the founding of new European colonies in the Western Hemisphere.
B. America intervening in the affairs of Europe.
C. European nations interfering in the political affairs of Latin American republics.
D. the United States acquiring any new territories in the Western Hemisphere.
11. After the War of 1812, many Republicans were convinced that the United States needed all of the following EXCEPT
   A. a new national bank.
   B. to abolish slavery.
   C. a protective tariff.
   D. federal aid to improve transportation.

12. Supporters of a protective tariff act in 1816 argued that it would do all of the following EXCEPT
   A. promote the textile industry in the South.
   B. advance America’s national economic self-sufficiency.
   C. help lead to the abolition of slavery.
   D. create an urban market for western agricultural goods.

13. The primary argument of those who opposed the rechartering of the original Bank of the United States in 1811 was that it was
   A. poorly managed.
   B. unconstitutional.
   C. controlled by powerful state banks.
   D. responsible for causing economic depressions.

14. Henry Clay’s American System was primarily designed to promote
   A. military preparedness.
   B. the centralization of political power.
   C. territorial expansion.
   D. national economic self-sufficiency.

15. If enacted, the Tallmadge Amendment would have
   A. prohibited any restrictions on Missouri’s admission as a slave state.
   B. gradually abolished slavery in Missouri.
   C. banned slavery north of 36°30’ latitude in the old Louisiana Territory.
   D. abolished slavery in all states north of 36°30’ latitude.

16. The Missouri Compromise did NOT result in
   A. admitting Missouri as a slave state.
   B. banning slavery north of 36° 30’ latitude in the old Louisiana Territory.
   C. banning slavery in all states north of 36° 30’ latitude.
   D. maintaining the balance in the number of slave and free states in the Union.
17. The 1824 presidential election featured
A. an unusually heavy turnout of voters.
B. a tie between two vice-presidential candidates.
C. the choice of president made by the House of Representatives.
D. the election of a president and vice president from opposing political parties.

18. President John Quincy Adams was
A. a strong nationalist.
B. a skillful politician.
C. a brilliant orator.
D. well attuned to public sentiment.

19. John C. Calhoun was provoked to write *The South Carolina Exposition and Protest* in response to congressional legislation on
A. land policy.
B. internal improvements.
C. slavery.
D. tariff policy.

20. John C. Calhoun’s nullification doctrine argued that
A. a state had the constitutional right to secede from the Union.
B. a state could declare an act of Congress unconstitutional.
C. slavery was a positive good and morally defensible.
D. slavery could not be banned from U.S. territories.

**Essay Questions**

1. Which one of the following do you think was the primary cause of the War of 1812: neutral rights, Indian provocation, economic depression, land hunger, or the “War Hawks”? Evaluate the importance of each issue, and then justify your choice.

2. Compare and contrast the military strategies of the British and the Americans in the War of 1812, and then explain why the war ended in a stalemate.

3. Explain why the United States was so remarkably successful in the conduct of its diplomacy between 1815 and 1823 when it had been so unsuccessful before 1815.

4. Explain why each of the following issues tended to be politically controversial after 1815: protective tariffs, internal improvements, public land sales, the national bank.

5. Explain what was at stake in Missouri’s admission to the Union. Evaluate the text author’s claim that it was “one of the . . . most critical” of the sectional questions.
CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Cause and Effect

In Chapter 3 you were introduced to the importance of cause-effect relationships to historical study. You completed an exercise involving causal chains. Chapter 7 presents events in the early nineteenth century, including the War of 1812, that were the effects of several contributory causes. Again, contributory causes are causes that act and interact simultaneously to produce an effect.

Each of the groups below is identified by an effect, followed by a list of items that may have been contributory causes to that effect. Your task is to line out those items from the list that were not contributory causes of the stated effect, then write a sentence that expresses the relationship between the remaining causes and the effect. (Note: Any number of causal items in each group may be correct). The first group has been completed as an example.

X. Effect: Economic depression on western farms
Contributory causes: American commercial restrictions, lack of cultivable land, British boycott of American goods, poor transportation facilities, bad weather

The depression that hit western farming was the consequence of both American commercial restrictions and a slow and cumbersome transportation system.

1. Effect: The War of 1812
Contributory causes: land hunger, sense of national honor, British rescinding the Orders in Council, agricultural depression, violations of neutral rights
2. **Effect:** Federalists oppose the War of 1812
   *Contributory causes: impressment of merchant sailors, Madison’s refusal to invade Canada, partisan advantage, belief that Madison provoked war, concern for the health of New England’s economy*

3. **Effect:** American military failures in the War of 1812
   *Contributory causes: an inept navy, refusal of state militia to fight, an effective British blockade, the failure to realize the strategic importance of Canada, disappointing military leadership*

4. **Effect:** Pronouncement of the Monroe Doctrine
   *Contributory causes: Russian colonization of the Pacific coast, concern over Spanish expansion in the Caribbean, the threat of European recolonization in Latin America, British interest in commercial opportunities in Latin America, fear that the United States would be drawn in Latin American revolutions*

5. **Effect:** Start of an Era of Good Feelings
   *Contributory causes: “victory” in the War of 1812, economic prosperity, proposals from the Hartford Convention, Republican adoption of Federalist programs, Monroe’s presidential style*
6. Effect: Crisis over the admission of Missouri to the Union
Contributory causes: Tallmadge Amendment, Three-fifths Compromise, the morality of slavery, the North controlled the House of Representatives, the rights of African Americans, Missouri was located north of the Ohio River
CHAPTER 8

*Toward a National Economy*

**ANTICIPATION/REACTION**

*Directions:* Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. Use the column entitled “Anticipation.” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Use the column entitled “Reaction.” Note any variation in the placement of check marks from *anticipation* to *reaction* and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>____ 1. The Industrial Revolution began in the United States.</td>
<td>_____ 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 2. Once begun, the factory system quickly replaced the traditional household system of production.</td>
<td>_____ 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 3. The corporate system of business organization was slow to replace family-owned firms and partnerships because most Americans associated corporations with monopoly and corruption.</td>
<td>_____ 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 4. Eli Whitney’s invention of the cotton gin reduced the need for slave labor in the South.</td>
<td>_____ 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 5. Most early-nineteenth-century transportation improvement projects were undertaken to link the North to the South.</td>
<td>_____ 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 6. Federal, state, and local governments were all actively involved in promoting transportation improvement projects, corporate formations, and other measures for economic development in the early nineteenth century.</td>
<td>_____ 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 7. Chief Justice John Marshall was a states’ rightist.</td>
<td>_____ 7.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

*After reading Chapter 8 you should be able to:*

1. Trace the origins and early development of the factory system in the United States.
2. List the sources of early-nineteenth-century America’s industrial labor force.
3. Explain why a class-conscious industrial proletariat did not appear in the early stages of America’s industrial revolution.

4. Explain why cotton became the chief export crop of the South between 1815 and 1840, and how the cotton gin revitalized the institution of slavery after 1800.

5. Demonstrate how “internal improvements” and other government action at all levels aided economic growth in early-nineteenth-century America.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Gentility and the Consumer Revolution

Paradoxically, the democratic revolution was accompanied by widespread emulation of aristocratic behavior. In the United States, however, gentility was defined by possession of material goods. Americans were demanding more finely-crafted goods, forcing producers to expand their workshops, train more artisans, and experiment with machinery. This early-nineteenth-century “market revolution” required producers to find sufficient capital, develop labor management methods, and streamline the process of converting raw material to consumer goods. This brought the industrial revolution to America.

Birth of the Factory

Innovations in textile manufacturing machinery were imported from Britain after the Revolutionary War. Samuel Slater, defying British laws, memorized the construction of the cotton-spinning machine and brought it to the United States, where he built the nation’s first factory in 1790. By paying low wages to child workers to tend the machines, Slater’s factory was profitable from the start. The factory system expanded when Francis Cabot Lowell and the Boston Associates used water power to drive their textile power looms in Waltham, Massachusetts. There, Lowell’s Boston Manufacturing Company combined machine production, efficient management, large-scale operation, and centralized marketing to mass produce a standardized product—the essence of the factory system.

An Industrial Proletariat?

As the importance of skilled labor declined, skilled workers became either employers or wage-earning employees, and the gap between owners and workers widened. Workers made some collective efforts to protect their interests, but more remarkable was the relative absence of a self-conscious working-class solidarity. This has been variously attributed to a number of things: the availability of a frontier to which dissatisfied workers could escape; the racial and ethnic differences among workers that inhibited recognition of their common interests; or the continuous inflow of immigrants and free blacks willing to work for low wages who could easily replace dissatisfied employees. Significantly, the expanding economy offered workers the opportunity
to rise out of the working class, and, anticipating this, workers never developed strong class feelings.

Employment in industry usually meant an improvement in conditions of labor and living standards for wage earners. Most textile factory workers were women and children. Compared to farm labor, factory work was relatively easy for children, and it provided their families with extra income.

**Lowell’s Waltham System: Women as Factory Workers**

Instead of hiring children, the Boston Associates developed the “Waltham System” of employing single young women in their mills. Their work and leisure-time activities were both strictly supervised, but the women were relatively well paid and most enjoyed escaping the farm and found camaraderie with other young women. Wage reductions and work speedups eventually destroyed their idyllic conditions, and by 1830 mill owners were turning to Irish immigrants to operate their machines.

**Irish and German Immigrants**

The doubling of America’s population from 1790 to 1820 was almost entirely due to natural increase. But immigration from Europe, especially from Ireland and Germany, reached flood-tide proportions after 1820. Most immigrants were attracted by economic opportunity, but the promise of political and religious freedom and the chance to escape harsh conditions at home drew others. Prosperous immigrants migrated on to the West, but most Irish immigrants settled in eastern cities. This massive influx of poor and culturally distinctive Catholic immigrants temporarily depressed living standards and increased social tensions, but generally their labor was a stimulus to the American economy.

**The Persistence of the Household System**

Few people in the 1820s realized how profoundly the factory system would affect their lives. Yet, increasingly larger and more efficient machine processes slowly moved into many areas of consumer goods production, including woolens, iron products, nails, paper, glass, pottery, and canned food.

**Rise of Corporations**

Mechanization of production required substantial capital investment, and capital was chronically in short supply in early-nineteenth-century America. Because Americans, including many businessmen, tended to associate corporations with monopoly, corruption, and the undermining
of individual enterprise, the corporate form of business organization was slow to develop in the United States. But as the volume of foreign commerce fell after 1812, capital was transferred from commerce to industry, attracted by high profits and the growing prestige of manufacturing. The growth of manufacturing further reduced America’s dependence on foreign commerce, but augmented nationalist and isolationist sentiments. Manufacturing also stimulated commercial agriculture as farmers found markets for their goods in the growing size and increasing number of manufacturing cities.

**Cotton Revolutionizes the South**

The booming textile industries of Britain and New England created a growing demand for raw cotton. Eli Whitney’s invention of the cotton gin in 1793 made the profitable production of upland cotton possible throughout the South, and cotton soon became the nation’s major export crop. Northerners profited from the cotton trade by handling the transportation, insurance, and final disposition of the cotton crop. Western farmers profited from the sale of their surplus corn and hogs to feed southern slaves on cotton plantations. Cotton was the major expansive force in the national economy between 1815 and 1840.

**Revival of Slavery**

The cotton gin stimulated cotton production and the booming cotton culture revitalized slavery in the South. Their racial prejudices and respect for private property, and their fear of slave revolt tempered the libertarian beliefs of the Revolutionary generation. Many opponents of slavery came to see the deportation of freed slaves as an answer to America’s racial problem. Most blacks who had no memory of Africa opposed colonization, but paternalistic whites were convinced both races would be better off if they were separated.

The American Colonization Society was founded in 1817. It established the African colony of Liberia, but few blacks migrated. As cotton production expanded, the growing need for labor in the South acted as a brake on the colonization movement. To supply the great demand for slaves in the new cotton lands of the Southwest, slave traders evaded state laws against the interstate sale of slaves. Slaves from the Upper South were increasingly sold off to the cotton boom states along the Gulf coast.

Free blacks in the North were little better off than those in the South. Most were denied the right to vote, education, decent housing, and employment. Racial segregation was the rule. Free blacks employed the tactic of peaceful persuasion to try to improve their lot.
Roads to Market

The spread of settlement into the Mississippi Valley created challenges that required technological advances if they were to be met. Most were related to the westerners’ major problem: transportation improvements that would increase land values and stimulate trade. The natural trade pattern was between East and West, so much attention was given to road construction over the Appalachian Mountains. The first trans-Appalachian road—between Philadelphia and Lancaster, Pennsylvania—was opened in 1794.

Transportation and the Government

Private investors who charged tolls for the use of their turnpikes built most of the improved highways. Local, state, and national governments often bought stock in these companies, or financed construction of their own turnpikes. Thus, a mixture of public and private capital developed these financially risky, but socially desirable enterprises. The federal government financed the Old National Road, but sectional rivalries prevented the undertaking of a comprehensive internal improvements program. Overland transportation continued to be an expensive way to transport goods to market.

Development of Steamboats

The efforts of John Fitch, John Stevens, and Robert Fulton gradually produced an efficient steamboat to ply the western rivers and thereby enrich the economy of the Mississippi Valley. Freight rates between New Orleans, Louisville, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh plummeted, and the Old Northwest became part of the national market economy. Steamboats became luxurious travel vessels and made New Orleans one of the world’s major ports.

The Canal Boom

Although their construction was expensive and posed formidable engineering problems, canals held great promise for reducing transportation costs between the east coast and the western interior. DeWitt Clinton convinced the New York state legislature to pioneer the effort, resulting in the state-financed construction of the Erie Canal. Unlike many subsequent canal projects it inspired, the Erie Canal proved to be an enormous financial success.

New York City: Emporium of the Western World

By initiating regular freight and passenger service to England, and by reforming the system of import sales, New York City merchants had established that city’s premier role in domestic and foreign commerce. The Erie Canal cemented the city’s position as the national metropolis. New
England, Pennsylvania, and Maryland tried, but failed to match New York’s Erie Canal connection with the western heartland. Western states and private investors often faced financial loss in their effort to provide feeder line canals connecting western farms with the Great Lakes and, via the Erie Canal, New York City. Nevertheless, the canal boom substantially lowered East-West transportation costs and benefited both western farmers and the national economy.

**The Marshall Court**

Chief Justice John Marshall was a strong nationalist and held a Hamiltonian view of the Constitution. His decisions consistently favored manufacturing and business interests, advanced economic development, and established the supremacy of national legislation over state laws. In several opinions, the Marshall Court upheld the sanctity of contracts and the primacy of federal power over state authority. In *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819) the Court affirmed the constitutionality of the second Bank of the United States, thereby legitimizing the doctrine of implied powers or “loose” interpretation of the Constitution. In 1837, Chief Justice Roger Taney’s ruling in the *Charles River Bridge* case declared that public convenience superseded the interests of a particular company, further advancing economic development.

**PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS**

*Define the following:*

- factory system ____________________________

- household system ____________________________

- Waltham System ____________________________

- corporation ____________________________

- upland cotton ____________________________

132
cotton gin

turnpike

general incorporation law

interstate commerce

Describe the following:

American Colonization Society

Clermont

Erie Canal

Dartmouth College v. Woodward

McCulloch v. Maryland

Gibbons v. Ogden
Identify the following:

Samuel Slater

Boston Associates

Francis Cabot Lowell

Eli Whitney

Robert Fulton

DeWitt Clinton

John Marshall

Roger Taney
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. In the United States the industrial revolution began with major technological innovations in
   A. shoe and boot manufacturing.
   B. the steel industry.
   C. textile manufacturing.
   D. the machine tool industry.

2. Most Irish immigrants to America in the early nineteenth century settled in
   A. eastern cities.
   B. midwestern farms.
   C. the South.
   D. frontier areas.

3. It is LEAST accurate to say that most early-nineteenth-century immigrants to America
   A. came from northwestern European countries.
   B. settled in the Northeast and Middle West.
   C. migrated for economic reasons.
   D. were middle-class Protestants.

4. Most early-nineteenth-century factory workers
   A. felt a keen sense of class consciousness.
   B. quickly joined national labor unions to look out for their interests.
   C. expected to eventually rise out of the working class.
   D. felt a close and personal relationship to their employer.

5. The Waltham System employed ______ as factory laborers in the textile industry.
   A. poor children
   B. young single women
   C. Irish immigrants
   D. apprentices

6. The factory system in America
   A. quickly replaced the household system of production.
   B. was initiated by Francis Cabot Lowell and the Boston Associates.
   C. was tied to the mass production of machine-made goods.
   D. required little capital investment in its early years.
7. Much of the early investment capital in manufacturing in America came from
   A. northeastern merchants.
   B. the federal government.
   C. southern planters.
   D. the savings of workers.

8. The corporate form of organization was slow to develop in America primarily because
   A. state governments refused to charter them.
   B. general incorporation laws were too prohibitive.
   C. they were not an efficient means of raising venture capital.
   D. there was a strong popular bias against them.

9. America’s most profitable export item in the early nineteenth century was
   A. corn.
   B. cotton.
   C. textiles.
   D. machinery.

10. The early-nineteenth-century South’s prosperity depended on all of the following EXCEPT
    A. agricultural diversity.
    B. slave labor.
    C. cotton production.
    D. foreign trade.

11. The movement to colonize blacks back to Africa was unsuccessful primarily because
    A. it was opposed by the nation’s most respected leaders.
    B. northern free blacks opposed it.
    C. there was an increasing demand for slave labor in the South.
    D. most northern whites opposed segregation of the races.

12. The major application of steamboats for transporting goods in America was on
    A. New England streams.
    B. western rivers.
    C. the Great Lakes.
    D. the Gulf of Mexico.

13. The first dramatic decline in freight rates in the East-West trade occurred with the construction of
    A. turnpikes.
    B. bridges.
    C. canals.
    D. railroads.
14. The Erie Canal was the brainchild of
   A. Eli Whitney.
   B. Samuel Slater.
   C. DeWitt Clinton.
   D. Oliver Evans.

15. _________ was the primary beneficiary of the Erie Canal, while _________ was the primary beneficiary of the steamboat.
   A. New York City; New Orleans
   B. Philadelphia; Louisville
   C. Baltimore; New Orleans
   D. New York City; Cincinnati

16. The Supreme Court case *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* was a ruling on
   A. federal power and national banking.
   B. local ordinances and voting rights.
   C. state power and private contracts.
   D. states’ rights and slavery.

17. The most helpful ruling the Marshall Court rendered to the doctrine of implied powers came in its decision in
   A. *Dartmouth College v. Woodward.*
   B. *McCulloch v. Maryland.*
   C. *Marbury v. Madison.*
   D. *Gibbons v. Ogden.*

18. John Marshall’s famous legal dictum that “the power to tax involves the power to destroy” came in his decision in
   A. *Gibbons v. Ogden.*
   B. *Charles River Bridge case.*
   C. *McCulloch v. Maryland.*
   D. *Dartmouth College v. Woodward.*

19. Generally, Chief Justice John Marshall’s decisions had all of the following effects EXCEPT
   A. encouraging economic development.
   B. sanctifying property rights.
   C. increasing the authority of the national government.
   D. encouraging business monopolies.
20. The case of *Gibbons v. Ogden* involved the question of
   A. a state’s right to legalize slavery.
   B. a state’s right to regulate interstate commerce.
   C. the federal government’s authority to tax private business.
   D. the federal government’s power to collect customs duties.

**Essay Questions**

1. Explain why the Industrial Revolution with its factory system of production was slow developing in the United States. Refer especially to technology and capitalization.

2. Describe the process whereby America, a land of farmers and artisans, created an industrial labor force. Where did the workers come from, how did these working-class employees relate to their employers, and why didn’t they become a self-conscious working class?

3. Explain the relationship between Eli Whitney’s cotton gin, the emergence of the cotton culture in the South, and the revival of slavery after 1800.

4. Evaluate the colonization movement as an antislavery effort. Define its goals, its assumptions, and its means of dealing with the slavery issue. Explain why it failed.

5. Trace the evolution of America’s transportation revolution. Assess the importance of turnpikes, canals, and steamboats to the opening of the West and the creation of a national market economy.

6. Demonstrate how Supreme Court decisions promoted economic development in early-nineteenth-century America.

**CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE**

**Facts, Inferences, and Judgments**

In Chapter 4 you were introduced to the importance of distinguishing between the historian’s use of facts, inferences, and, judgments. In the narrative on the following page, determine which of the numbered statements is a fact, an inference, or a judgment. Circle your choice in the answer grid that follows.
(1) The most important legal advantages bestowed on businessmen in the period were the gifts of Chief Justice John Marshall. (2) Historians have tended to forget that. . . [he] had six colleagues on the Supreme Court, (3) and that is easy to understand. (4) Marshall’s particular combination of charm, logic, and forcefulness made the Court . . . remarkably submissive to his view of the Constitution. (5) Marshall’s belief in a powerful central government explains his tendency to hand down decisions favorable to manufacturing and business interests. (6) He also thought that “the business community was the agent of order and progress” (7) and tended to interpret the Constitution in a way that would advance its interests. . . .

(8) Marshall’s decisions concerning the division of power between the federal government and the states were even more important. (9) The question of the constitutionality of a national bank. . . had not been submitted to the courts during the life of the first Bank of the United States. (10) By the time of the second Bank there were many state banks, (11) and some of them felt that their interests were threatened by the national institution. (12) Responding to pressure from local banks, (13) the Maryland legislature placed an annual tax of $15,000 on “foreign” banks, including the Bank of the United States! (14) The Maryland branch of the Bank of the United States refused to pay, whereupon the state brought suit against its cashier, John W. McCulloch. (15) McCulloch v. Maryland was crucial to the Bank, (16) for five other states had levied taxes on its branches, (17) and others would surely follow suit if the Maryland law were upheld.
CHAPTER 9

Jacksonian Democracy

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. Use the column entitled “Anticipation.” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Use the column entitled “Reaction.” Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

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Andrew Jackson was the first “common man” elected to the presidency.

In the new two party system of the Jacksonian era, the Democrats perpetuated the principles of the Jeffersonian Republicans, while the Whigs perpetuated the principles of the Hamiltonian Federalists.

Most early-nineteenth-century Americans assumed that Native Americans would eventually be assimilated into the mainstream of American life.

Because he was a slave owner, President Jackson sympathized with South Carolina’s Ordinance of Nullification in 1832.

As a westerner, President Jackson sympathized with those who disliked the restrictive credit policies of the national bank.

President Jackson’s war on the national bank caused the Panic of 1837 and the ensuing economic depression.

Presidential election campaigns in the period of 1824-1840 focused on differences over major political and economic issues.
LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 9 you should be able to:

1. Explain why Andrew Jackson was such an unusually popular and influential political leader to his generation.
2. Trace the origins and development of the second party system.
3. List the key political issues of Jackson’s presidency and identify Jackson’s position on each issue.
4. Describe the effects of Jackson’s economic policies.
5. Compare and contrast the principles and policies of the Democrats and Whigs.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

“Democratizing” Politics

The triumph of Jacksonian democracy meant the rise of the “common man” the belief that every adult white American male was equally competent and politically important. The Jacksonians glorified instinct, ordinariness, and mediocrity, and they detested distinctiveness and servility. In response to these sentiments most states eliminated property qualifications for voting and many more public offices were made elective rather than appointive. Presidential electors now were chosen by popular vote, and presidential candidates were now selected by a national nominating convention. The beginning of the free-school movement and rapid increase in the number of newspapers indicate an effort to improve the knowledge and judgment of ordinary citizens.

In this more democratic environment, officeholders stressed their role as representatives of the people. Campaigning for votes became increasingly important as more “common men” became politically active. Political parties now became more important, bureaucratic, and powerful because it took money, people, and an organized effort to run campaigns. It was the parties’ role to recruit new voters in national elections, frequently by resort to demagoguery.

1828: The New Party System in Embryo

The second party system developed in the 1828 presidential election campaign between John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson. The campaign quickly degenerated into personal attacks from both sides. Though deplorable, this tactic turned out a record number of voters. Jackson was elected without ever taking a firm and consistent position on any major issue.
The Jacksonian Appeal

When he was elected president, Jackson was a wealthy planter, land speculator, and slaveowner, yet he distrusted entrenched status and all special privilege. But, as a relatively rough-hewn and poorly-educated westerner, Jackson was a perfect symbol of the new democratization of American life. Jackson epitomized many American ideals: the self-made man, patriotism, generosity, morality, tenacity, and equal opportunity. He was both an average and ideal American and was thereby able to draw voters’ support from every section and social class.

The Spoils System

Jackson quickly adopted a system for replacing federal officeholders with his own supporters, a system his supporters called rotation and his opponents derisively dubbed the spoils system. Rotation, which illustrated the Jacksonians’ contempt for expert knowledge and their faith in ordinary Americans, was intended to inhibit the development of an entrenched bureaucracy and allow more citizens to participate in the tasks of government—a democratic concept, but not one calculated to produce efficiency in government. The fact is, most of Jackson’s appointees were not “common men,” but were drawn from the same social and intellectual elite as those they replaced.

President of All the People

Jackson turned to an unofficial Kitchen Cabinet of close friends to advise him. He saw himself as the direct representative of all the people and willingly sought to increase his authority on their behalf. He vetoed more congressional bills than all his predecessors combined. He expanded the powers of the presidency, but, as a Jeffersonian, he favored limiting the powers of the national government. Jackson was a poor administrator, partly as a result of his strong prejudices and contempt for expert advice, but he was a strong and popular leader.

Sectional Tensions Revived

Jackson tried to steer a moderate course through sectional conflicts over tariff, public land, and internal improvements policies. At the time, low-tariff southerners were attempting to forge a sectional alliance with westerners who favored cheap public lands. Daniel Webster rose to defend the protective tariff interests of the northeastern states in the Webster-Hayne debate and, in his second reply to Hayne, he denounced the states’ rights doctrine, defended the Union, and effectively prevented a West-South alliance.
Jackson: “The Bank . . . I Will Kill It!”

Under its president, Nicholas Biddle, the second Bank of the United States was well managed and acted as a central bank, controlling the lending policies of state banks which, if left unregulated, caused inflation and exaggerated the business cycle. The Bank’s stabilizing policies won it many supporters, but it did have opponents—speculators seeking easy credit, hard-money advocates who distrusted paper money from any source, and many state banks that disliked the Bank’s regulating authority. To some it smacked of special privilege because it held a monopoly of public funds, yet was governed by a handful of rich investors.

Jackson’s Bank Veto

Jackson was an opponent of the Bank, a hard money man suspicious of all commercial banking and paper money. Henry Clay and other supporters of the Bank in his National Republican party sought to use the Bank issue to undermine Jackson’s popularity. Congress passed a bill to recharter the Bank in 1832, but Jackson vetoed it. He insisted the Bank was unconstitutional and an undemocratic private monopoly with too many foreign investors. When Jackson won reelection in 1832, he considered it a mandate to destroy the Bank. At Jackson’s request, Treasury Secretary Roger Taney withdrew all government funds from the Bank and deposited them in several politically sympathetic, but financially sound, “pet” state banks.

Jackson Versus Calhoun

John C. Calhoun was Jackson’s first vice president and he hoped to succeed Jackson to the presidency. But the two men were clashing personalities and the Peggy Eaton affair and revelations of Calhoun’s criticism of Jackson’s invasion of Florida in 1818 caused Jackson to question Calhoun’s honor and loyalty. Nevertheless, Calhoun and Jackson were not far apart ideologically; they both believed in government economy, distributing federal treasury surpluses to the states, and limiting the power of the national government, and Jackson, as in the Maysville Road veto, often took the states’ rights view.

Indian Removals

Jackson also was a states’ rightist on Indian policies. He viewed Indians as savages who were incapable of self-government, and who, if they refused to adopt the white man’s ways, could best be dealt with by removal from the path of western settlement. His removal policy led to the government purchase of tribal lands and relocation of the Indians to the Trans-Mississippi West. Many tribes were removed peacefully, but the Sac and Fox and Seminoles resisted and had to be subdued by troops. The Cherokees sought to escape removal by adopting white ways. They established an independent Cherokee Nation within Georgia, though Georgia refused to recognize it. In Worcester v. Georgia the Supreme Court ruled that the state of Georgia had no
constitutional authority to govern the Cherokees. Jackson backed Georgia, who ignored the Court, and thousands of Cherokee were removed along the “Trail of Tears” to the West. Jackson’s defiance of the Court encouraged extreme states’ rights southerners.

The Nullification Crisis

In 1832, southerners were dissatisfied with the new Tariff of 1832, troubled by the rise of antislavery sentiment in the North, and fearful of slave rebellion. They felt that the tariff and slavery issues symbolized the tyranny of a northern majority, and they turned to Calhoun’s doctrine of nullification for defense. South Carolina nullified the 1832 tariff. Jackson’s response to this defiance of federal authority was twofold: He labeled the nullifiers as treasonous and called for military preparations to occupy South Carolina, but he also asked congressional leaders for a downward revision of the tariff. Other southern states did not rally to South Carolina’s defense, and with an invasion threatened, Calhoun and the South Carolinian radicals settled for a compromise tariff that gradually reduced tariff rates. South Carolina withdrew its Nullification Ordinance, and then embarked on a crusade to unify the South behind an extreme states’ rights doctrine.

Boom and Bust

An increase in the nation’s stock of gold and silver specie encouraged the now unregulated state banks to offer easy credit, especially for land speculation. Alarmed by the speculative mania that ensued, Jackson issued the Specie Circular that required public land be paid for in gold or silver (hard money). The paper money-fed land boom ended and banks were forced to suspend specie payments on their paper notes. Jackson’s combative Bank War and his ill-considered Specie Circular contributed to a retraction of the economy.

Jacksonianism Abroad

Jackson was an exaggerated patriot. Nevertheless, his forceful yet unnecessarily blustering diplomatic style finally opened the British West Indies to American merchants and forced France to pay compensation for damages dating back to the Napoleonic wars.

The Jacksonians

By 1836, Jacksonian politics had produced a fairly cohesive Democratic party. Diverse in its make-up, the party loyal nevertheless agreed on some underlying principles: suspicion of special privilege and business monopoly, equal economic opportunity, limited national government, political freedom, and faith in the common man. Democrats generally endorsed states’ rights,
public education, and social equality among whites. However, Jacksonians showed no tendency either to penalize the wealthy or to intervene in economic affairs to aid the underprivileged.

**Rise of the Whigs**

Jackson’s opponents were less cohesive. Clay’s National Republican party was simply anti-Jackson. But, as Jackson’s second term ended his opponents began to coalesce into a new Whig party. It attracted those with a Hamiltonian view of national economic development, those well educated, and fierce Jackson haters. It also attracted extreme states’ righters, and, paradoxically, those who advocated a strong central government. The Whigs also appealed to ordinary people who were frightened by the excesses of individualism in Jacksonian America. But the Whigs’ “favorite son” nominating tactic failed in 1836, and Martin Van Buren succeeded Jackson to the presidency.

**Martin Van Buren: Jacksonianism Without Jackson**

Van Buren was Jackson’s vice president and a devoted Jacksonian Democrat. He opposed the Bank of the United States, favored state-sponsored internal improvements, and equivocated on the tariff. He was preeminently a practical politician. Van Buren took office as the Panic of 1837 began, but recovery was swift. Then, in 1839, a general depression set in when cotton prices collapsed and several state governments defaulted on internal improvements debts. To the dismay of activist Whigs, Van Buren assumed a hands-off approach to the depression. Van Buren’s primary maneuver was to withdraw public funds from all banking activity, require all payments to the government be made in specie, and deposit government revenue in an independent treasury. Fortunately, heavy agricultural exports, foreign investment capital, and the California gold rush maintained a supply of specie in the economy.

**The Log Cabin Campaign**

For the 1840 presidential election the Whigs adopted Jacksonian campaign tactics and nominated a noncontroversial military hero, William Henry Harrison. They contrasted Harrison’s simple, brave, honest public spiritedness with Van Buren’s “aristocratic” ways. The Whigs’ log cabin and hard cider campaign was too much for Van Buren, who tried to campaign on the issues. A huge turnout of voters elected Harrison. Harrison had little stomach for strong presidential leadership and Whig leaders Henry Clay and Daniel Webster anticipated congressional control of the administration. But Harrison died shortly after his inauguration and Vice President John Tyler’s elevation to the presidency confronted congressional Whigs with unanticipated problems.
Define the following:

“common man” ________________________________

Jacksonian democracy ________________________________

disestablishment ________________________________

equality of opportunity ________________________________

spoils system ________________________________

rotation ________________________________

distribution ________________________________

removal ________________________________

Describe the following:

Election of 1828 ________________________________
Webster-Hayne debate

Peggy Eaton affair

Maysville Road veto

Worcester v. Georgia

Trail of Tears

Nullification Crisis

Bank War

“pet” banks

Specie Circular

Panic of 1837
Independent Treasury Act

Election of 1840

Identify the following:

Andrew Jackson

John C. Calhoun

Denmark Vesey

Nat Turner

Nicholas Biddle

Roger Taney

Jacksonian Democrats

Whigs
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. An important political change of the 1820s was that
   A. senators began to be elected by popular vote rather than by state legislatures.
   B. issues became the key subjects of political campaigns rather than personalities.
   C. free blacks and women were allowed full political freedom.
   D. most states removed the property qualification for voting from their constitutions.

2. Andrew Jackson’s popularity in the 1828 presidential election was in large part due to his
   A. determination to take a clear and consistent stand on controversial issues.
   B. dislike for political parties and popular campaigning.
   C. image as a strong-willed, self-made man of the people.
   D. devotion to reason and expert advice in the making of public policy.

3. Which one of the following is LEAST related to the other three?
   A. political appointment
   B. the spoils system
   C. disestablishment
   D. rotation

4. In the Webster-Hayne debate, Daniel Webster
   A. attacked the doctrine of states’ rights.
   B. introduced the possibility of distributing federal treasury surpluses to the states.
   C. blamed Jackson for the suffering along the Trail of Tears.
   D. urged Jackson to veto the Maysville Road Bill.

5. Of the following, the BEST example of Jackson’s advocacy of limited federal government was his
   A. action during the Nullification Crisis.
   B. issuing the Specie Circular.
   C. veto of the Maysville Road Bill.
   D. adoption of the rotation system of federal appointment.
6. Indian removal was an example of President Jackson’s usual endorsement of
   A. protectionism.
   B. nullification.
   C. states’ rights.
   D. internal improvements.

7. In *Worcester v. Georgia* the Supreme Court ruled that
   A. the second Bank of the United States was constitutional.
   B. a state could not nullify an act of Congress.
   C. Indian tribes were independent of federal authority.
   D. Indian tribes could not be governed by states.

8. The Nullification Crisis of 1832 involved a dispute over
   A. distribution of federal surpluses.
   B. protective tariffs.
   C. internal improvements.
   D. public land policy.

9. The Tariff of 1832 was declared null and void by
   A. the South Carolina state legislature.
   B. the governor of South Carolina.
   C. a state convention in South Carolina.
   D. the South Carolina state Supreme Court.

10. President Jackson viewed South Carolina’s Ordinance of Nullification
    A. as treasonous.
    B. indifferently.
    C. as a legitimate expression of states’ rights.
    D. as a peaceful means of preserving the Union.

11. The Nullification Crisis was resolved by all these actions EXCEPT
    A. the Ordinance of Nullification was repealed.
    B. other southern states refused to support nullification.
    C. the 1832 tariff rates were gradually reduced.
    D. the U.S. Army temporarily occupied South Carolina and collected the tariffs.

12. Andrew Jackson liked
    A. banks.
    B. high protective tariffs.
    C. Indians.
    D. state-financed internal improvements projects.
13. The second Bank of the United States was opposed by all of the following EXCEPT
   A. most hard-money men.
   B. Henry Clay.
   C. Martin Van Buren.
   D. many state banks.

14. When he vetoed its recharter bill, Jackson argued that the second Bank of the United States
   A. overextended financial credit.
   B. was too lenient in its loan policies.
   C. refused to pay off the national debt.
   D. was a privileged monopoly of the rich.

15. After his reelection in 1832, President Jackson weakened the second Bank of the United
    states by
   A. firing its president, Nicholas Biddle.
   B. removing government deposits from it.
   C. revoking its existing charter.
   D. moving its headquarters from Philadelphia to New York.

16. President Jackson’s 1836 Specie Circular
   A. outlawed paper money.
   B. required federal funds to be deposited in “pet” banks.
   C. directed that public land purchases be paid for in gold and silver.
   D. distributed surplus federal funds back to the states.

17. Jacksonian Democrats tended to oppose
   A. free public schools.
   B. equal economic opportunity.
   C. the rise of the common man.
   D. central banking.

18. In contrast to the Democrats, Whigs
   A. were states’ rightists.
   B. had no effective congressional leadership.
   C. admired the strong presidency.
   D. favored federal aid to economic development.

19. The Independent Treasury Act of 1840 appealed most to
   A. Whigs.
   B. land speculators.
   C. hard-money men.
   D. “pet” banks.
20. The dominant symbol of the Whig presidential campaign in 1840 was a
   A. gold coin.
   B. rifle.
   C. bank.
   D. log cabin.

Essay Questions

1. Account for Andrew Jackson’s appeal to ordinary voters in the 1820s and 1830s. Stress especially his personal qualities and his symbolic representation of democracy.

2. Describe the role of Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and John C. Calhoun in the development of the second party system.

3. Explain why Jackson opposed the second Bank of the United States. What were his motives, what actions did he take, and what effects did they have?

4. Describe the Nullification Crisis’ impact on sectional tensions and national harmony. What role did tariff policy, slavery, and southern unity play in its origins and resolution?

5. Compare and contrast the views of Jacksonian Democrats and the Whigs both on matters of political principles and their positions on public issues.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Compare and Contrast

In earlier chapters you were introduced to the common use of comparing and contrasting relationships as a tool historians use to organize information. Chapter 9 discusses the political principles and public policy views of the Jacksonian Democrats and the Whigs—the two major parties of the second party system. In the chart on the following page, indicate with a simple “favored,” “opposed,” or similar brief notation the position generally or usually taken by each of the two parties on the political principles and public policies indicated. (Note: Starred (*) boxes indicate additional principles and policy views discussed in the chapter on which Democrats and Whigs held views. You are to define these issues and complete these boxes as well.) Try to infer a party’s position where no direct evidence is presented in the text.
| PRINCIPLES AND POLICY VIEWS OF DEMOCRATS AND WHIGS |
|----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| VIEWS ON . . .                   | DEMOCRATS      | WHIGS          |
| states’ rights                   |                |                |
| equal opportunity                |                |                |
| common man                       |                |                |
| strong presidency                |                |                |
| *                                |                |                |
| *                                |                |                |
| POSITIONS ON . . .               |                |                |
| distribution of federal surplus  |                |                |
| Indian removal                   |                |                |
| protective tariffs               |                |                |
| Specie Circular                  |                |                |
| federal internal improvements    |                |                |
| Independent Treasury            |                |                |
| *                                |                |                |
| *                                |                |                |
CHAPTER 10

*The Making of Middle-Class America*

**ANTICIPATION/REACTION**

*Directions:* Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you *now* agree. Use the column entitled “Anticipation.” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you *then* agree. Use the column entitled “Reaction.” Note any variation in the placement of check marks from *anticipation* to *reaction* and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>____ 1.</td>
<td>In the early nineteenth century, foreign visitors to the United States were impressed by the degree of economic equality they found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 2.</td>
<td>In the early nineteenth century, all sections of the United States experienced rapid population and urban growth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 3.</td>
<td>Within their own families, the power and prestige of middle-class women declined in the early nineteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 4.</td>
<td>Most early-nineteenth-century women agreed with their husbands that a woman’s place is in the home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 5.</td>
<td>Unlike the original, the early-nineteenth-century’s Second Great Awakening was a largely unsuccessful evangelical revival movement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 6.</td>
<td>The most widely supported and successful of early-nineteenth-century reforms was the antislavery movement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 7.</td>
<td>Most of those who wanted to abolish slavery also believed in racial equality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 10 you should be able to:

1. Summarize Alexis de Tocqueville’s observations about early-nineteenth-century America.
2. State how early industrialization changed the American family and describe how Americans compensated for these changes.
3. Explain the attraction of the message in the Second Great Awakening, and demonstrate the Awakening’s impact on social thought and social reform activity in the early nineteenth century.
4. Explain why so many early-nineteenth-century Americans were drawn to communitarianism, and describe some of the peculiarities of communal life.
5. State the origins of early-nineteenth-century social reform movements, list the most significant of these, and evaluate their impact on early-nineteenth-century American life.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Tocqueville and Beaumont in America

In 1831, Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville toured the new American republic and wrote of his observations in Democracy in America, a classic description and interpretation of early-nineteenth-century America.

Tocqueville in Judgment

Tocqueville was captivated by the theme of equality in America. In the United States, wages were higher and the cost of living was lower than in Europe, and inequalities that did exist were not institutionally enforced or supported by public opinion. In spite of the fact that there was at the time a wide and growing gap between rich and poor and substantial poverty in American cities, from Tocqueville’s European perspective, America seemed to be an undifferentiated middle-class society.

A Restless People

Visitors to early-nineteenth-century America were struck by the mobility of Americans, partly the result of the high rate of population growth—the population was doubling about every 22 years. Many moved to seek opportunity in the West, from which five new states entered the Union in the 1830s and 1840s. Others moved to towns and cities. Population movement from farms to cities produced both spectacular growth in the large cities and the emergence of new
towns, especially in the Northeast and Northwest. However, only the perimeter of the South experienced significant urban growth.

**The Family Recast**

The factory system and the growth of cities diminished the importance of home and family as the unit of economic production. More and more breadwinners worked outside the home, and this had an enormous impact on traditional family roles. In the absence of their husbands, middle-class wives and mothers exercised more authority and enjoyed more prestige within their homes. Still, the doctrine of “separate spheres” and the “cult of womanhood” confined middle-class women to the home, where they were expected to tend only to family matters. Some resisted, but most women subscribed to the view that a woman’s place was in the home.

The middle class made a conscious effort to limit family size. People married later and waited longer to have children, and the birth rate declined. As families became smaller, relations within them became more caring. Children in the smaller family were lavished with attention and affection by mothers who had little opportunity to direct their attention or passions outside the home and family.

**The Second Great Awakening**

The growing belief in the innate goodness of children was but one attack on orthodox Calvinist doctrine. A new evangelical revivalism, the Second Great Awakening, also set aside the doctrine of predestination and the arbitrary power of God. Evangelist Charles Grandison Finney urged his followers to take their salvation into their own hands; because of God’s mercy, salvation was available to all. This optimistic message and the entertaining methods of the evangelists enormously increased church membership. Those uprooted by the growth of industry and commerce were attracted to this comforting message of personal salvation. Women, charged with the spiritual education of their children, were also drawn to evangelical revivalism. In upstate New York, they founded the Female Missionary Society and even moved outside their homes and paternalistic, authoritarian churches to organize the salvation of their loved ones.

**The Era of Associations**

Voluntary associations joined the family and church as an institutional pillar of the middle class. Some of these uniquely American associations formed around local issues such as care for orphans and old people; others joined with associations elsewhere to combat some national evil such as drunkenness. Together, they formed a “benevolent empire” of aid and comfort for those without families to provide for them.
Backwoods Utopias

Determined groups of reformers tested their reform theories by withdrawing from society and establishing experimental communities. Some of these communitarians were religious reformers such as the Shakers, and the Oneida community. These religious communities varied enormously in matters of sexual practices, labor requirements, rights of individuals, etc. The most important religious communitarians were the Mormons. Their unorthodox views, such as polygamy and their sense of being a chosen people, forced them to migrate eventually to the Great Salt Lake where they irrigated the desert, and the faith has flourished ever since.

Secular communitarians included the utopian socialists Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. Owen’s advocacy of free love and atheism doomed his communes, but Fourier’s cooperative phalanxes enjoyed some temporary success.

The Age of Reform

Other reformers, less colorful but more effective than the communitarians, assumed the responsibility for caring for the physically and mentally disabled and for the rehabilitation of criminals. These reformers, convinced that people were primarily shaped by their surroundings, established specialized institutions (orphanages, prisons, asylums) for dealing with social problems. Life in these institutions was highly disciplined and aimed toward repentance and rehabilitation.

“Demon Rum”

The temperance movement was the most widely supported and successful reform movement of the time. Americans in the 1820s consumed prodigious amounts of alcohol—per capita consumption was twice what it is today. Men routinely drank at work and in taverns after work. The American Temperance Union and the Washingtonians conducted educational campaigns against drunkenness—which they considered the root of crime and social decay. Temperance organizers eventually reached beyond exhortation to demand legal prohibition of alcohol. Their major success came in the Maine Law of 1851 that prohibited the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages in that state.

The Abolitionist Crusade

The most significant and provocative reform movement of this era was abolitionism—the drive to abolish slavery. In the first third of the nineteenth century, most northerners believed slavery was wrong, but they also believed the Constitution obliged them to tolerate its existence in the South. Then, in 1831, William Lloyd Garrison, a moral absolutist, began publication of The Liberator newspaper, where he pronounced himself against colonization and in favor of
uncompensated and immediate abolitionism and racial equality. His radical brand of abolitionism incensed southern whites—whom he held in contempt—and provoked opposition even in the North. Most abolitionists took a more moderate approach, settling for gradual abolition of slavery through political means. This wing of abolitionism founded the Liberty party and in 1840 nominated a former slaveholder, James G. Birney, for president.

Frederick Douglass, a former slave, was the most visible of the many free blacks who participated in the abolitionist movement. Like Garrison, he demanded the end of slavery and full equality for blacks, but Douglass was willing to work within the political system. Unlike Garrison, but like most other abolitionists, Douglass was not a moral perfectionist and did not denounce the Constitution even though it countenanced slavery.

**Women’s Rights**

The women’s rights movement was closely related to abolitionism. Women came to see that, like blacks, they were discriminated against by a social and legal system that subordinated them and prevented them from achieving their full potential. Thus, most women’s rights activists began their reform careers as abolitionists, but, faced with sexual discrimination in that movement, they turned their efforts to women’s rights. They campaigned for more liberal divorce laws, the right to own property, and the opportunity to participate in affairs outside the home. Like other reformers, they held a belief in progress, a sense of personal responsibility, and a conviction that corrupt institutions could be changed but the time for changing them was limited. They stated their movement’s principles in the Declaration of Sentiments at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. Feminists achieved few practical results at the time, but their leaders were long-lived and they persevered.

**PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS**

*Define the following:*

- separate spheres
- cult of true womanhood
- benevolent empire
communitarianism

polygamy

temperance

abolitionism

Describe the following:

Democracy in America

Second Great Awakening

American Temperance Union

Washingtonians

Maine Law

The Liberator
Liberty party

Seneca Falls Convention

Identify the following:

Alexis de Tocqueville

Charles Grandison Finney

Ann Lee

Shakers

Mormons

Joseph Smith

Brigham Young

Robert Owen
Charles Fourier

Dorthea Dix

William Lloyd Garrison

Theodore Dwight Weld

James G. Birney

Frederick Douglass

Sarah and Angelina Grimke

Elizabeth Cady Stanton

Susan B. Anthony

Locate the following places. Write in both the place name and its map location number.

1. America’s three largest cities in 1830.

________________________________________________________    ______________
2. Five new towns that developed in the Ohio-Mississippi River Valley as population moved west in the 1820s and 1830s.

3. The five major cities in the South in the 1820s and 1830s.
4. The “burned-over district” evangelized by Second Great Awakening revivalists in the 1820s and 1830s.

5. Site of the Mormon settlement in the Far West.

SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Question

1. Alexis de Tocqueville was most captivated by the evidence of _______ he observed in early-nineteenth-century America.
   A. racism
   B. poverty
   C. equality
   D. patriotism

2. In early-nineteenth-century American cities, inequalities of wealth
   A. were narrowing.
   B. were widening.
   C. remained stable.
   D. began to appear for the first time.

3. Most early-nineteenth-century Americans moved frequently in search of
   A. peace and solitude.
   B. economic opportunity.
   C. close and lasting social relationships.
   D. a healthier climate.

4. All of the following accompanied the industrial revolution in early-nineteenth-century America EXCEPT
   A. rapid population growth.
   B. growth in the size and number of cities.
   C. increase in the size of families.
   D. a declining birthrate.
5. Which one of the following was NOT a reason for the switch in power and influence from husbands to wives in early-nineteenth-century homes?
   A. women began to have fewer children
   B. cities began to grow
   C. nonagricultural jobs occupied a growing percent of the workforce
   D. women began to pursue independent careers

6. Which one of the following LEAST influenced women’s role in early-nineteenth-century America?
   A. the doctrine of separate spheres
   B. the women’s rights movement
   C. the cult of true womanhood
   D. their economic class

7. The early-nineteenth-century’s expectations of true womanhood included all of the following EXCEPT
   A. religious education.
   B. marital submissiveness.
   C. the nurture of children.
   D. public service.

8. In the early nineteenth century, America’s birth rate began to fall for all the following reasons EXCEPT
   A. young people began marrying later.
   B. the willful practice of sexual abstinence.
   C. the overall slower growth of the population.
   D. couples waiting longer to have children.

9. The leading evangelist of the Second Great Awakening was
   A. William Lloyd Garrison.
   B. Charles Grandison Finney.
   C. James G. Birney.
   D. Theodore Dwight Weld.

10. The Second Great Awakening evangelists expressed the belief that
    A. each individual could make a personal choice for his or her own salvation.
    B. infants were born in innate sin.
    C. God predetermined who would receive his grace.
    D. God revealed his Word by divine revelation.
11. Early-nineteenth-century middle-class families were becoming all the following EXCEPT
   A. smaller in size.
   B. a more intimate and caring group.
   C. more a unit of economic productivity.
   D. more socially active.

12. The “three pillars” of early-nineteenth-century American middle-class life included all the
    following EXCEPT
   A. church.
   B. family.
   C. voluntary associations.
   D. political parties.

13. The most important and long-lasting religious communitarian movement of the early
    nineteenth century was the
   A. utopian socialists.
   B. Shakers.
   C. Mormons.
   D. abolitionists.

14. Robert Owen’s New Harmony and Charles Fourier’s phalanxes were both experiments in
    A. economic classicism.
    B. utopian socialism.
    C. religious communalism.
    D. evangelical revivalism.

15. Most early-nineteenth-century reformers believed that people’s lives were primarily
    shaped by
   A. predestination.
   B. their social environment.
   C. human nature.
   D. fate.

16. The most widely supported and successful reform movement on the early nineteenth
    century was
   A. temperance.
   B. abolition.
   C. women’s rights.
   D. communalism.
17. Which one of the following is LEAST related to the other three?
   A. Washingtonian societies
   B. Maine law
   C. abolitionism
   D. temperance

18. Immediate abolitionists argued that the best way to end slavery was by
   A. persuading Americans that slavery was a moral evil.
   B. colonizing freed slaves back to Africa.
   C. freeing slaves’ children as they reached maturity.
   D. compensating slaveowners for freeing their slaves.

19. Match the names on the left with their role in abolitionism.
   A. William Lloyd Garrison  1. black abolitionist
   B. Frederick Douglass      2. radical abolitionist
   C. James G. Birney         3. abolitionist financier
                               4. abolitionist candidate
   A. A-1, B-2, C-3
   B. A-2, B-4, C-1
   C. A-2, B-1, C-4
   D. A-3, B-1, C-2

20. The principles of the women’s rights movement that were formulated at the Seneca Falls convention came in a document patterned after the
   A. Magna Carta.
   B. Constitution.
   C. Declaration of Independence.
   D. The Liberator.

**Essay Questions**

1. Assess the accuracy of Tocqueville’s view of early-nineteenth-century America as a land of equality. Cite evidence of unusual equality as well as the absence of equality in various aspects of American life at the time.

2. Assume the role of the head of a middle-class household in the 1820s. Describe how the changes taking place in the national economy affect your family’s life and how you are coping with those changes.

3. Explain how evangelical churches and voluntary associations compensated for changes the industrial revolution brought to the American family.
4. Choose one of the communitarian experiments mentioned in the chapter, assume the role as one of its members, and describe a day in your life in the commune.

5. Choose what you think were the two most significant early-nineteenth-century reform movements, tell why you chose those two, and assess their importance to American history.

**Critical Thinking Exercise**

**Cause and Effect**

In earlier chapters you completed exercises on causal chains and contributory causes to a single effect. Often, however, there will be several *effects* to a given cause or complex of causes.

![Diagram](image)

Chapter 10 focuses on the effects of economic change and social reform in the early nineteenth century. In the several groups below, mark out the items that were *not* effects of the stated cause(s), then write a sentence that expresses the cause and effect relationship in each group.

1. **Cause:** Population mobility  
   **Effects:** transformation of southern society, increase in the number of towns, population growth in the West, reduction in the gap between rich and poor, growth in size of large cities
2. **Cause:** Growth of industry  
   **Effects:** increased family income, improved living standards, new economic opportunities for women, decline of child labor, emergence of an organized working class

3. **Causes:** Growth of the factory system and cities  
   **Effects:** overall increase in family size, increased family intimacy, reduced economic importance of the family, ending of the “cult of true womanhood,” increased prestige and authority for wives/mothers

4. **Cause:** Second Great Awakening  
   **Effects:** mobilization of women to social action, increasing church membership, renewal of the doctrine of predestination, decline of Calvinist theology, heightened hopes for personal salvation

5. **Cause:** Abolitionist movement  
   **Effect:** caused some to question the morality of slavery, dramatically increased popular commitment to racial equality, provoked controversy among antislavery northerners, softened southern views on slavery, spawned a women’s rights movement
**CHAPTER 11**

*An American Culture*

**ANTICIPATION/REACTION**

*Directions*: Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you *now* agree. Use the column entitled “*Anticipation.*” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you *then* agree. Use the column entitled “*Reaction.*” Note any variation in the placement of check marks from *anticipation* to *reaction* and explain why you changed your mind.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Anticipation</strong></th>
<th><strong>Reaction</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ____ As the nineteenth century began, New England was the literary capital of the United States.</td>
<td>_____ 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ____ Writers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau were intensively individualistic and suspicious of “society.”</td>
<td>_____ 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ____ Writers such as Edgar Allan Poe and Nathaniel Hawthorne were not widely read or appreciated in their own day.</td>
<td>_____ 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ____ Early-nineteenth-century Southern literature was more Romantic than that of New England.</td>
<td>_____ 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ____ By 1850, all the states provided free elementary schools for their residents’ children.</td>
<td>_____ 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ____ The most compelling argument for free tax-supported schools which all children were expected to attend was that they would instill the values of hard work, punctuality, and submission to authority in the children of working-class families.</td>
<td>_____ 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ____ Of the nation’s first six presidents, only George Washington did not graduate from college</td>
<td>_____ 7.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 11 you should be able to:

1. Define literary Romanticism and Transcendentalism.
2. Identify the major themes in the works of leading early-nineteenth-century American Romantics.
3. State what purposes the common school was intended to serve in early-nineteenth-century America.
4. Identify major themes in America’s civic or popular culture in the early nineteenth century.
5. Describe the major accomplishments of American scientists in the early nineteenth century.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

In Search of Native Grounds

As the United States grew larger, richer, and more centralized in the early nineteenth century, a distinctively American culture emerged. Eastern literary groups encouraged the development of a distinctly American literature, but before 1830, only novelist James Fenimore Cooper made successful use of the national heritage and introduced nineteenth-century Romanticism to American readers—increasingly middle-class women. Romanticism stressed subjective emotional values, the beauty of nature, and the freedom of the individual. New York City was the nation’s literary capital before 1830, but it was soon to be overtaken by a renaissance in New England.

Before 1830 most of America’s best painters received their training in Europe. They did a flourishing business painting the portraits of wealthy merchants, planters, and Revolutionary War heroes. Self-trained primitive artists catered to the tastes of rural and middle-class patrons.

The Romantic View of Life

Romanticism was a revolt against the cold logic and intellectual orderliness of the Age of Reason. Romantics believed that change and growth were the essence of life. They valued intuition, individualism, optimism, and ingenuity. New England Transcendentalism was the fullest expression of American Romanticism. Transcendentalists subordinated intellect to feeling, stressed the uniqueness and innate goodness of each individual, and glorified nature, human aspiration, and self-confidence. They were complete individualists. What mattered to them was that each person aspire to stretch beyond his or her known capabilities.
Emerson and Thoreau

The leading Transcendentalist was the American philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson. In “The American Scholar” he urged Americans to seek inspiration in America’s own natural surroundings. Although he was confident that change would bring progress, he was too much the individualist and idealist to accept the cooperation and compromises required of an active social reformer. His faith in self-reliance made him an opponent of powerful government, but he did admire strong leadership.

Rampant materialism disgusted Henry David Thoreau. Like Emerson, he was a stubborn individualist and objected to social restrictions and strong government. In a hermitlike experiment he tried to demonstrate that an individual need not depend on society for a satisfying existence. His book, Walden, is an indictment of social conformity. In “Civil Disobedience” he justified the right of a citizen to disobey an unjust or immoral law; yet, like Emerson, he refused to participate in organized reform movements.

Edgar Allan Poe

Throughout his relatively short life, alcoholism, melancholia, and an obsession with death haunted Romantic poet Edgar Allan Poe. Yet he was an excellent editor, critic, and poet, and a fine short story writer. His highly imaginative works reveal his fascination with mystery, fright, and the occult. He perfected the detective story, dealt with science fiction themes, and was a master of the horror story. Although he rejected most middle-class values, his well-crafted works were widely read. His poem “The Raven” was instantly popular.

Nathaniel Hawthorne

Novelist and short story writer Nathaniel Hawthorne disliked the egoism and bland optimism of the Transcendentalists. He made excellent use of New England history and culture as background, but his works were chiefly concerned with the individual’s struggle with sin, guilt, and pride. His The Scarlet Letter perfectly reflected these themes. He was widely read and appreciated in his own day, and he was active in Jacksonian politics.

Herman Melville

Like his friend, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville could not accept the pervasive optimism of his day, but he did admire Emerson and, like Emerson, he protested the subordination of human beings to machines. Melville dealt with the dark side of human nature in Moby Dick, a subtle and symbolic treatment of good and evil, faith and pride. It is one of the world’s finest novels, but, unlike Poe and Hawthorne, Melville’s more profound work was little appreciated by his contemporaries.
Walt Whitman

Walt Whitman was the most Romantic and authentically American writer of his age. Like Hawthorne, he was politically active, but he greatly admired Emerson and the Transcendentalists, especially their view that inspiration and aspiration, not intellect, were at the heart of all human achievement. His free verse poetry in *Leaves of Grass* reflects his uncritical and undisciplined reliance on natural inclinations.

The Wider Literary Renaissance

Although less profound and original than his famous New England contemporaries, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s many poems were enormously popular, and he captured the spirit of his times better than any of them. New Englanders such as George Bancroft and Francis Parkman also dominated the writing of history. These avidly-read histories were written for a popular audience and incorporated Romantic themes. Southern literature was even more Romantic than that of New England. South Carolina’s William Gilmore Simms was the most versatile, influential, and prolific of southern writers.

Domestic Tastes

Charles Bulfinch developed a Federalist style of architecture that gave Boston a unique dignity and charm. The elaborately decorated Gothic style was more suitable to the prevailing Romanticism and more widely popular. Americans of the period were growing increasingly attracted to native American art. The Romantic Hudson River school specialized in grandiose pictures of wild landscapes. Art unions formed to encourage native art. They were a boon to many artists and helped introduce competent artwork into middle-class homes. Crude but charming lithographs by Currier and Ives were even more widely popular.

Education for Democracy

The early-nineteenth-century common school movement was based on the Jeffersonian belief that the success of a democratic government depended on an educated citizenry. Common schools were free tax-supported schools that were administered statewide and employed professionally-trained teachers. New England’s Horace Mann, whose faith was in the improvability of the human race through education, became the chief advocate of these public schools. By the 1850s every state outside the South provided free elementary schools and supported teachers’ colleges.
Common schools were successful for a variety of reasons: Employers needed trained and well-disciplined workers, non-English and non-Protestant immigrants needed to be “Americanized,” and working-class children needed to be instilled with middle-class values. Most assuredly, common schools were a mutually beneficial melting pot of America’s increasingly economically differentiated and ethnically diverse population.

**Reading and the Dissemination of Culture**

The growth of an urban middle class increased interest in cultural refinement. Improved printing technology reduced the price of books, magazines, and newspapers, making them more accessible to the public. Moralistic and sentimental “domestic” novels and nondenominational evangelical Christian literature were best-sellers. Self-improvement and “how-to” books were also very popular.

Philanthropists’ support made many educational activities available to all. Mutual improvement societies called lyceums illustrate the new popularity of knowledge and culture. Lyceums established libraries, lobbied for better schools, and sponsored lecture series featuring leading scholars of the day.

**The State of the Colleges**

Early-nineteenth-century America had too many colleges for too few students. These private and expensive institutions generally geared their curriculum toward the training of clergymen. In the 1840s some colleges began to introduce more courses in science, economics, and mathematics. Western and southern colleges offered mechanical and agricultural subjects, and some colleges began to enroll women.

**Civic Cultures**

Boston, Philadelphia, and New York vied for primacy as the cultural center of the United States. In the West, Cincinnati emerged as the center of trans-Allegheny culture. Nevertheless, many cities had literary and natural history societies and were regular stops on the lyceum circuit.

**American Humor**

Humorists often exploited the contrast between American ideals and the reality of American life in the early nineteenth century. The anti-intellectual Jacksonians were the favorite butt of New England’s intellectual satirists. Juxtaposing the genteel and vulgar in American life was also popular in the South and West, as were themes of violence and shady characters.
PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

Romanticism

Transcendentalism

common school

lyceum

Describe the following:

The Last of the Mohicans

Walden

“Civil Disobedience”

“The Raven”

The Scarlet Letter
Moby Dick

Leaves of Grass

Identify the following:

James Fenimore Cooper

Washington Irving

Benjamin West

John Singleton Copley

Charles William Peale

Gilbert Stuart

Ralph Waldo Emerson

Henry David Thoreau

Edgar Allan Poe
Nathaniel Hawthorne

Herman Melville

Walt Whitman

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

William Gilmore Simms

Hudson River school

Currier and Ives

Horace Mann

William Beaumont
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The center of American literary Romanticism in the 1830s and 1840s was
   A. New York City.
   B. New England.
   C. the South.
   D. the West.

2. Transcendentalists believed the key to truth was
   A. reason.
   B. intuition.
   C. the Bible.
   D. formal education.

3. Most Transcendentalists believed that the good would prevail if each individual
   A. simply obeyed the law.
   B. did what seemed most logical and reasonable.
   C. followed the dictates of his or her own conscience.
   D. became active in social reform movements.

4. America’s leading Transcendentalist was
   A. Nathaniel Hawthorne.
   B. Herman Melville.
   C. Ralph Waldo Emerson.
   D. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

5. Although most literary romantics admired Emerson, they often disagreed with his views on
   A. individualism.
   B. powerful government.
   C. materialism.
   D. social activism.

6. Henry David Thoreau’s *Walden* was an indictment of
   A. civil disobedience.
   B. individualism.
   C. conformity.
   D. idealism.
7. Edgar Allan Poe’s works dealt with all the following themes EXCEPT
   A. mystery.
   B. horror.
   C. science fiction.
   D. self-help.

8. The New England writer who was most fascinated by the themes of sin, guilt, and pride in America’s Puritan heritage was
   A. Nathaniel Hawthorne.
   B. Herman Melville.
   C. Henry David Thoreau.
   D. Edgar Allan Poe.

9. Pessimism and the darker side of human nature were favorite themes in the works of all of the following EXCEPT
   A. Nathaniel Hawthorne.
   B. Ralph Waldo Emerson.
   C. Edgar Allan Poe.
   D. Herman Melville.

10. Walt Whitman’s poetry is probably best described as
    A. highly intellectual.
    B. strongly critical.
    C. undisciplined.
    D. uninspired.

11. The highly talented and popular New England poet who wrote of Paul Revere’s famous ride was
    A. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.
    B. James Russell Lowell.
    C. William Gilmore Simms.
    D. Edgar Allan Poe.

12. The Hudson River school of artists specialized in
    A. Gothic architecture.
    B. Classical themes.
    C. portraits.
    D. grandiose landscapes.

13. Educational reforms in the early nineteenth century did NOT
    A. establish publicly financed elementary schools.
    B. restore colleges to the honored place they had enjoyed in the Revolutionary era.
    C. create state-administered public school systems.
    D. found normal schools to train teachers.
14. One of the United States’ chief advocates of public schools in the early nineteenth century was
   A. William Beaumont.
   B. Horace Mann.
   C. Hosea Biglow.
   D. Charles Bulfinch.

15. Proponents of common schools did NOT argue that these schools would
   A. save taxpayers money.
   B. train and discipline workers.
   C. Americanize immigrants.
   D. spread middle-class values.

16. Most early-nineteenth-century popular literature dealt with all the following themes EXCEPT
   A. sentimentality.
   B. self-improvement.
   C. science.
   D. religion.

17. Most early-nineteenth-century American colleges
   A. maintained strict discipline of their student body.
   B. were relatively inexpensive to attend.
   C. were overcrowded.
   D. were privately endowed.

18. Beyond elementary school, most early-nineteenth-century Americans’ higher education relied on attendance at
   A. college.
   B. high school.
   C. lyceum lectures.
   D. scientific demonstrations.

19. The cultural center of the trans-Allegheny West in early-nineteenth-century America was
   A. St. Louis.
   B. Pittsburgh.
   C. Louisville.
   D. Cincinnati.
20. A favorite theme of early-nineteenth-century American satirists was the contrast between
   A. Romanticism and Transcendentalism.
   B. ideals and reality.
   C. democracy and equality.
   D. individualism and freedom.

**Essay Questions**

1. State the values of literary Romanticism. Do you agree or disagree with these values? Why or why not?

2. Which of the major Romantic authors seems most interesting to you? Why?

3. What arguments were used in support of the establishment of free tax-supported schools in early-nineteenth-century America? Which argument sounds most plausible to you? Why?

4. Why do you think American science was unremarkable in the early nineteenth century? What, of scientific value, was accomplished?

5. Compare and contrast the major themes in literary Romanticism and the civic or popular culture of early-nineteenth-century America.

**CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE**

**Classification**

In previous chapters you worked with classification matrices to help you gain control of the narrative information presented in the textbook. In those cases, much of the classification matrix was already prepared for you to complete. In the following exercise, you are to prepare your own classification matrix that will identify six major early-nineteenth-century authors (Emerson, Thoreau, Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, and Whitman) with their views and the major themes of their writing. The six authors will be listed along one side of the classification matrix. You must decide what themes and views to list along the other side of the matrix, then indicate at proper intersections whether the author’s view or treatment of that theme was positive or negative, or whether he treated that theme at all. Carefully read the relevant early sections of Chapter 11 to find useful information.

Your matrix, then, must show each author’s views and themes (insofar as the text provides that information). For example, your matrix should show at a glance that Emerson’s and Thoreau’s views were optimistic (a theme in their writings), but the views and themes of Poe, Hawthorne, and Melville were more pessimistic. There is no direct reference in the text on optimism as a theme in Whitman’s work (though one can infer from the text that he was optimistic). Thus, a
portion of your chart might look something like this (using “+” as a positive view by the author toward the theme, “-” as a negative view, and “na” as an absence of information.

*Hint:* Some of the themes you might include (try to find about a dozen) are attitudes toward individualism, materialism, human nature, and so on.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views and Themes of Early-nineteenth-century American Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>optimism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>individualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>materialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human nature</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 12

Expansion and Slavery

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. Use the column entitled “Anticipation.” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Use the column entitled “Reaction.” Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| _____ 1.     | ______ 1.
|   1.         | ______ 1.
|   Stephen F. Austin commanded Texas’ army during the Texas Revolution in 1835-1836. |   in the mid-nineteenth century, most Americans believed it was God’s will that the United States govern all of North America. |
| _____ 2.     | ______ 2.
|   2.         | ______ 2.
|   In the mid-nineteenth century, most Americans believed it was God’s will that the United States govern all of North America. |   Attack by Indians was the most common and serious problem faced by pioneers on the Oregon Trail. |
| _____ 3.     | ______ 3.
|   3.         | ______ 3.
|   Attack by Indians was the most common and serious problem faced by pioneers on the Oregon Trail. |   Third parties were of little significance in presidential politics from 1836 to 1852. |
| _____ 4.     | ______ 4.
|   4.         | ______ 4.
|   Third parties were of little significance in presidential politics from 1836 to 1852. |   Americans rallied to support President Polk and the war against Mexico in 1846-1848. |
| _____ 5.     | ______ 5.
|   5.         | ______ 5.
|   Americans rallied to support President Polk and the war against Mexico in 1846-1848. |   United States acquisition of Mexican territory in 1848 had little effect on the slavery controversy in the United States. |
| _____ 6.     | ______ 6.
|   6.         | ______ 6.
|   United States acquisition of Mexican territory in 1848 had little effect on the slavery controversy in the United States. |   The 1850 Fugitive Slave Law was enacted to protect runaway slaves from recapture by hired southern slave catchers. |

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 12 you should be able to:

1. Define “manifest destiny” and relate it to the conduct of American diplomacy in the 1840s.
2. Explain why the United States and Mexico went to war in 1846 and explain how the United States won the war.
3. Describe how the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo set the stage for a renewed debate over slavery in the United States.

4. State the terms of the Compromise of 1850 and explain why it was thought by many to be the final solution to the slavery issue.

5. Compare and contrast the views of national leaders as they debated the issue of slavery in the territories between 1845 and 1850.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Tyler’s Troubles

President John Tyler, a proud but unimaginative man, did not get along well with Whig leaders in Congress. One of them, Senator Henry Clay, designed a congressional program that ignored Tyler’s states’ rights views. Clay wanted to create a new national bank, raise tariffs, distribute surplus federal funds back to the states, and, with the Preemption Act, legalize the right of squatters to occupy and purchase unsurveyed public land. Tyler vetoed the Bank bill and, once Congress repealed the Distribution Act, signed the Tariff of 1842 raising tariff rates.

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty

Tyler’s secretary of state, Daniel Webster, negotiated a settlement of the disputed boundary between Maine and New Brunswick. The popular Webster-Ashburton Treaty was a workable compromise that avoided injury to vital business relations between the United States and Great Britain.

The Texas Question

By 1830, thousands of Americans were occupying free land in Mexican Texas and were commonly defying Mexican laws governing religion and slavery. Mexican authorities attempted, without success, to close the Texas border to further American immigration. Resentful American immigrants in Texas rose in revolt against President Santa Anna’s dictatorship in 1835. After massacres at the Alamo and Goliad, Sam Houston’s Texan army defeated Mexican forces at San Jacinto, who then retreated across the Rio Grande. President Jackson then recognized the new government of the independent Republic of Texas. Most Texans wanted Texas annexed to the United States, but fear of war with Mexico and concern that it might stir up the slavery controversy delayed the annexation of Texas until 1845. Meanwhile, much to the annoyance of Americans, especially southerners, Texas developed friendly ties to Great Britain.
Manifest Destiny

Since the first colonial founding, Americans had continuously expanded their territorial holdings. By the 1840s Americans were confident that one day the United States would be a powerful nation stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was, they thought, the “manifest destiny” of Americans (God’s chosen people) to occupy and exploit the entire continent and make it a showcase of democracy and economic opportunity.

Life on the Trail

Pioneers heading west more often faced dangers from accidents, poor sanitation, and exposure than from Indian attack. The demands of westward migration required family self-sufficiency where all labor was shared. Letters and journals reveal that life on the trail was especially taxing for women made weary and disillusioned by the difficulties of day-to-day existence.

California and Oregon

California and Oregon were the favorite destinations of westward pioneers in the 1840s. “Oregon fever”—a form of patriotic crusade and land rush produced by manifest destiny and the glowing reports of the lush Willamette Valley—gripped the nation. Thousands of pioneers embarked on the Oregon Trail that stretched from Missouri to the Columbia River. Most pioneers were young families, usually from the Ohio Valley, who undertook the five-month ordeal of labor, discomfort, and uncertainty as a self-governing community on the move. West Coast harbors also offered economic opportunity to eastern merchants. They were the keys to trade with the Orient. Because Mexico owned California and the British had claims in the Oregon Country, these became objects of diplomatic concern to American leaders.

The Election of 1844

But it was Texas that dominated the politics of 1844. Clay and Van Buren wanted to ignore the Texas annexation issue, but the Democrats nominated “dark horse” expansionist James K. Polk, who pledged the “reannexation” of Texas and “reoccupation” of Oregon. The election was extremely close. The decisive factor was the abolitionist Liberty party’s capture of enough votes in New York to deny its Electoral College votes to Clay. Polk’s narrow victory was taken as a mandate for expansion, and Congress passed a joint resolution to annex Texas. In December 1845, Texas became a state.

Polk as President

James K. Polk was an uncommonly successful president. Congress followed his leadership to lower the tariff, restore the independent treasury, and halt federal funding of internal improvements. He also successfully pursued the acquisition of Oregon and California. Polk’s
astute diplomacy with Great Britain led to the division of the Oregon country at the 49th Parallel from the Rockies to the Pacific, yet gave the United States use of the Strait of Juan de Fuca into Puget Sound.

**War with Mexico**

In 1846, the expansionist spirit in the United States would bully proud Mexico into a war for territorial conquest. When Texas was annexed in 1845, Mexico, who had never recognized Texas’ independence, broke diplomatic relations with the United States. Polk sent General Zachary Taylor’s army to South Texas to defend the disputed border with Mexico. He then sent John Slidell to Mexico City with an offer to settle the dispute in Texas and buy California. Mexican authorities rejected Slidell, Polk ordered Taylor’s army to the Rio Grande, and hostilities began. Polk, treating the matter as a *fait accompli*, asked Congress for a declaration of war. Taylor’s army enjoyed immediate success against a poorly equipped and poorly led Mexican army.

**To the Halls of Montezuma**

Polk was an effective commander-in-chief, but his top ranking generals were Whigs. This injected divisive partisanship into the conduct of the war. Further, from the outset, Polk faced opposition to the war: Many northerners feared the war would lead to the expansion of slavery, and some Whigs alleged that Polk had deceived Congress and provoked an unnecessary war of aggression against Mexico.

The Mexican War was a continuous series of military victories by American armies in a three-pronged invasion of Mexico. United States forces, with the help of American settlers already there, occupied California. Taylor’s army occupied northern Mexico, and, after a successful amphibious landing at Vera Cruz and overland march, General Winfield Scott’s army captured Mexico City.

**The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo**

Polk sent diplomat Nicholas Trist to negotiate a peace treaty in Mexico City. In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico accepted the Texas boundary at the Rio Grande and ceded New Mexico and Upper California to the United States. The United States agreed to pay Mexico $15 million and assume $3.25 million of Mexican debts owed to American citizens.

**The Fruits of Victory: Further Enlargement of the United States**

In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States acquired an immense amount of new territory at relatively small cost. As a consequence, the wealth of the 1848-1849 California gold
rush would enrich the United States, not Mexico. This seemed an ultimate confirmation of manifest destiny.

**Slavery: The Fire Bell in the Night Rings Again**

While prosperity came from territorial expansion, sectional harmony did not. Once again the nation had to answer the question, Is slavery to be allowed into the territories of the United States? The Constitution prevented any federal control of slavery in the states, but it gave Congress complete control in the territories. This was where slavery’s opponents could combat the institution they deplored.

Pennsylvania Congressman David Wilmot opened the debate with a proviso that would have prevented the expansion of slavery into the territory acquired from Mexico. It passed the House, but failed in the Senate where John C. Calhoun argued that Congress had no right to bar slavery from any territory. Others tried to find grounds for compromise between Wilmot and Calhoun. Polk suggested extending the 36° 30’ line of the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific coast. Michigan Senator Lewis Cass proposed to settle the issue by “popular sovereignty”—organizing the territories without mention of slavery and letting local settlers decide whether theirs would be a free or slave territory. This seemed a democratic way to solve the problem and it allowed Congress to escape having to make the decision.

**The Election of 1848**

Neither the Whigs who nominated Zachary Taylor nor the Democrats who backed Lewis Cass took a position on the issue of slavery in the territories in the 1848 presidential campaign. But Liberty party abolitionists and “barnburner” Democrats who opposed the expansion of slavery formed the Free Soil party and nominated Martin Van Buren. Offered a choice among Taylor’s honest ignorance, Cass’ cynical opportunism, and Van Buren’s principled conviction, voters chose the first of these and elected Taylor by a narrow margin.

**The Gold Rush**

Still, the question of slavery in the territories had to be faced. Thousands flooded into California’s gold fields in 1848-1849, provoking ethnic conflict and demands for a territorial government. Hoping to avoid reopening the slavery controversy, President Taylor proposed to admit California to statehood without the prior organization of a territorial government. Californians submitted an antislavery constitution with their request for admission. Southerners were outraged because they felt betrayed by the slave-owning Taylor and because the admission of California would give the free states a majority and control of the Senate.
The Compromise of 1850

Once again, Henry Clay rose to offer a compromise that might settle every sectional conflict related to slavery. He proposed that California be admitted as a free state, the remainder of the Mexican Cession be organized without mention of slavery, a Texas-New Mexico boundary controversy be settled in New Mexico’s favor, Texas be compensated with a federal assumption of its preannexation debt, the slave trade (but not slavery) be abolished in Washington, D.C., and a more effective fugitive slave law be enacted and vigorously enforced.

Clay’s proposals generated a great debate. Calhoun argued for a federal guarantee for slavery in all territories, Webster backed Clay’s proposals, and abolitionist Senator William Seward cited a “higher (moral) law” that bound him to oppose the return of fugitive slaves. The death of President Taylor broke the deadlock. Senator Stephen Douglas maneuvered the proposals through Congress, including the antilibertarian Fugitive Slave Act that denied those who were accused of being runaway slaves a jury trial and compelled northerners to cooperate in their capture. The proposals passed one by one, and for the time the Compromise of 1850 preserved the Union.

PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

Manifest Destiny

joint resolution

popular sovereignty

Describe the following:

Distribution Act

Webster-Ashburton Treaty
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

Wilmot Proviso

Free Soil party

Fugitive Slave Act

Compromise of 1850

*Identify the following:*

John Tyler

Henry Clay

Daniel Webster

Stephen F. Austin

Santa Anna
Sam Houston ________________________________

__________________________________________

John C. Calhoun ______________________________

__________________________________________

James K. Polk ________________________________

__________________________________________

Zachary Taylor ________________________________

__________________________________________

John Slidell ________________________________

__________________________________________

Winfield Scott ________________________________

__________________________________________

Nicholas P. Trist ________________________________

__________________________________________

Lewis Cass ________________________________

__________________________________________

Barnburners ________________________________

__________________________________________

Martin Van Buren ________________________________

__________________________________________

Stephen A. Douglas ________________________________

__________________________________________
1. The state whose boundary was involved in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

________________________________________________________    ______________

2. The site of the battle where Texan troops were all killed while attempting to stop a Mexican army invasion of Texas in 1835.

________________________________________________________    ______________

3. Three major Pacific ports acquired by the United States in the 1840s.

________________________________________________________    ______________
________________________________________________________    ______________
________________________________________________________    ______________

4. The river where a military skirmish ignited the Mexican War in 1846.

________________________________________________________    ______________

5. The independent nation that was annexed by the United States in 1845.

________________________________________________________    ______________
6. The boundary line established in the Oregon Settlement in 1846.

7. The state admitted to the Union as a free state in the Compromise of 1850.

8. The territories where, in the Compromise of 1850, the question of slavery was left open to resolution by popular sovereignty.

**SELF-TEST**

**Multiple-Choice Questions**

1. All but one of President Tyler’s cabinet members resigned in protest when he vetoed a bill to
   A. distribute surplus federal funds back to the states.
   B. establish a new Bank of the United States.
   C. allow squatters to occupy and buy unsurveyed public land.
   D. prevent the expansion of slavery into any unoccupied territory.

2. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty dealt with the question of
   A. joint United States-British occupation of Oregon.
   B. United States annexation of Texas.
   C. the United States’ boundary with Canada.
   D. the United States’ boundary with Mexico.

3. Mexican authorities were so alarmed by the number of American settlers in Texas by 1830 that they
   A. canceled all land grants given to Americans.
   B. sent an invading army under the command of Santa Anna.
   C. required the Americans to learn and speak Spanish.
   D. closed the Texas border to any further American immigration.
4. The United States refused to annex Texas in 1836 because
   A. most of Texas’ inhabitants were native Mexicans.
   B. Texans did not want to be annexed to the United States.
   C. the American government was opposed to armed rebellions against established governments.
   D. of fear that it would provoke war with Mexico.

5. The phrase “manifest destiny” expressed a popular attitude favoring
   A. the abolition of slavery.
   B. evangelical revivalism.
   C. slavery.
   D. territorial expansion.

6. Migration to Oregon in the 1840s was stimulated by
   A. Mormon missionaries who had explored the area.
   B. the discovery of gold in the Columbia River.
   C. reports of rich agricultural land there.
   D. the Hudson Bay Company’s boom in the fur trade.

7. The destination of most of those who took the Oregon Trail was the
   A. Sacramento Valley.
   B. Willamette Valley.
   C. Great Salt Lake.
   D. port cities of San Diego and San Francisco.

8. James Polk’s election to the presidency in 1844 was taken to be a popular endorsement for
   A. extending slavery into the territories of the United States.
   B. war with Mexico.
   C. acquiring new territories.
   D. reopening the slave trade.

9. Match the territory in the left column with its manner of attachment to the United States.
   A. California 1. annexed by joint resolution of Congress
   B. Oregon 2. claimed by treaty with Britain
   C. Texas 3. acquired by conquest of Mexico
   D. purchased from Spain
   A. A-1, B-2, C-3
   B. A-4, B-2, C-3
   C. A-3, B-2, C-4
   D. A-3, B-2, C-1
10. All of the following preceded the United States’ war with Mexico EXCEPT
   A. Zachary Taylor’s forces occupied the territory just north of the Rio Grande.
   B. an emissary was sent to Mexico to try to purchase California.
   C. Texas was annexed to the United States.
   D. gold was discovered in California.

11. Of those listed here, the earliest battle of the Mexican War was
   A. Resaca de la Palma.
   B. Monterey.
   C. Vera Cruz.
   D. Cerro Gordo.

12. Put in proper sequence, the United States acquired  (A) Oregon, (B) Texas, (C) California
   A. A then B then C
   B. C then B then A
   C. B then A then C
   D. B then C then A

13. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was negotiated by
   A. Nicholas Trist.
   B. Winfield Scott.
   C. John Slidell.
   D. William Seward.

14. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo provided for all of the following EXCEPT
   A. Mexican recognition of the Rio Grande as its border with Texas.
   B. United States’ acquisition of both California and New Mexico.
   C. a $15 million payment from the United States to Mexico.
   D. prohibition of slavery in the territories Mexico ceded to the United States.

15. If it had passed Congress, the Wilmot Proviso would have
   A. banned slavery from the territory ceded by Mexico to the United States.
   B. reopened the territory north of 36° 30’ to slavery.
   C. left the question of slavery to be decided by vote of territorial legislatures.
   D. provided for immediate admission of California as a free state.

16. In the election of 1848, opposition to expansion of slavery into the territories was the position taken by
   A. Zachary Taylor.
   B. Lewis Cass.
   C. Martin Van Buren.
   D. James Polk.
In 1849, President Taylor outraged his southern supporters with his proposal to
A. ban slavery from all U.S. territories.
B. admit California as a free state.
C. endorse the concept of popular sovereignty.
D. veto the Wilmot Proviso.

The major concession made to the South in the Compromise of 1850 was the proposal regarding the
A. return of fugitive slaves.
B. Texas-New Mexico boundary dispute.
C. slave trade in Washington, D.C.
D. admission of California to statehood.

The most upsetting proposal in the Compromise of 1850 to northerners was that it
A. legalized slavery in Washington, D.C.
B. gave the southern states control of the Senate.
C. guaranteed the protection of slave property in the territories.
D. compelled them to cooperate in the capture of runaway slaves.

Arrange these events in their proper time order: (A) David Wilmot proposes a proviso in Congress, (B) the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ends the Mexican War, (C) Congress passes the Compromise of 1850, (D) Zachary Taylor is elected president.
A. A, B, C, D
B. B, A, D, C
C. C, D, B, A
D. A, B, D, C

Essay Questions

1. Explain why Americans were susceptible to the expansionist impulses of manifest destiny in the 1840s.

2. State the causes of the Mexican War. Do you think President Polk provoked Mexico into an unnecessary war? Why or why not?

3. Describe the relationship between the Mexican War, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Wilmot Proviso, and the great debate on slavery in the territories that led to the Compromise of 1850.

4. State the terms of the Compromise of 1850 and explain why many thought this was the final solution to the slavery issue in the United States.
5. Compare and contrast the views of Clay, Calhoun, Taylor, and Cass on the issue of slavery in the territories. Whose position do you find most persuasive? Why?

**Critical Thinking Exercise**

**Cause and Effect**

In previous chapters you completed exercises dealing with causal chains and with contributory causes to historical events. In this exercise you will consider both of these in relation to three events: Texas annexation to the United States, the Mexican War, and the Compromise of 1850.

*Each of the following three groups of items is a causal chain leading to the stated effect. Arrange the items in the chain in correct chronological order by numbering them in the sequence in which they occurred.*

1. Effect: Texas Annexation

   ______ Republic of Texas created
   ______ Texas Revolution begins
   ______ President Jackson recognizes the Republic of Texas
   ______ Battle of the Alamo
   ______ James K. Polk elected president

2. Effect: Mexican War

   ______ John Slidell’s mission to Mexico City
   ______ Texas annexation
   ______ General Taylor’s army skirmishes with Mexican troops on the Rio Grande
   ______ Mexico breaks diplomatic relations with the United States
   ______ General Taylor’s army sent to South Texas
3. Effect: Compromise of 1850

- Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
- Free Soil party organized
- Wilmot Proviso introduced to Congress
- California gold rush
- President Taylor dies

In the following exercise, describe how each of the listed items was a contributory cause of the effect indicated.

4. Effect: Texas Annexation

- Election of 1844

- British interest in Texas

5. Effect: Mexican War

- Annexation of Texas

- Manifest Destiny

- Mexican policies

- Election of 1844
President Polk’s diplomacy

6. Effect: Compromise of 1850

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

deiath of President Taylor

popular sovereignty

Stephen A. Douglas
CHAPTER 13

The Sections Go Their Ways

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. Use the column entitled “Anticipation.” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Use the column entitled “Reaction.” Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_____ 1. By 1850, cotton was losing its dominance in southern agriculture, and the economic importance of slavery was declining.</td>
<td>_____ 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 2. Because of its increasingly higher costs and inefficiencies, slavery was an unprofitable system of labor by 1850.</td>
<td>_____ 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 3. Once the Atlantic slave trade was outlawed in 1808, America’s slave population grew very slowly.</td>
<td>_____ 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 4. Early-nineteenth-century factory workers’ wages were high enough to prevent a “poor class” from developing in the United States.</td>
<td>_____ 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 5. Although labor unions were legal in the early nineteenth century, few efforts at labor organization were successful.</td>
<td>_____ 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 6. Most of the investment capital that built America’s early railroads came from local and state governments and from the federal government.</td>
<td>_____ 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 7. By 1860, American farmers had become so productive that overproduction had become a problem.</td>
<td>_____ 7.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 13 you should be able to:

1. Assess the importance of slavery to the South’s economy between 1820 and 1860.
2. Describe the sociological and psychological dimensions of slave life on the eve of the Civil War.
3. Describe the conditions of northern labor in the mid-nineteenth century and explain why workers did not organize in their own interests.
4. Summarize the significance of the railroads to the development of the national economy before the Civil War.
5. Explain how the economic differences between the North and South and the pattern of railroad construction fed sectional sentiment before the Civil War.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The South

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the United States was developing a national market economy marked by regional interdependence and increased agricultural and industrial specialization. The South remained predominantly agricultural. It was less affected than other sections by urbanization, European immigration, the transportation revolution, and industrialization. Cotton was still king in the Deep South, and it remained the major American export and continued to march westward. But the Upper South, with the use of fertilizers and other agricultural innovations, produced tobacco, corn, and wheat and an increasing diversity of crops.

The Economics of Slavery

As the cotton culture spread westward, slavery strengthened its hold on the South. The demand for slaves was greatest in the Deep South, and the Upper South and seaboard states sold over a million of their slaves “down the river” at ever higher prices. Slave trading was a profitable business, but it frequently led to the break-up of slave families, especially in the Upper South. As the price of slaves increased, only wealthy southerners could afford to buy them, so by 1860 slave ownership was concentrated in the hands of only one-fourth of southern families. Slavery was profitable, but it diverted southern capital away from investment in trade and manufacturing. Thus, northern business firms handled the marketing and transportation of the southern cotton crop. At bottom, slavery was a stagnant and inefficient labor system that wasted talent and energy.
Antebellum Plantation Life

A “typical” plantation resembled a small village or a self-sufficient colonial farm. In slaveholding families, the division of labor was less gender-related than in the North, and, though the system was paternalistic, southern women had immense responsibilities on the plantation. Both slave men and women worked as field hands, but slave children typically were given only small tasks until the age of ten. Slave families typically lived in crude one-room cabins.

The Sociology of Slavery

Unlike in other slave systems, the southern slave population grew by natural increase. Only about a half-million slaves had been imported by 1808 when the foreign slave trade ended, but there were four million blacks in the United States in 1860. This was a growth rate nearly equal to the white.

How slaves were treated depended on the master, although their economic value gave some protection to slaves, and white masters usually supplied adequate care to their slaves. Still, slaves had a higher infant mortality rate and shorter life expectancy than whites. Slaves had no legal rights, but they found some relief from their oppression in their families and their religion. Within these institutions they were able to sustain a sense of their own worth and enjoy spiritual freedom.

Most whites thought slaves were inherently lazy. But this “laziness” was the slave’s rational response to forced, uncompensated labor. Most whites also mistakenly believed that slaves were content with their situation. Paradoxically, whites also feared slave insurrection. Savage reprisal was the fate of slave rebels such as Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner, and white fears made the slave system increasingly oppressive. Interest in abolishing slavery vanished in the South, and state laws made it more difficult for masters to free their own slaves.

Slaves were much harder to supervise and control in cities. So, because of slavery, the South remained rural and agricultural. Whites considered free blacks a dangerous example for slaves, and many states passed laws that required free blacks to emigrate. These laws, and anti-slave trade laws, were not strictly enforced because of the South’s need for black labor, slave or free.

Psychological Effects of Slavery

Slavery was unjust and corroded the personalities of both slaves and whites. Slave revolts were infrequent, but runaways were common. Other slaves seemed resigned to their fate, or found less dramatic ways to protest the system. Slaves had strong families, their own culture, and a sense of community—all of which sustained them—but slavery discouraged their development of independent judgment and self-reliance.
Slavery also warped the whites. Whites developed contradictory stereotypes of slaves’ nature. To whites, slaves were at the same time lazy and aggressive, nurturing and seductive. White men often took advantage of slave women, and the system generally encouraged whites to be self-indulgent. Slavery also degraded manual labor in the eyes of the South’s poor whites, and it provided unsuccessful whites with a scapegoat for their failure. It also reinforced the tendency toward male dominance in southern society and it caused otherwise decent people to be cruel.

**Manufacturing in the South**

There was some manufacturing in the antebellum South. The availability of cotton and waterpower made textile manufacturing profitable. But southern manufacturing was small in scale compared to the North; in 1860 less than 15 percent of the nation’s manufactured goods came from the South, and even that depended on technical and financial aid from the North.

**The Northern Industrial Juggernaut**

Industry grew rapidly in the North. There, steam power was critical to the expansion of the factory system, and industry was remarkably receptive to technological change. In the United States, individual freedom encouraged resourcefulness and experimentation, business growth encouraged new techniques, and the shortage of skilled labor encouraged the substitution of machinery. America’s industrial revolution also rested on a growing availability of a seemingly inexhaustible supply of natural resources. Americans were also losing their historical prejudice against corporations, making possible the larger accumulation of capital. Industrial growth increased the demand for labor, but the expanding western frontier drained off many eastern laborers and artisans who would not work for low wages in industry. New machinery weakened the bargaining power of skilled workers by making their skills less important. Immigration, capital investment from Europe, improvements in transportation, population growth, and the absence of internal tariff barriers also helped stimulate industry and expand the national market for manufactured goods.

**A Nation of Immigrants**

Industrial expansion created jobs that attracted thousands of immigrants to the United States. Resident “native” Americans tended to look down on these immigrants, and natives and immigrants shared a prejudice toward blacks. By 1860, Irish immigrants, who seemed a more permanent and pliable work force, had largely replaced the young farmwomen who worked in New England’s textile mills.
How Wage Earners Lived

Immigrants and factory workers often lived in crowded slums in industrial cities where life was squalid and dangerous. Low wages meant wives and children of most factory workers also had to work to help the family survive. Nevertheless, most skilled workers improved their lot somewhat.

Most workers did not belong to unions. Early unions and workingmen’s political parties were virtually destroyed by internal bickering and the depression of the late 1830s. Nevertheless, in the 1840s and 1850s many states passed laws that both limited the workday to ten hours and regulated child labor. In Commonwealth v. Hunt (1842), the Massachusetts courts established the legality of labor unions, and other state courts followed this precedent. Still, before 1860 most labor unions were small and local. Laborers rarely thought of themselves as members of a permanent working class. Republican values, a high rate of social and geographic mobility, and the availability of immigrant, women, and child workers, made labor organization difficult.

Progress and Poverty

Mid-nineteenth-century America was a land of opportunity with a relatively high standard of living. Yet, at the same time there was an underclass of poorly-paid and unskilled workers, mostly immigrants. Toward these, middle-class Americans seemed indifferent or unaware. Industrialization and the immigration of poor workers made American society more stratified and widened the differences in wealth and status. Still, the ideology of egalitarian democracy endured.

Foreign Commerce

Foreign commerce grew dramatically in the 1840s and 1850s. The United States mostly exported raw materials (cotton was the most valuable export), and it usually imported more (mostly manufactured goods) than it exported. Britain was the best customer of the United States and its leading supplier. Regularly scheduled sailing packets concentrated trade in New York and a few other large cities. The fast and sleek clipper ships enjoyed brief popularity at mid-century, but they were too costly for general use.

Steam Conquers the Atlantic

By the late 1840s, steamships had captured much of the Atlantic freight and passenger traffic. These British-built vessels, stronger and larger than wooden sailing ships, challenged America’s shipbuilding industry. Competition, government subsidies, and new technology reduced trans-Atlantic shipping rates. Bargain rates in steerage enabled tens of thousands of European immigrants to come to the United States.
Canals and Railroads

America’s internal trade increased and shifted directions. The Erie Canal heralded the origins of a significant east-west trade. Railroads did not at first compete with canal traffic; they were originally designed to handle only local trade. Engineering and technical problems, and America’s tough terrain, at first inhibited the construction of long-distance lines. But, by 1860 four railroads stretched from the Atlantic Coast to the Ohio Valley. Within the Northeast and Northwest building railroads went on at a feverish pace, but was much slower in the South.

Financing the Railroads

Slave labor built the South’s railroads; immigrants built the North’s. Private investors supplied most of the investment capital, particularly when their communities stood to profit from the railroad. Longer east-west rail lines usually required some public funding. State and local aid came in the form of loans, investments, and tax exemptions. The federal government helped by granting federal lands to states to build railroads. Often, construction of the railroads was as profitable as their operation, and wheeler dealing and corruption were common.

Railroads and the Economy

Farmers were profoundly affected by the railroads. Location of the lines helped determine what land could be profitably cultivated. Railroad companies created farms by selling portions of their federal land grants as farm sites. With access to world markets, prices for farm goods were high, but farm labor was scarce. Farm machinery appeared to ease the labor shortage. Steel plows and mechanical reapers reduced the labor and time required to plant and harvest.

Cities were also affected by the railroads. Chicago became the railroad center of the Midwest. Railroads also stimulated other kinds of economic activity. They influenced real estate values, spurred regional concentration of industry, increased the size of business units, and stimulated the growth of investment banking. Railroads also revolutionized business organization and management, and they sharply reduced freight and passenger rates. Finally, railroads revolutionized western agriculture; the center of commercial wheat production moved to the Midwest.

Railroads and the Sectional Conflict

While they helped boost the western farm family’s income and standard of living, railroads also broke down their isolation and self-sufficiency. This commercialization of agriculture meant that western farmers became more dependent on middlemen to market their crop. Overproduction also became a problem, and it became increasingly more costly to start and operate a farm.
The linking of the East and West had fateful effects in politics. The increasing movement of goods and people by railroads and canals stimulated nationalism in the Northeast and Northwest. With the Northwest no longer dependent on the Mississippi River trade route, its citizens could afford to oppose slavery and its westward expansion. The anti-commercial attitudes of southern leaders, together with its scattered population, absence of large cities, and stubborn reliance on the Mississippi River, prevented the South from keeping pace with northern railroad construction.

**The Economy on the Eve of the Civil War**

Between 1845 and 1857 every economic indicator expressed the remarkable growth of the American economy. This growth caused some problems. The Panic of 1857 was a serious, though short-lived collapse that was especially hard on the Northwest. The South, however, was affected very little by the Panic, and this encouraged many southerners to believe they had a superior economic system and might be better off out of the Union.

**PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS**

*Define the following:*

antebellum ____________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________

plantation __________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________

clipper ship ________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________

*Describe the following:*

*Commonwealth v. Hunt* ______________________________________________

______________________________________________________________

Baltimore and Ohio Railroad ____________________________________________

______________________________________________________________
Panic of 1857

Identify the following:

“poor white trash”

Denmark Vesey

Nat Turner

John Deere

Cyrus McCormick

SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the nation’s economy was marked by all of the following EXCEPT
   A. increasing regional interdependence.
   B. regional specialization of production.
   C. several transportation improvements.
   D. the decline of slavery.

2. As the cotton culture spread westward in the early nineteenth century,
   A. planters in the Deep South diversified their crops.
   B. the price of slaves declined.
   C. the demand for slaves increased.
   D. slave ownership became less profitable.
3. By 1860 about _______ percent of southern families owned slaves.
   A. 10  
   B. 25  
   C. 50  
   D. 65

4. Antebellum slaves had all the following EXCEPT  
   A. many basic legal rights. 
   B. a higher infant mortality rate than whites. 
   C. a shorter life span than whites. 
   D. adequate food, housing, and clothing.

5. Generally, southern whites did NOT believe that slaves were  
   A. innately lazy. 
   B. prone to rebellion. 
   C. content with their enslavement. 
   D. incapable of hard work.

6. The LEAST frequent means used by slaves to protest their condition was  
   A. revolt. 
   B. escape. 
   C. feigned laziness. 
   D. subterfuge.

7. In the antebellum period, slaves were NOT able to develop  
   A. their own slave culture. 
   B. a strong sense of community. 
   C. individual self-reliance. 
   D. a sense of their own self-worth.

8. Mid-nineteenth-century American industry lacked  
   A. technological inventiveness. 
   B. a stable labor force. 
   C. availability of ample raw materials. 
   D. organizational and managerial skill.

9. Most immigrants to mid-nineteenth-century America were attracted by the promise of  
   A. religious freedom. 
   B. political freedom. 
   C. social respect. 
   D. economic opportunity.
10. In *Commonwealth v. Hunt* the courts legalized
   A. child labor.
   B. corporations.
   C. slave marriages.
   D. labor unions.

11. In mid-nineteenth-century America
   A. class distinctions were narrowing.
   B. faith in the idea of egalitarian democracy was fading.
   C. Americans enjoyed a relatively high standard of living.
   D. geographical population mobility was declining.

12. In its foreign commerce the United States usually ______ raw materials and ______ manufactured goods; and it usually ______ more than it ______.
   A. exported, imported; exported, imported
   B. imported, exported; imported, exported
   C. exported, imported; imported, exported
   D. imported, exported; exported, imported

13. America’s dominance in the shipbuilding industry was most severely challenged by the development of ocean-going
   A. sailing packets.
   B. clipper ships.
   C. commerce raiders.
   D. steamships.

14. Railroad construction by 1860 most closely tied together the economies of the
   A. Northeast and Northwest.
   B. Northeast and South.
   C. Northwest and South.
   D. Northwest and Far West.

15. Most of the capital available for railroad construction before the Civil War was supplied by
   A. local community loans.
   B. private investors.
   C. state tax exemptions.
   D. federal land grants.

16. All of the following were true of mid-nineteenth-century American farms EXCEPT
   A. farm labor was scarce.
   B. the standard of living was declining.
   C. reliance on the railroad was increasing.
   D. reliance on machinery was increasing.
17. _______ became the railroad center of the Midwest by 1860.
   A. Cincinnati
   B. Louisville
   C. Chicago
   D. St. Louis

18. Railroads did NOT stimulate
   A. the growth of business corporations.
   B. decentralization of industrial production.
   C. investment banking.
   D. adoption of new forms of business management.

19. The coming of the railroad and machinery to western farmers did NOT increase their
   A. self-sufficiency.
   B. reliance on middlemen.
   C. operating costs.
   D. productivity.

20. The Panic of 1857 was of relatively little consequence to the economy of the
   A. Northwest.
   B. Northeast.
   C. South.

**Essay Questions**

1. Explain why, in economic terms, the South could not abandon its system of slave labor between 1820 and 1860.

2. Assume the role of an antebellum slave. Describe a sequence of “typical” experiences in your life and relate your thoughts and feelings about these experiences.

3. Assume the role of a northern wage laborer in the 1840s. Describe a sequence of “typical” experiences in your life and relate your thoughts and feelings about these experiences.

4. List the contributions the railroads made to the growth of the national economy in the mid-nineteenth century.

5. Analyze the role that agriculture, industry, commerce, and transportation played in the growth of sectional consciousness between 1830 and 1860.
**Critical Thinking Exercise**

**Facts, Inferences, and Judgments**

Search the following narrative for statements of fact, inference, and judgment. Circle the appropriate letter on the answer grid for each numbered statement.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) The injustice of slavery needs no proof . . .</td>
<td>(2) By “the making of a human being an animal without hope,” the system bore heavily on all slaves’ sense of their own worth.</td>
<td>(3) Some found the condition absolutely unbearable. . . .</td>
<td>(4) Denmark Vesey of South Carolina, even after buying his freedom, could not stomach the subservience demanded of slaves by the system.</td>
<td>(5) When he saw Charleston slaves step into the gutter to make way for whites, he taunted them: “You deserve to remain slaves!” . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) So vehemently did he argue that some of his followers claimed they feared Vesey more than their masters, even more than God. . . .</td>
<td>(7) For Denmark Vesey, death was probably preferable to living with such rage as his soul contained.</td>
<td>(8) Most slaves appeared, if not contented, at least resigned to their fate.</td>
<td>(9) Many seemed even to accept the whites’ evaluation of their inherent abilities and place in society.</td>
<td>(10) Of course in most instances it is impossible to know whether this apparent subservience was feigned in order to avoid trouble. . . .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| (11) Slaves had strong family and group attachments and a complex culture of their own, maintained, so to speak, under the noses of their masters. | (12) By a mixture of subterfuge, accommodation, and passive resistance, they erected subtle defenses against exploitation. . . . But, . . . when every element in white society encouraged slaves to let others do their thinking for them, to avoid questioning the status quo, to lead a simple life, many did so willingly enough. | (13) Was this not slavery’s greatest shame? | (14) Probably the large majority of owners respected the most fundamental personal rights of their slaves. | (15) There are countless known cases of lasting relationships based on love and mutual respect between owners and what law and the community defined as their property [that is, their slaves].

CHAPTER 14

The Coming of the Civil War

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. Use the column entitled “Anticipation.” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Use the column entitled “Reaction.” Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>____ 1. While a literary and theatrical success, Harriet Beecher Stowe’s <em>Uncle Tom’s Cabin</em> had little impact on public opinion toward slavery.</td>
<td>____ 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 2. The Kansas-Nebraska Act provoked a strong reaction because it proposed a more radical solution to the problem of slavery in the territories than had the Compromise of 1850.</td>
<td>____ 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 3. The Republican party founded in 1856 was the political voice of northern radical abolitionists.</td>
<td>____ 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 4. The Dred Scott decision implied that slavery could be legal anywhere in the United States.</td>
<td>____ 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 5. The Lincoln-Douglas debates were a public airing of the antislavery versus proslavery positions taken by the North and South before the Civil War.</td>
<td>____ 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 6. Lincoln’s election in 1860 was a popular mandate in support of emancipating southern slaves.</td>
<td>____ 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____ 7. The primary reason the South seceded in 1861 was to defend slavery.</td>
<td>____ 7.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 14 you should be able to:

1. Explain why the Compromise of 1850 failed to end the debate on slavery.
2. Describe the purpose, provisions, and impact of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.
3. Assess the role of Kansas Territory in the crises of the 1850s.
4. Evaluate the contribution of the Dred Scott decision, Lincoln-Douglas debates, John Brown’s raid, and election of 1860 to the coming of the Secession Crisis.

5. Describe the roles of Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln in the key events of the period 1850-1861.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The Slave Power Comes North

The 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, which imposed fines for protecting runaway slaves, panicked northern blacks and encouraged more southerners to try to recover escaped slaves. Abolitionists often interfered with the enforcement of the law, and their efforts aggravated sectional feelings. The sight of blacks being carried off to slavery outraged many northerners, and southerners resented the northerners’ refusal to obey the law. The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Act, but the law became increasingly difficult to enforce in the North.

Uncle Tom’s Cabin

Sectional tension was also heightened by the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel, Uncle Tom’s Cabin. Like other northerners, Stowe’s conscience had been stirred by the Fugitive Slave Act. While Stowe knew little about slavery and her depiction of plantation life was distorted, her story had sympathetic characters and it was told with sensitivity. She was the first white American writer to look at slaves as people.

Diversions Abroad: The “Young America” Movement

Foreign affairs offered a distraction from the growing sectional hostility. Sympathies were extended to European revolutionaries struggling against autocratic government. Some adventurous Americans also dreamed of territorial acquisitions in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. The need for better communication with California resulted in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty that gave the United States and Britain joint control of any canal built across Central America. American diplomats who signed the Ostend Manifesto proposed the acquisition of Cuba by force if necessary, but when northerners charged that this was a plot to expand slavery, the manifesto was disavowed. The United States also signed a trade agreement and opened diplomatic and commercial relations with Japan in this period.
**Stephen Douglas: “The Little Giant”**

Senator Stephen A. Douglas saw the needs of the nation in a broad perspective. He advocated territorial expansion and popular sovereignty. He opposed slavery and thought natural conditions would keep it out of the West, but he did not find slavery morally repugnant. Generally, he thought it was unwise and unnecessary for the nation to expend its energy on the slavery issue. He was a rising star in the Democratic party and in national politics. In the 1852 presidential campaign both major parties endorsed the Compromise of 1850, but as the slavery debate became more heated, the Whig party was disintegrating, and proslavery southerners were coming to dominate both the Democratic party and Congress.

**The Kansas-Nebraska Act**

In 1854, Douglas introduced a bill to organize the Nebraska Territory. The area had a growing population and Douglas hoped to speed construction of a transcontinental railroad through the territory. Southerners balked because they wanted the railroad built further south through territory acquired in the Gadsden Purchase, and they feared Nebraska would become a free state. Under southern pressure, Douglas amended his bill to divide the territory into the Kansas-Nebraska Territory and open it to the possibility of slavery by popular sovereignty. Many northerners were outraged at this proposal to repeal of the Missouri Compromise that had banned slavery north of 36° 30’. Nevertheless, with solid southern support, the bill passed and the nation took a giant step toward disunion. Northerners denounced the act as “a gross violation of [the Missouri Compromise’s] . . . sacred pledge” to keep slavery out of the territories.

**Know-Nothings, Republicans, and the Demise of the Two-Party System**

The Kansas-Nebraska Act compelled former Whigs and antislavery northern Democrats to join new parties. Nativists, who blamed the recent flood of Catholic immigrants for causing many social problems, founded the Know-Nothing party. The party enjoyed support in both the North and South because it was flexible on the slavery issue. More significant in the long run was the founding of the Republican party, a purely sectional party dedicated to opposing the expansion of slavery into the territories. Republicans were not abolitionists, but appealed to the growing sentiment among northerners that blacks-free or slave-must be kept out of the West.

**“Bleeding Kansas”**

Kansas Territory became a testing ground over slavery and it eventually exposed a fatal flaw in the idea of popular sovereignty. The Kansas-Nebraska Act had been ambiguous about when a vote on slavery in the territory would be held and who would be allowed to vote. Thus, both sections sought to influence the situation in Kansas: New England sent organized groups of antislavery settlers to Kansas, and proslavery Missourians crossed the border to vote in key
Kansas elections, making a mockery of the democratic process. The result was a virtual civil war in Kansas. The Pierce administration refused to insist on order and honesty; instead, it backed the proslavery element in Kansas.

**Senator Sumner Becomes a Martyr for Abolitionism**

Charles Sumner, an abolitionist senator from Massachusetts, relentlessly demeaned slavery and southerners alike. His combative insistence on the admission of Kansas as a free state and his personal attack on a southern senator resulted in his being assaulted by the senator’s nephew, South Carolina’s congressman, Preston Brooks. Northerners viewed the incident as an illustration of the brutalizing effects of slavery on southern whites.

**Buchanan Tries His Hand**

In the 1856 presidential election the Republicans nominated Mexican War hero, John C. Frémont, and reiterated free soil in the West as their objective. James Buchanan, the Democratic candidate, won by portraying the Republicans as a sectional party that threatened the survival of the Union. Republicans labeled Buchanan a “doughface”—they believed he lacked the force of character to stand up against southern extremists.

**The Dred Scott Decision**

The Dred Scott decision drove another wedge between North and South. Scott was a Missouri slave whose master had taken him into Illinois and Wisconsin Territory, then returned to Missouri. Scott sued for his freedom on the basis of his temporary residence on free soil. The real issue was the question of Congress’ authority to ban slavery from the territories. In 1857, the Supreme Court ruled that blacks were not citizens, so Scott could not sue in federal court. Further, the Court ruled that the Missouri Compromise (which had banned slavery from Wisconsin Territory) was unconstitutional because it violated the slaveowners’ Fifth Amendment guarantee of due process. The decision also seemed to challenge the concept of popular sovereignty, undercut the foundation of the Republican party, and potentially make slavery a national institution.

**The Lecompton Constitution**

President Buchanan tried to get Congress to accept Kansas’ proslavery Lecompton constitution and admit Kansas as a slave state. But Douglas, concerned for his reelection to the Senate and the credibility of popular sovereignty, opposed the fraudulently drawn constitution. This clash between Buchanan and Douglas shattered the Democratic party. Ultimately, both Congress and a large majority of Kansas’s voters rejected the Lecompton constitution.
The Emergence of Lincoln

To many, Douglas seemed the best hope to keep the Union from splitting apart. Illinois Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln to oppose Douglas’ bid for reelection to the Senate in 1858. Lincoln had served a single term in the House during the Mexican War, and he was admired in Illinois for his wit and integrity. He was not an abolitionist and he did not blame southern slaveowners for slavery, but he condemned slavery as morally wrong. Although he had no immediate solution to the slavery problem, Lincoln insisted that the nation could not much longer remain divided over slavery.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

Although Lincoln and Douglas had contrasting styles, their campaign debates were pitched at a high intellectual level though they tended to exaggerate the differences between them. Both men opposed the expansion of slavery, and both believed blacks were inferior to whites, but neither was an abolitionist. Nevertheless, Douglas tried to portray Lincoln as an abolitionist and racial equalitarian, and he painted himself as the champion of democracy. Lincoln countered by pointing to his own opposition to black suffrage and black citizenship, and his opposition to repealing the Fugitive Slave Act. Lincoln tried to portray Douglas as proslavery and an unconscionable defender of the Dred Scott decision. Douglas countered by arguing in the Freeport Doctrine that slavery could still be “banned” in a territory by passing local laws that were hostile to slavery. The Freeport Doctrine probably won Douglas reelection, but it cost him southern support when he ran for president in 1860. The debates revitalized Lincoln’s political career.

Elsewhere in the North in 1858, the Republicans fared well. Still, a southern-dominated Congress refused to enact any of the Republicans’ pro-business proposals. Southerners were growing increasingly uneasy in their relationship with the North, and radical southern “fire-eaters” demanded a federal slave code, and talked of annexing Cuba and reopening the African slave trade.

John Brown’s Raid

John Brown, a mentally imbalanced abolitionist who had led a massacre of proslavery settlers in Kansas in 1856, organized a raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1859. He truly believed in racial equality and intended to foment a slave uprising and create a black republic. Southerners were outraged. Brown was captured and executed for treason. Republicans denounced Brown’s use of violence, but he conducted himself with such dignity during his trial that he was martyred by many in the North. But to southerners, John Brown was a symbol of northern ruthlessness.
The Election of 1860

Radicals in the North and South were heedlessly provoking one another, but extremists were more evident in the South. Yet, southerners sincerely felt they were merely defending themselves against the hostility and growing power of the North. Secession was openly talked about as a way to relieve the sectional tensions. Southern Democrats refused to nominate Douglas as the party’s presidential candidate in 1860, and the party split in two. Later, Northern Democrats nominated Douglas on a platform upholding the Freeport Doctrine, and Southern Democrats nominated Vice President John Breckenridge and insisted on enforcement of the Dred Scott decision.

The Republicans, drawn by his moderation, debating skills, and homespun personality, nominated Lincoln. Their platform unequivocally opposed slavery in the territories and advocated a high tariff, a homestead law, and the construction of a transcontinental railroad. With Lincoln as their nominee, Republicans hoped to capture the key states just north of the Ohio River. Remnants of the Know-Nothing (American) and Whig parties formed a Constitutional Union party, nominated Tennessee Senator John Bell, and endorsed the Constitution. Lincoln won the election with only a plurality of the popular vote, but he swept the North and West and amassed a comfortable electoral majority.

The Secession Crisis

When news of Lincoln’s election was confirmed, South Carolina seceded. By February 1861, six other Deep South states had seceded and founded the Confederate States of America. Secession came even though Lincoln posed no immediate threat to slavery in the South, the Democrats still controlled Congress, and the Supreme Court was decidedly pro-southern. Southern states seceded in part to liberate the southern economy from northern dominance, but it was also a move to defend slavery and resist dishonorable submission to northern power. Years of sectional conflict and the growing northern criticism of slavery destroyed the patriotic feelings of many southerners. States’ rights and strict constructionalism provided the rationale for secession, but these economic and emotional concerns were more basic.

Many northerners, including Lincoln, viewed secession as a bluff. Also, many southerners refused to believe northerners would resist secession with force. President Buchanan was paralyzed by his own view that secession was illegal, but that there was no legal way for the federal government to prevent it. Congressional moderates debated, then, at Lincoln’s insistence, rejected the Crittenden Compromise that would have guaranteed slavery south of 36° 30_ and constitutionally prohibited any future tampering with slavery in the slave states. In the South, Jefferson Davis was elected president of the Confederacy, and he set about trying to establish a new nation.
Define the following:

“Young America”

popular sovereignty

“Bleeding Kansas”

“doughface”

secession

Describe the following:

Fugitive Slave Act

Uncle Tom’s Cabin

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty

Ostend Manifesto
Identify the following:

- Kansas-Nebraska Act
- Dred Scott decision
- Lecompton Constitution
- Lincoln-Douglas debates
- Freeport Doctrine
- Harpers Ferry raid
- Crittenden Compromise

- Harriet Beecher Stowe
- Stephen A. Douglas
- Franklin Pierce
Know-Nothing party 

Republican party 

New England Immigrant Aid Society 

“border ruffians” 

John Brown 

Charles Sumner 

John C. Frémont 

James Buchanan 

Abraham Lincoln 

John Breckenridge 

John Bell
Jefferson Davis

SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. In the early 1850s, enforcement of the _______ gave large numbers of northerners an eyewitness view of the heartlessness of slavery.
   A. Fugitive Slave Act
   B. Kansas-Nebraska Act
   C. Dred Scott decision
   D. Freeport Doctrine

2. Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* aroused northern outrage over the implications of the
   A. Lecompton Constitution.
   B. Fugitive Slave Act.
   C. Kansas-Nebraska Act.
   D. Dred Scott decision.

3. American acquisition of Cuba was advocated in the
   A. Compromise of 1850.
   B. Gadsden Purchase.
   C. Ostend Manifesto.
   D. Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

4. In the 1850s, Senator Stephen Douglas became the national spokesman for
   A. popular sovereignty.
   B. banning slavery from American territories.
   C. a federal slave code.
   D. abolitionism.

5. Northerners thought they saw evidence of a slave power conspiracy designed to give southerners control of national policy in all these events EXCEPT the
   A. Ostend Manifesto.
   B. Kansas-Nebraska Act.
   C. Freeport Doctrine.
   D. Dred Scott decision.
6. To decide the fate of slavery in the territories, Stephen Douglas’ Kansas-Nebraska bill applied the same concept that had been used in the
   A. Northwest Ordinance.
   B. Wilmot Proviso.
   C. Missouri Compromise.
   D. Compromise of 1850.

7. The greatest beneficiary of the northern outrage over passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was the _______ party.
   A. Democratic
   B. Whig
   C. Republican
   D. Know-Nothing

8. The concept of popular sovereignty caused problems when it was applied in Kansas because it
   A. was illegal.
   B. was ambiguous.
   C. carried a moral condemnation of slavery.
   D. made abolition a capital offense.

9. Charles Sumner was a Senate spokesman for
   A. popular sovereignty.
   B. abolitionism.
   C. secession.
   D. nativism.

10. It was NOT true that President Buchanan
    A. was a “doughface.”
    B. believed secession was legal.
    C. supported the Lecompton Constitution.
    D. supported the Dred Scott decision.

11. Which one of the following was NOT associated with the proslavery element in Kansas?
    A. the sack of Lawrence
    B. “border ruffians”
    C. Lecompton Constitution
    D. John Brown

12. In the Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court did NOT rule that
    A. Dred Scott was legally held in slavery.
    B. Dred Scott was not a citizen of the United States.
    C. the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional.
    D. slavery in the territories must be decided by popular sovereignty.
13. The Lecompton Constitution was approved by
   A. President Buchanan.
   B. Stephen Douglas.
   C. a majority of the eligible voters in Kansas.
   D. Republicans.

14. When he ran for the U.S. Senate from Illinois in 1858, Lincoln was generally considered _____ on the slavery issue.
   A. an abolitionist
   B. indifferent
   C. naive
   D. a moderate

15. In their 1858 debates, Lincoln and Douglas were in agreement as to the
   A. status of slavery in the territories.
   B. implication of the Dred Scott decision.
   C. probable inferiority of blacks.
   D. morality of slavery.

16. When he raided Harpers Ferry, John Brown apparently hoped to
   A. frighten the North and South into negotiating a compromise on slavery.
   B. provoke a slave insurrection.
   C. discredit northern abolitionists.
   D. help make Kansas a free state.

17. Match the 1860 presidential candidate with his position on the issue of slavery in the territories.
   A. Lincoln
   B. Douglas
   C. Breckenridge

   1. federal slave code
   2. ban slavery
   3. popular sovereignty
   4. have Congress divide territories; half slave and half free

   A. A-1, B-2, C-3
   B. A-2, B-1, C-3
   C. A-3, B-1, C-2
   D. A-2, B-3, C-1

18. Which one of the following was NOT a feature of the election of 1860?
   A. The nation now had a president who had virtually no support in the South.
   B. The Republican party divided over the issue of slavery in the territories.
   C. The Democratic party divided into hostile northern and southern wings.
   D. The winner won less than a majority of the popular vote.
19. The proposed Crittenden Compromise would have
   A. banned slavery in all U.S. territories.
   B. amended the Constitution to protect slavery.
   C. repealed the Fugitive Slave Act.
   D. repealed the Missouri Compromise.

20. Arrange these events in their proper time order: (A) Dred Scott decision, (B) Lincoln-
    Douglas debates, (C) Kansas-Nebraska Act, (D) Harpers Ferry raid
   A. A, C, B, D
   B. B, D, C, A
   C. C, A, B, D
   D. D, B, A, C

**Essay Questions**

1. Explain why it might be said that the South’s insistence on the strict enforcement of the 
   Fugitive Slave Act may have been a fatal error.

2. Explain why “the nation took the greatest single step in its march toward the abyss of 
   secession and civil war” when Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

3. Explain why Kansas Territory came to be the focus of sectional hostilities in the mid-
   1850s.

4. Evaluate the importance of the Dred Scott decision, Lincoln-Douglas debates, Harpers 
   Ferry raid, and the Election of 1860 to the coming of secession and civil war. Which of 
   these events do you think was the most significant? Why?

5. Choose either Stephen Douglas or Abraham Lincoln. Then make an argument that he was 
   the nation’s single most important political leader between 1852 and 1861.
## Critical Thinking Exercise

### Cause and Effect

Understanding the coming of the Civil War depends on your being able to see the chain of causal relationships that preceded it. In the following exercise, a series of *effects* is sequentially listed in Column B. Column A is a list of *causes*. You must match the appropriate cause in Column A with the effect it produced in Column B. Items in Column A may be used more than once.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column A (causes)</th>
<th>Column B (effects)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Catholic immigration reaches high levels</td>
<td>1. northerners get first taste of “real” slavery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Fugitive Slave Act strictly enforced</td>
<td>2. Harriet Beecher Stowe writes <em>Uncle Tom’s Cabin</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. John Brown’s Raid</td>
<td>3. the Ostend Manifesto is repudiated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. popular sovereignty election generates conflict</td>
<td>4. Kansas-Nebraska Bill introduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Lincoln wins the 1860 election</td>
<td>5. northerners outraged at slavery expansion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. northerners charge a plot to expand slavery</td>
<td>6. founding of the Know-Nothing party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Republicans refuse to compromise on slavery in the territories</td>
<td>7. founding of the Republican party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. northern outrage at the Kansas-Nebraska Act</td>
<td>8. civil war in Kansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Missouri Compromise repealed</td>
<td>9. slavery made legal in all territories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Dred Scott decision</td>
<td>10. Senator Douglas loses southern support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. Freeport Doctrine pronounced</td>
<td>11. Southern fears of abolitionist threat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. interest develops in a transcontinental railroad from Chicago to San Francisco</td>
<td>12. South Carolina secedes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

___13. the Crittenden Compromise proposals are rejected
CHAPTER 15

The War to Save the Union

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

*Directions:* Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you *now* agree. Use the column entitled “Anticipation.” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you *then* agree. Use the column entitled “Reaction.” Note any variation in the placement of check marks from *anticipation* to *reaction* and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_____ 1. The Civil War was fought to destroy slavery.</td>
<td>_____ 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 2. During the Civil War, the Union’s civilian and military leadership was superior to the Confederacy’s.</td>
<td>_____ 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 3. During the Civil War, both sides adopted a system of drafting manpower into military service.</td>
<td>_____ 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 5. During the Civil War, African-American troops were enlisted in both the Union and Confederate armies.</td>
<td>_____ 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 6. Although the Confederacy lost the war, on the field of battle, Union forces never defeated armies commanded by General Robert E. Lee.</td>
<td>_____ 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_____ 7. The Civil War greatly accelerated the growth of the national economy in the 1860s.</td>
<td>_____ 7.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

*After reading Chapter 15 you should be able to:*

1. Compare and contrast the relative advantages and disadvantages of the North and the South as the Civil War began.
2. Evaluate the Civil War’s impact on the homefront in both the North and the South.
3. Identify the key battles of the Civil War. Justify your choices.
4. Compare and contrast the leadership skills of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, and of Ulysses Grant and Robert E. Lee.
5. Assess the significance of the Emancipation Proclamation as an instrument of war and as a herald of social revolution.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Lincoln’s Cabinet

President Lincoln assembled a balanced Cabinet headed by William Seward, who hoped to dominate the president and conciliate the South, and Salmon Chase, who was a spokesman for abolitionists. In his first inaugural address, Lincoln declared that secession was illegal, but that his administration posed no threat to slavery.

Fort Sumter: The First Shot

When Lincoln tried to resupply Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, Confederates fired on the fort. Lincoln then called for volunteers to suppress the southern rebellion. This caused four border states to secede. Southerners considered Lincoln’s call an act of aggression that denied them their right to self-determination. In Lincoln’s view, secession was undemocratic because it rejected the results of a freely held election. Slavery was the root cause of secession, but, in 1861, northerners were committed to saving the Union, not to freeing the slaves.

The Blue and the Gray

As the war began, the North enjoyed the advantage of a larger population, greater industrial capacity, a better railroad system, and control of the merchant marine and navy. But southerners believed northern and western public opinion would not support the war because northern manufacturers and merchants and western farmers were closely tied to southern business. Southerners also expected economic and military aid from Great Britain. They also rightly believed that they enjoyed superior military leadership and the advantage of defensive warfare.

Both sides faced great difficulties. In the North, recruiting was left to the states and most enlistees knew little of soldiering. But Lincoln claimed emergency powers for his presidency and provided bold leadership. The South had greater problems. It was handicapped by the states’ rights philosophy that hindered a unified Confederate war effort. Unlike Lincoln, who had an ability to think problems through and act unflinchingly, Confederate President Jefferson Davis, a reluctant secessionist, was a mediocre military thinker, meddled in details, and would not delegate authority.
The Test of Battle: Bull Run

The first military engagement between the inexperienced armies came near Manassas Junction, Virginia. Confederate troops routed Union forces, but the battle’s significance was psychological; southern morale soared while northerners set about making more realistic preparations for a long war. Lincoln’s basic strategy called for a naval blockade of the Confederate coast, control of the Mississippi River, and the invasion of Virginia. He appointed General George McClellan to command Union armies. McClellan had experience and was a talented administrator. To restore northern confidence, he began organizing, training, and supplying his army.

Paying for the War

The Union government’s demand for war supplies accelerated the tendency toward larger and more mechanized factories. To pay for the war, the North used income and excise taxes, and a direct tax on states, but loans and currency inflation were the key sources of revenue.

Politics as Usual

When southern Democrats seceded, Republicans dominated Congress. That party’s Radical faction grew stronger under the leadership of Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens, both of whom insisted on abolition and political and civil rights for blacks. Northern Peace Democrats led by Charles Vallandigham demanded a negotiated peace. Lincoln periodically used martial law and suspended the writ of habeas corpus to control antiwar dissent, but the federal courts defended individual civil liberties.

Behind Confederate Lines

Jefferson Davis’ strategy was to defend the South, hoping in time to wear down the Union’s will to fight. Confederates were the first to draft men into military service, but wealthy planters easily escaped the draft. The South did not develop a two-party system, but Davis and southern governors were constantly at odds over policy. Like the North, the Confederacy turned to income and excise taxes, borrowing, and currency inflation to pay for the war. Confederates also used a tax in kind and mortgaged the cotton crop to raise revenue. They also hoped to use King Cotton to compel Britain to come to their aid, but the British had a surplus of cotton when the war began and they found alternative sources of the fiber in India and Egypt. In addition, crop failures forced Britain to import northern wheat, thus tying their economy more closely to the North than to the South.

Still, the relationship between the Union and Britain was troubled. The Trent affair nearly provoked war, and Lincoln’s government threatened war if the British government allowed
British-built ironclad rams to be delivered to the Confederacy. The possibility of British intervention on behalf of the Confederacy faded as the North gained battlefield superiority.

**War in the West: Shiloh**

In early 1862, a Confederate invasion of New Mexico failed, and General Grant captured strategic forts in western Tennessee and invaded northern Mississippi, while the Union navy captured New Orleans. The carnage was appalling at the bloody battle of Shiloh, shaking the confidence of both armies. Modern technology had produced weapons of unprecedented accuracy and destructive power. Both sides now recognized how grim the war would be.

**McClellan: The Reluctant Warrior**

McClellan’s plan was to invade Richmond through the peninsula formed by the York and James rivers in Virginia. But he had no intellectual grasp of the demands of modern warfare. McClellan hoped to capture Richmond, but thought it uncivilized to crush the South by destroying Confederate armies. He was an unsurpassed military administrator and planner, but he did not like to fight and risk damage to his excellently prepared army.

Thus, McClellan’s Peninsula campaign was conducted with too much caution. Confederate commander Robert E. Lee was an excellent tactician, and, unlike McClellan, was bold and masterful on the battlefield. His plan for the Seven Days Battle for Richmond placed McClellan on the defensive. Again, the loss of life was terrible.

**Lee Counterattacks: Antietam**

Lincoln demoted McClellan, and his successor, General Henry Halleck, called off the Peninsula Campaign. As Union troops withdrew, Lee seized the initiative, won the second battle of Bull Run, and invaded Maryland. He hoped that a dramatic blow on Union soil would unnerve the northern public who would then demand a negotiated peace. But he was effectively countered at Antietam and withdrew his badly mauled army back into Virginia.

**The Emancipation Proclamation**

When the war began, Lincoln feared any move against slavery would alienate the border states. But he came under increasingly heavy pressure to emancipate the slaves as a way to crush the Confederacy by encouraging slaves to revolt. Radical Republicans in Congress had already abolished slavery in Washington, D.C. and the territories, and the Confiscation Act freed all slaves owned by southern rebels. Lincoln was personally sympathetic to the idea of freeing the
slaves, but he preferred compensated emancipation by state law and colonization of those freed. He was concerned that emancipation would divide the North and injure the war effort.

By mid-1862, Lincoln was convinced for military reasons that emancipation should become a northern war aim. Following the Battle of Antietam, he issued the Emancipation Proclamation that freed all slaves in areas still in rebellion. It did not free slaves in the border states or in former Confederate territories then occupied by Union forces. He justified emancipation as a way to weaken the Confederacy.

Southerners saw the Emancipation Proclamation as an incitement to slave rebellion, while some northerners did not think it went far enough to end slavery. It immediately aggravated racial prejudice in the North because many whites feared a massive migration of former slaves into northern communities. Consequently, as slaves were freed under the proclamation, the government adopted a containment policy to keep them in the South.

The Draft Riots

The Union’s 1863 Conscription Act, with its provisions for hired substitutes and $300 exemptions, was patently discriminatory against the poor. It provoked rioting in New York City where poor Irish Catholic workers resented blacks with whom they competed for jobs. This resentment and violent rioting reflected the public’s awareness that emancipation had produced a revolutionary change in American society. Nevertheless, most whites remained racists.

The Emancipated People

To blacks, the Emancipation Proclamation was a promise of future improvement and they expressed their appreciation to President Lincoln. In the South, much to the distress of the slaveowners, as Union armies approached, slaves abandoned the plantations and flocked to the Union lines.

African American Soldiers

When the war began, blacks were not enlisted for military service. But by 1862 the need for manpower altered white thinking, and the Emancipation Proclamation authorized black enlistment. Ending slavery had now clearly become a northern war goal. Black soldiers were paid less than whites, but they proved themselves in battle. Southerners demonstrated a special hatred for the Union’s black troops.
Antietam to Gettysburg

In the winter of 1862-1863, further Union attempts to capture Richmond were turned back by Lee’s army at Fredricksburg and Chancellorsville. While the morale of northerners was low, Lee again decided to risk a move into Union soil. But three days of bloody fighting at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, failed and he again pulled back into Virginia.

Lincoln Finds His General: Grant at Vicksburg

In the same week as Gettysburg, Grant laid siege to Vicksburg, a Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi River. His capture of Vicksburg gave the Union full control of the river and effectively severed the trans-Mississippi region from the rest of the Confederacy. The success of his brilliant campaign caused Lincoln to place Grant in charge of all Union armies west of the Appalachians. In a short time his forces captured the rail center of Chattanooga and cleared the way for an invasion of Georgia. Lincoln then gave Grant supreme command of all Union armies.

Economic and Social Effects, North and South

By the end of 1863 the Confederacy was losing manpower and on the road to defeat. Shortages produced by the blockade and the printing of paper currency led to drastic inflation in the Confederacy. The South also faced a deteriorating railroad network and shortages in labor, capital, and technology. States’ rights sentiment prevented the Confederacy from making effective use of its scarce resources.

By contrast, the northern economy flourished. Government purchases stimulated railroad operations and manufacturing, and bad harvests in Europe boosted agricultural prices. The Republican Congress passed legislation to encourage western settlement, build colleges, raise tariffs, construct a transcontinental railroad, and provide a uniform currency. These all stimulated the economy, but there were problems. Prices soared, but wages did not keep pace, and there was a chronic shortage of labor and numerous strikes. Inflation and shortages fostered the speculative spirit and a selfish materialism. Illegal but highly profitable cotton trading with the southern enemy was common.

The war hastened industrialization and created a more complex and efficient economy. It also trained business leaders to organize and plan on a large scale, speeded the mechanization of production, stimulated the growth of large corporations, and created a better banking system.

Women in Wartime

In both the North and the South, women took over management of farms and plantations or enlisted in the army medical corps. Some women also took jobs in industry and government
agencies; others committed themselves to improving sanitary conditions in army camps. The “proper sphere” of American women, North and South, was expanded by the modernizing effect of the war.

**Grant in the Wilderness**

Grant’s strategy was to have his Army of the Potomac capture Richmond while Sherman captured Atlanta; then the two armies would close a pincer movement on Lee’s army in Virginia. Grant’s forces fought a series of frustrating and extremely costly flanking movements around Richmond. Grant knew he could eventually win by grinding down Lee’s depleted forces with his own superior numbers and resources.

**Sherman in Georgia**

Huge casualty figures and the absence of a decisive victory made the northern public pessimistic. It appeared that Lincoln might not be able to win reelection in 1864. But on the eve of the election, General Sherman’s army captured Atlanta, and then began its march to the sea. Sherman’s aim was to conquer territory, destroy southern resources, and break the Confederate’s will to fight. In November, Lincoln was reelected and the South’s will began to falter. Sherman reached Savannah, then turned north to close the vise on Lee.

**To Appomattox Court House**

In his second inaugural address, Lincoln extended a conciliatory hand to the South. He asked for northern tolerance and mercy to gain a just and lasting peace. Grant captured Richmond in April 1865 and received Lee’s surrender at Appomattox Court House, Virginia.

**Winners, Losers, and the Future**

The Civil War cost the nation more than 600,000 lives and untold millions of dollars in lost property, especially in the South. It instilled hatred and bitterness that lasted for generations. It nurtured corruption, gross materialism, and selfishness. These more sordid effects of the war overshadow the numerous examples of wartime charity, self-sacrifice, and devotion to duty. Still, the war ended slavery, cemented the nation, and utterly discredited secession. The northern victory heartened the friends of republican government and democracy everywhere. The war created a better-integrated society and a more technologically advanced and productive economic system. It also left to the postwar generation a number of difficult problems.
Define the following:

self-determination

______________________________

greenbacks

______________________________

writ of habeas corpus

______________________________

martial law

______________________________

conscription

______________________________

Describe the following:

Trent affair

______________________________

Emancipation Proclamation

______________________________

Homestead Act

______________________________

Morrill Land Grant Act

______________________________
Pacific Railway Act

National Banking Act

New York draft riots

Sherman’s march to the sea

Identify the following:

William Seward

Abraham Lincoln

Jefferson Davis

Stonewall Jackson

George McClellan

Charles Sumner
Thaddeus Stevens________________________________________________________

Copperheads__________________________________________________________

Clement Vallandigham____________________________________________________

George G. Meade________________________________________________________

Ulysses S. Grant________________________________________________________

William T. Sherman_____________________________________________________

 Locate the following places. Write in both the place name and its map location number.

1. Where the “first shot” of the Civil War was fired.

__________________________________________________________

2. The four states that seceded and joined with the original seven in the Confederacy in 1861.

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

3. Site of the first pitched battle of the Civil War.

__________________________________________________________
4. State formed from counties of a Confederate state that “seceded” from that state and joined the Union in 1863.

5. The two major battles of the Civil War that were fought on Union soil.

6. The last major Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi River. It fell to Grant’s siege in 1863.

7. The Confederate capital during the Civil War.

8. The southern rail center where a Union victory helped Lincoln win reelection in 1864.

9. The state traversed by General Sherman’s army in its march to the sea.
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Which one of the following states did NOT secede from the Union after the firing on Fort Sumter?
   A. Kentucky
   B. Tennessee
   C. Virginia
   D. Arkansas

2. Confederate batteries fired on Fort Sumter when news was received that Lincoln
   A. ordered the fort to be reinforced with federal troops.
   B. ordered supplies to be sent to the fort.
   C. wanted federal troops to evacuate the fort.
   D. called for 75,000 volunteers to join the Union army.

3. When Lincoln was inaugurated as president, his primary goal was to
   A. invade the South.
   B. recapture Union installations in the South that had been seized by the Confederates.
   C. emancipate southern slaves.
   D. preserve the Union.

4. As the Civil War began, the North had all of the following advantages EXCEPT
   A. a large population.
   B. a complex railroad network.
   C. enormous industrial capabilities.
   D. superior military leadership.

5. When the Civil War began, the Confederacy expected
   A. its armies to invade the North.
   B. economic and military aid from Britain.
   C. a long and difficult war of attrition.
   D. that to win, they would have to abandon their states’ rights philosophy.

6. The Union’s strategy for the Civil War was to do all the following EXCEPT
   A. blockade the Confederate coastline.
   B. pressure the Confederates to negotiate a compromise peace.
   C. divide the Confederacy by gaining control of the Mississippi River.
   D. capture Richmond.
7. The Union government did NOT use _____ to finance the Civil War.
   A. income taxes on ordinary wage earners
   B. excise taxes
   C. borrowing
   D. direct taxes on states

8. Who was the outspoken leader of the antiwar Peace Democrats in the North during the Civil War?
   A. Charles Sumner
   B. Clement Vallandigham
   C. Thaddeus Stevens
   D. Samuel Chase

9. During the Civil War the Confederate cause was hampered by all of the following EXCEPT
   A. having to fight a defensive war.
   B. currency inflation.
   C. its own states’ rights philosophy.
   D. shortages of supplies and equipment.

10. England and the Union were nearly provoked into war by
    A. the incompetence of Charles Francis Adams, the American ambassador to England.
    B. England’s refusal to buy American cotton.
    C. the Union’s seizure of Confederate diplomats aboard a British ship.
    D. British commerce raider attacks on northern shipping.

11. During the first year of the Civil War the Union’s most important success came
    A. in northwestern Tennessee.
    B. at the Battle of Bull Run.
    C. in northern Virginia.
    D. at Antietam.

12. President Lincoln eventually concluded that General George McClellan was
    A. too cautious.
    B. a poor administrator.
    C. incapable of disciplining his troops.
    D. careless.

13. President Lincoln was originally cautious about emancipating the slaves because he claimed that it would do all of the following EXCEPT
    A. divide public opinion in the North.
    B. alienate the Union’s border states.
    C. encourage the slaves to revolt.
    D. infuriate Radical Republicans in Congress.
14. Lincoln justified the Emancipation Proclamation on grounds of
   A. moral imperatives.
   B. natural rights.
   C. economic advantage.
   D. military necessity.

15. The Emancipation Proclamation promised freedom to slaves
   A. in the Union border states.
   B. in Confederate-held states and territories.
   C. in Union territories.
   D. if they agreed to stay in the South.

16. The New York City draft riots were primarily a protest against
   A. the Emancipation Proclamation.
   B. conscription.
   C. Lincoln’s suspension of the writ of habeas corpus.
   D. the temporary declaration of martial law in the city.

17. After the Emancipation Proclamation, when blacks enlisted in the Union army they were
   A. paid less than white soldiers.
   B. allowed to elect their own commanders.
   C. generally poor combat soldiers.
   D. not allowed to engage in combat.

18. During the Civil War, Congress passed legislation to do all of the following EXCEPT
   A. provide free homesteads to settlers.
   B. build a transcontinental railroad.
   C. supply a uniform currency.
   D. lower tariff rates.

19. The proper sequence of these battles is: (A) Gettysburg, (B) Shiloh, (C) First Bull Run, (D) Antietam
   A. B, C, D, A
   B. D, A, B, C
   C. A, B, C, D
   D. C, B, D, A

20. During the Civil War, the Confederacy won all the following battles EXCEPT
   A. Vicksburg.
   B. Fredricksburg.
   C. Chancellorsville.
   D. Second Bull Run.
Essay Questions

1. Based on a consideration of their perceived advantages, explain why both sides felt confident of victory as the Civil War began.

2. Describe the economic and social changes in both the North and the South that accompanied the Civil War.

3. Select what you think were the five most important battles of the Civil War. Explain why you chose these battles; then tell how each battle contributed to the outcome of the Civil War.

4. Describe the personal and leadership qualities that made Lincoln a better wartime president than Jefferson Davis. Also, explain what command skills Grant utilized to overcome Lee’s recognized tactical expertise.

5. Evaluate the contribution the Emancipation Proclamation made to the war effort, and list ways it altered the social and economic systems of both the North and the South.
CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Compare and Contrast

You have seen several times how historians compare and contrast information to gain a better understanding of two or more elements of historical study. The Civil War, pitting North against South, is a natural for comparing and contrasting. In the following exercise match each of the numbered statement to the key below.

N - if the statement is true of the North only
S - if the statement is true of the South only
B - if the statement is true of both the North and the South
X - if the statement is true of neither the North nor the South

_____ 1. Counting both blacks and whites, it had a population of over 20 million people in 1861.
_____ 2. It had control of the merchant marine and navy.
_____ 3. It expected Great Britain would provide it with crucial military and economic aid.
_____ 4. It had the advantage of fighting a defensive war.
_____ 5. It experienced no significant division or antiwar sentiment within its population.
_____ 6. At first it benefited from superior military leadership.
_____ 7. It won a decisive victory at Antietam.
_____ 8. It suffered the divisive handicap of the states’ rights philosophy.
_____ 9. Its president devoted too much time to details and failed to delegate authority well.
_____ 10. Its president’s strength lay in his ability to think problems through and act unflinchingly.
_____ 11. Its navy clamped a blockade on all enemy ports.
_____ 12. It managed to wage war without spending the nation into significant indebtedness.
_____ 13. Its Congress passed an income tax law and new excise taxes.
_____ 15. Its government authorized loans to help finance the war.
16. Some of its financial obligations were met by printing paper money.

17. It relied primarily on a strong defense to wear down the enemy’s will to fight.

18. It suffered from shortages of labor.

19. It experienced shortages and printed great amounts of paper currency.

20. Its railroads operated close to capacity and with increasing efficiency.

21. As the war dragged on the continuing inflation eroded purchasing power.

22. The war stimulated production and the growth of large corporations.

23. Its women took over the management of farms when their men went off to war.

24. Its commanding general grasped the fundamental truth that the best strategy was to wage total war.

25. Its supply of volunteer enlistments was sufficient to prevent its having to draft men into military service.
CHAPTER 16

Reconstruction and the South

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Reaction</th>
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<tr>
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</table>

The Union armies that invaded the Confederacy treated the southern population with needless cruelty.

The Thirteenth Amendment that freed the slaves also increased the representation of southern states in Congress.

The northerners who imposed tough readmission requirements on southern states believed in racial equality, and southerners did not.

The Fourteenth Amendment outlawed racial segregation and prevented southern states from denying African Americans the right to vote.

By their own stubborn behavior, southerners brought a more severe reconstruction on themselves.

African Americans controlled the reconstruction governments Congress set up to govern the former Confederate states.

The fact that black free labor was less productive than slave labor proved that African Americans could not be trusted to work independently of white supervision.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 16 you should be able to:

1. Compare and contrast the provisions of both Presidential and Congressional Reconstruction plans.
2. Describe the problems and accomplishments of the Radical Reconstruction governments in the postwar South.
3. Explain why sharecropping and the crop-lien system came to dominate southern agriculture after the Civil War.
4. Explain why Radical Reconstruction governments faltered and were replaced by conservative Democratic party governments in the South by 1877.
5. List the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Presidential Reconstruction

When the Civil War ended, the nation faced the complex legal question of how to readmit the former Confederate states back into the Union. President Lincoln’s lenient 1862 “Ten Percent Plan” merely required southern states to adopt a republican form of government, accept emancipation, and provide for African American education. It did not require black suffrage. Radical Republicans in Congress objected to the plan’s moderation and to Lincoln’s assumption that the president’s pardoning power mandated his control of Reconstruction policy. Lincoln pocket vetoed Congress’ Wade-Davis bill that would have required a majority (not merely ten percent) of southern voters to take a loyalty oath, and would have required southern states to disenfranchise former Confederates and repudiate their Confederate debt.

Lincoln’s successor, Andrew Johnson, was a spokesman for small farmers, but he held contempt for blacks and was a stubborn defender of states’ rights. He granted amnesty to all but a handful of southern planters and former Confederate officials, and by December 1865 southern states had organized new governments, ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, and elected new members to Congress.

Republican Radicals

Ultra-Radical Republicans led by Charles Sumner demanded immediate equal rights for African Americans and that they be given the vote, land, and an education. Most Republicans would settle for less. Congress objected to Johnson’s Reconstruction proposal because it would increase southern (Democratic party) representation in Congress, it allowed former Confederate leaders to hold public office, and it allowed southerners to adopt restrictive Black Codes to exploit and control African Americans.

Congress Rejects Johnsonian Reconstruction

Johnson alienated Congress by vetoing a new Freedmen’s Bureau bill and a Civil Rights Act that were designed to aid and protect the former slaves. Congress overrode his veto of the Civil Rights Act and took control of Reconstruction. Johnson’s combative personality played into the hands of the Radicals even though few northerners believed in racial equality or in providing special protection for the rights of the former slaves. But Radical Republicans understood that if African Americans were to achieve real equality, a political revolution would have to occur that would permit interference by the federal government in local affairs.
The Fourteenth Amendment

The Radical-sponsored Fourteenth Amendment increased the power of the federal government over the states. It confirmed the great change wrought by the Civil War: the growth of a more complex, more closely integrated social and economic structure requiring closer national supervision. The amendment made African Americans citizens and protected all citizens against state violations of their right to due process and equal protection of the law. It temporarily disenfranchised some former Confederates, repudiated the Confederate debt, and penalized states that refused to give African Americans the right to vote. It did not outlaw segregation, nor did it clearly prevent a state from disenfranchising African Americans. In his 1866 “swing around the circle” campaign, President Johnson denounced the amendment and encouraged southern states not to ratify it. But most northerners were determined that African Americans have at least formal legal equality. They elected Republicans in numbers that increased the Radicals’ strength in Congress and in Northern states to a level sufficient to complete the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Reconstruction Acts

Southern recalcitrance and abuse of African American rights led to several Reconstruction Acts in 1867. The South was divided into five military districts. The army officers who commanded these districts were empowered to protect civil rights, maintain order, and supervise the organization of new state governments. These governments were required to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and guarantee African Americans the right to vote.

Congress Supreme

The North’s effort to impose its will on the South was provoked by the suffering and frustration of the war years, postwar southern recalcitrance, Johnson’s stubbornness, and the threat of a Democratic party resurgence. In the course of Reconstruction, Republicans attempted a grand revision of the federal government that was designed to increase the authority of Congress over the president and the Supreme Court. It culminated in an attempt to impeach President Johnson and remove him from office, but the Senate failed to convict him of impeachment charges by a single vote. The impeachment trial weakened the presidency, but its outcome preserved the federal government’s checks-and-balance system.

The Fifteenth Amendment

The Reconstruction Acts and the Fourteenth Amendment enfranchised southern African Americans who immediately used their votes to help Ulysses S. Grant win the 1868 presidential election. Hoping to cement African American voting rights throughout the nation, Congress proposed the Fifteenth Amendment that forbade all states to deny the vote on account of race, color, or previous servitude (but not sex). The amendment was motivated in part by considerations of partisan advantage, but it also reflected the North’s discomfort with a double standard on voting rights, appreciation for African American soldiers’ service during the Civil War, and hope that it would end the strife of Reconstruction. The amendment contained
loopholes and was later subverted by southern states, but a more strongly worded amendment could not have been ratified at the time.

“Black Republican” Reconstruction: Scalawags and Carpetbaggers

Former slaves voted Republican, but the real rulers of the “black Republican” governments in the South were mostly white Republicans and former southern Whigs—“scalawags,” and, less frequently, idealistic or ambitious northern “carpetbaggers.” Most of the few African Americans who held office were better educated and more prosperous than most southern blacks, and a disproportionate number of them were mulattos or had been free blacks before the war. In the main, they were able and conscientious public servants and not vindictive toward ex-Confederates.

Like governments in all sections at every level at the time, Reconstruction state governments were guilty of waste and corruption and a callous disregard of the public interest. Still, Radical southern governments accomplished much: With higher taxes they financed railroad construction and expanded social services like free public education. African Americans eagerly grasped the opportunity to learn how to read and write, even though schools were segregated.

The Ravaged Land

The Civil War ravaged southern property, and emancipation created confusion. Most former slaves wanted their own land, and northern congressman Thaddeus Stevens tried to design a way to seize former plantations and divide the land among the former slaves. But most Americans had too much respect for private property to support his confiscation policy. Southern whites expected that blacks were inherently lazy and would not work as free men, and, in fact, after the abolition of slavery, cotton production diminished. The decline in productivity was not due to the inability of former slaves to work independently, however, but to their refusal to work like slaves. They quite reasonably devoted more time to their family and to leisure and refused to send their wives and children to the fields. In freedom, black families became more like white families.

Sharecropping and the Crop-Lien System

An early attempt to pay ex-slaves wages to work in the fields was unsuccessful because money was scarce and African Americans disliked working for wages. They wanted independence. So, planters broke up their estates into small units and “rented” land and supplies to African American families who provided the labor to work the land. The two then shared the crop at the end of the harvest—sharecropping. The scarcity of capital produced the crop-lien system where local merchants made loans against the collateral of the fall cotton harvest. It made both landowners and sharecroppers, black and white, dependent on credit obtained only at high rates of interest. Southern manufacturing made some gains during Reconstruction. The cigarette, coal and iron, and textile industries all increased production. Overall, however, the South’s share of the national output of manufactured goods sharply declined during Reconstruction.
The White Backlash

The key to the survival of Radical southern governments was the ability of wealthy merchants and planters to mobilize the African American vote. But racist vigilante groups like the Ku Klux Klan gradually drove African Americans out of politics by resorting to violence and intimidation. Congress responded to the KKK by placing southern elections under federal jurisdiction. But the Klan’s actions cowed many African Americans and weakened the will of southern white Republicans.

Northern and southern whites edged toward a new solidarity based on white supremacy. Nationalism was reasserting itself. With the former slaves protected against reenslavement, northerners’ commitment to Radical Reconstruction was waning, as was their interest in racial equality. Also, northern industrialists, who were coming to see the importance of a well-disciplined labor force, became more sympathetic to the southern insistence on more control over their own labor force, that is, the former slaves.

Grant as President

Interest in Reconstruction also flagged because other matters diverted the attention of northerners: industrial development, railroad construction, western settlement, and tariff and currency policy. The Republican party was also damaged by the incompetence, graft, and corruption that permeated the Grant administration. In 1872, a reform element organized the Liberal Republican party and nominated Horace Greeley for president. They advocated low tariffs, sound money, and termination of special attention to the rights of African Americans. Grant was reelected, but the Democrats regained control of the House of Representatives in the 1874 elections. Republican control of Reconstruction governments in the South was ending.

The Disputed Election of 1876

In 1876, both the Republicans and the Democrats nominated presidential candidates who were unblemished by corruption. The election results were confused when Electoral College votes in three southern states and Oregon were disputed. Congress created a special electoral commission to assign the disputed votes. The commission gave all the disputed votes to the Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes. Outraged Democrats threatened to prevent his inauguration.

The Compromise of 1877

Compromise-minded southern Democrats indicated they were willing to accept Hayes if he would end Reconstruction. After his inauguration, Hayes withdrew all occupying federal troops from the South and appointed a former Confederate general to his cabinet. This “Compromise of 1877” ended Reconstruction. But this new sectional harmony came at the expense of former slaves, now condemned to lives of poverty, indignity, and near hopelessness.
PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

pocket veto

amnesty

impeachment

sharecropping

crop-lien system

Describe the following:

Ten Percent Plan

Wade-Davis bill

Thirteenth Amendment

Black Codes

Freedmen’s Bureau
Civil Rights Act

“swing around the circle”

Fourteenth Amendment

Reconstruction Acts

Tenure of Office Act

Fifteenth Amendment

Force Acts

Compromise of 1877

Identify the following:

Thaddeus Stevens

Charles Sumner

Andrew Johnson
Radical Republicans

scalawags

carpetbaggers

Ku Klux Klan

Ulysses S. Grant

Liberal Republicans

Horace Greeley

Rutherford B. Hayes

SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. On the complex question of bringing the defeated Confederate states back into the Union,
   A. southerners believed that they had legally seceded and would have to be formally
      readmitted back into the Union.
   B. Radical Republicans believed that secession was illegal and that former Confederate
      states needed no formal readmission to the Union.
   C. President Lincoln believed secession was illegal, but that southern states still needed
      to be formally readmitted to the Union.
   D. Charles Sumner believed that the Confederate states had ceased to exist as states and
      must be treated as conquered territory.
2. President Lincoln’s Ten Percent Plan for Reconstruction did NOT require southern states to
   A. adopt a republican form of government.
   B. accept the fact of slavery’s abolition.
   C. provide schooling for former slaves.
   D. guarantee African Americans the right to vote.

3. Congress’ Wade-Davis bill required southern states to
   A. guarantee African American equality.
   B. guarantee universal manhood suffrage.
   C. repudiate the Confederate debt.
   D. gradually abolish slavery.

4. Andrew Johnson was made President Lincoln’s running mate in 1864 primarily for the
   political benefits that would result from his
   A. being a Radical Republican leader.
   B. patient and compromising manner.
   C. being a Democrat from a border slave state.
   D. having been a southern slaveowner.

5. President Johnson’s Reconstruction proposal would NOT have
   A. allowed former Confederates to hold public office.
   B. increased the number of southerners in Congress.
   C. required full civil and political equality for African Americans.
   D. allowed southern states to use special legal codes to control former slaves.

6. President Andrew Johnson did NOT veto the
   A. Civil Rights Act.
   B. Freedmen’s Bureau bill.
   C. Wade-Davis bill.
   D. Reconstruction Act.

7. The Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed
   A. U.S. citizenship to former slaves.
   B. land ownership for former slaves.
   C. freedom to slaves.
   D. former slaves the right to vote.

8. The Fourteenth Amendment did NOT
   A. require former Confederate states to pay their war debts.
   B. prohibit former Confederate officials from voting.
   C. guarantee former slaves due process of law.
   D. guarantee all citizens equal protection of the law.

9. The Fourteenth Amendment
   A. specifically outlawed racial segregation.
   B. specifically prevented any state from denying African Americans the right to vote.
   C. altered the power relationship between the federal and state governments.
   D. established legal Black Codes to protect the rights of the former slaves.
10. The South was divided into five military districts under the provisions of the
   A. Tenure of Office Act.
   B. Civil Rights Act.
   C. Reconstruction Act.
   D. Confiscation Act.

11. Congress’ decision to bring impeachment charges against President Johnson was most
    immediately provoked by his
    A. highly partisan “swing around the circle” in 1866.
    B. readmission of former Confederate states.
    C. dismissal of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton.
    D. advice to southern states not to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment.

12. The Fifteenth Amendment was an attempt to gain _____ for African Americans.
    A. land ownership
    B. the right to vote
    C. an education
    D. citizenship

13. The _____ were LEAST likely to hold powerful positions in Radical Reconstruction
    governments in the South.
    A. scalawags
    B. carpetbaggers
    C. former slaves
    D. Republicans

14. Radical Reconstruction governments in the South did NOT
    A. clean up government corruption.
    B. raise taxes.
    C. fund public schooling.
    D. finance railroad construction

15. After the Civil War,
    A. the South’s general economic condition declined.
    B. the planter elite no longer controlled land ownership.
    C. the sharecropping system of labor management declined.
    D. most former slaves became small landowners.

16. All of the following are true of the southern economy during Reconstruction EXCEPT
    A. former slaves disliked working for wages.
    B. money was scarce.
    C. cotton production declined.
    D. the South’s percent of national manufacturing output increased.
17. The Liberal Republican party in 1872 did NOT demand
   A. lower tariffs.
   B. sound money.
   C. civil liberties for African Americans.
   D. honest government.

18. The disputed votes in the 1876 presidential election were assigned to candidates by
   A. the Joint Committee on Reconstruction.
   B. a special Electoral Commission.
   C. the Supreme Court.
   D. the Electoral College.

19. After his inauguration in 1877, President Hayes
   A. demanded that all southern states ratify the Fifteenth Amendment.
   B. became the first Democrat in the presidency since 1856.
   C. withdrew all federal occupying troops from the South.
   D. pardoned former president Grant for his involvement in political corruption.

20. Arrange the following events in their proper time order: (A) Wade-Davis bill, (B) Reconstruction Act, (C) Fifteenth Amendment, (D) Compromise of 1877
   A. A, B, D, C
   B. A, B, C, D
   C. C, D, B, A
   D. B, A, C, D

Essay Questions

1. Compare and contrast the provisions of the Ten Percent Plan, Wade-Davis bill, Johnson’s Amnesty plan, and the Radical Republicans’ plan for Reconstruction. Explain why the Radicals’ plan came to be the one adopted.

2. Define the problems faced by Radical Reconstruction governments in the postwar South. List the major accomplishments of these governments.

3. Define “sharecropping” and the “crop-lien system” and explain why these came to dominate the landowner-merchant-labor relationship in the post-Civil War southern economy.

4. Explain why Radical Reconstruction failed to accomplish all it set out to do.

5. State the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments and describe the historical context in which they were proposed and ratified.
CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Facts, Inferences, and Judgments

Search the text excerpt below for statements of fact, inference, and judgment. For each of the numbered statements in the excerpt, circle F for fact, I for inference, or J for judgment on the answer grid that follows.

(1) The real rulers of the “black Republican” governments were white: the “scalawags” . . . and the “carpetbaggers”. . . . (2) The scalawags were by far the more numerous. (3) A few were prewar politicians or well-to-do planters . . . . (4) But most were people who had supported the Whig party before the secession crisis . . . . (5) That blacks should fail to dominate southern governments is certainly understandable. (6) They lacked experience in politics and were mostly poor and uneducated. . . . (7) Not all black legislators and administrators were paragons of virtue. (8) In South Carolina, despite their control of the legislature, they broke up into factions repeatedly and failed to press for laws that would improve the lot of poor black farm workers. . . . (9) One Arkansas black took $9,000 from the state for repairing a bridge that had cost only $500 to build. . . . (10) However, the corruption must be seen in perspective. . . . (11) [G]raft and callous disregard of the public interest characterized government in every section and at every level during the decade after Appomattox. . . . (12) The New York City Tweed Rig probably made off with more money than all the southern thieves, black and white, combined. (13) While the evidence does not justify the southern corruption, (14) it suggests that the unique features of Reconstruction politics . . . do not explain it. . . . (15) In fact, the Radical southern governments accomplished a great deal. . . . (16) Tax rates zoomed, but the money financed the repair and expansion of the South’s dilapidated railroad network, rebuilt crumbling levees, and expanded social services. . . .
PROLOGUE

Multiple-Choice Questions


CHAPTER 1

Map Locations

1. Caribbean Islands (12)
2. Newfoundland (3)
3. Jamestown, Virginia (7)
4. Manhattan Island (6)
5. Barbados (13)
6. St. Lawrence River (5)
7. Massachusetts (4), New Hampshire (3), Connecticut (6), Rhode Island (5), New York (7), New Jersey (9), Pennsylvania (8), Delaware (11), Virginia (13), Maryland (12), North Carolina (14), South Carolina (15)

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking Exercise

1. De León, De Soto, and Coronado were all Spanish explorers of areas eventually included in the United States.

2. Native Americans in what became the United States were generally a deeply religious people who were conscious of their place in the environment, and who practiced communal land ownership.

3. Raleigh, Gilbert, and Hakluyt were all English proponents of colonization in the New World.

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4. The first English colonies in the New World were founded in Newfoundland (Gilbert) and Roanoke Island (Raleigh), and the first permanent settlement was in the Chesapeake Bay area (Jamestown, Virginia).

5. Quakers, Separatists, and Puritans were all dissenting sects that were critical of the Anglican church (Church of England).

6. Bradford (Plymouth), Winthrop (Massachusetts Bay), and Smith (Jamestown) were all governors of early English colonies.

7. Revelation, Arminianism, and antinomianism were all “heretical” beliefs in the eyes of the Puritan church.

8. Maine, Connecticut, and New Hampshire were all spin-off colonies from the Massachusetts Bay colony.

9. Colonial companies and proprietors came to see the wisdom of offering access to land, political rights, and religious toleration to attract settlers to their colonies.

10. New York, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas were all proprietary colonies founded after the restoration of the monarchy in England in 1660.

Chapter 2

Multiple-Choice Questions

Critical Thinking Exercise

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Chapter 3

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking Exercise

Group 1: 3, 2, 4, 1
Group 2: 2, 4, 1, 3
Group 3: 5, 1, 3, 2, 4
Group 4: 2, 1, 4, 3, 5
Group 5: 4, 2, 5, 3, 1
Chapter 4

Map Locations

1. Lexington and Concord (Massachusetts) (4)
2. Bunker Hill (Boston) (3)
3. Trenton and Princeton, New Jersey (7)
4. Valley Forge, Pennsylvania (8)
5. Charleston, South Carolina (11)
6. Saratoga, New York (2)
7. Yorktown, Virginia (10)
8. Trans-Appalachian West (13)
9. Northwest Territory (14)

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking Exercise


Chapter 5

Multiple-Choice Questions

Critical Thinking Exercise

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Chapter 6

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking Exercise: Complete the compare-and-contrast matrix in Chapter 5.

Chapter 7

Map Locations

1. Plattsburg (15); Washington D.C. (16); New Orleans (17)
2. Lake Erie (13)
3. Oregon Country (1)
4. eastern: Lake of the Woods (8); western: Rocky Mountains (6)
5. Adams-Onís Treaty or Transcontinental Treaty (18)
6. Florida (4)
7. Tippecanoe (12)

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Multiple Choice Questions


Critical Thinking Exercise

1. Effect: The War of 1812
   Contributory causes: land hunger, sense of national honor, agricultural depression, violations of neutral rights

2. Effect: Federalists oppose the War of 1812
   Contributory causes: partisan advantage, concern for the health of New England’s economy

3. Effect: American military failures in the War of 1812
   Contributory causes: an effective British blockade, disappointing military leadership

4. Effect: Pronouncement of the Monroe Doctrine
   Contributory causes: Russian colonization of the Pacific coast, the threat of European recolonization in Latin America

5. Effect: Dawning of an Era of Good Feelings
   Contributory causes: “victory” in the War of 1812, economic prosperity, Republican adoption of Federalist programs, Monroe’s presidential style

6. Effect: Hostile congressional debate over the admission of Missouri to the Union
   Contributory causes: Tallmadge amendment, Three-Fifths Compromise, the North controlled the House of Representatives, Missouri was located north of the Ohio River

Chapter 8

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking Exercise

Chapter 9

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking Exercise

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<td>Independent Treasury</td>
<td>favored</td>
<td>opposed</td>
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<tr>
<td>* Second National Bank</td>
<td>opposed</td>
<td>favored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* nullification</td>
<td>Jackson opposed</td>
<td>opposed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 10

Map Locations

1. New York (5), Philadelphia (6), Boston (4)
2. St. Louis (18), Lexington (15), Louisville (17), Cincinnati (16), Pittsburgh (3)
3. New Orleans (13), Charleston (9), Baltimore (7), Mobile (12), Savannah (10)
4. Upstate New York (19)
5. Great Salt Lake, Utah (21)

Multiple-Choice Questions

Critical Thinking Exercise

1. **Cause:** Population mobility  
   Effects: increase in the number of towns, population growth in the West, growth in size of large cities

2. **Cause:** Emergence of the factory system  
   Effects: division of cities into residential and occupational areas, adoption of a wage payment system, rapid decline of household industry

3. **Cause:** Growth of industry  
   Effects: increased family income, improved living standards, new economic opportunities for women

4. **Cause:** Growth of the factory system and cities  
   Effects: increased family intimacy, reduced economic importance of the family, increased prestige and authority for wives/mothers

5. **Cause:** Second Great Awakening  
   Effects: mobilization of women to social action, increasing church membership, decline of Calvinist theology, heightened hopes for personal salvation

6. **Cause:** Abolitionist movement  
   Effect: caused some to question the morality of slavery, provoked controversy among antislavery northerners, spawned a women’s rights movement

---

**Chapter 11**

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking Exercise

Additional categories for comparison might include attitudes toward change, social reform, government regulation, political activism, idealism, self-confidence, industrialism, reason, and so on.
Chapter 12

Map Locations

1. Maine (5)
2. The Alamo (8)
3. San Diego (10), San Francisco (11), Puget Sound (1)
4. Rio Grande (9)
5. Texas (17)
6. 49th Parallel from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean (2)
7. California (14)
8. New Mexico (16) and Utah (15) Territories

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking Exercise

Effect: Texas Annexation  3, 1, 4, 2, 5
Effect: Mexican War  4, 1, 5, 2, 3
Effect: Compromise of 1850  2, 3, 1, 4, 5

Chapter 13

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking Exercise

Chapter 14

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking Exercise

1. b  2. b  3. f  4. l  5. i  6. a  7. h  
8. d  9. j  10. k  11. c  12. e  13. g

Chapter 15

Map Locations

1. Fort Sumter, Charleston, South Carolina (23)  
2. Tennessee (15), North Carolina (5), Arkansas (13), Virginia (2)  
3. Bull Run (Manassas Junction, Virginia) (20)  
4. West Virginia (1)  
5. Antietam (Sharpsburg, Maryland) (19) and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania (17)  
6. Vicksburg, Mississippi (27)  
7. Richmond, Virginia (21)  
8. Atlanta, Georgia (24)  
9. Georgia (7)  

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking Exercise


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Chapter 16

Multiple-Choice Question


Critical Thinking Exercise

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To the Student

This Study Guide is intended to help you review and deepen your understanding of the material in the textbook, THE AMERICAN NATION, Volume Two, Twelfth Edition, by Mark Carnes and John Garraty.

Each chapter of the Study Guide follows the same format. Each chapter begins with an Anticipation/Reaction exercise intended to help you connect your prior learning in American history to that you are about to learn, then to show you some things you learned and unlearned as a result of reading each chapter. Each chapter’s Learning Objectives introduces the key themes of the chapter and suggests what you will know and be able to do after studying the chapter. A Chapter Overview follows these objectives. This is a summary of the chapter’s content. Next is an interactive section called People, Places, and Things. Here you will have space to write definitions of key concepts and terminology, descriptions of significant events, and identifications of important groups and personalities that are discussed in the chapter. In several chapters there are Map Questions requiring you to identify historically significant places, both by name and geographic location. Following these exercises is a set of Self-Test questions, both multiple-choice and essay, which will help you check your comprehension of the chapter material and your attainment of the Learning Objectives.

Next is a section titled Critical Thinking Exercise. The purpose of these exercises is to help you develop selected critical thinking skills, especially those that are crucial to the study of history: classifying information, comparing and contrasting relationships, understanding cause and effect relationships, and distinguishing among facts, inferences, and judgments. These exercises use material from the textbook, so they will also aid your comprehension and understanding of the text.

You can attain maximum benefit from the Study Guide by using the following procedure:

- Read and complete the Anticipation part of the Anticipation/Reaction section.
- Read the Learning Objectives.
- Read the Chapter Overview.
- Read the textbook chapter carefully.
- Complete the People, Places, and Things items.
- Complete the Critical Thinking Exercise.
- Rehearse for the Self-Test by rereading the Learning Objectives and Chapter Overview carefully.
- Double-check any misunderstandings, information gaps, or confusion with the appropriate section of the textbook.
- Take the Self-Test.
- Reread the Learning Objectives. You should be confident of your ability to do what they ask.
- Read and complete the Reaction part of the Anticipation/Reaction section.
Answers to the Map Questions, Self-Tests, and Critical Thinking Exercises are in the Answers Section beginning on page 263.

Please send your comments or suggestions to the author’s e-mail address: kweather@delmar.edu
CHAPTER 16

Reconstruction and the South

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. _____ The Union armies that invaded the Confederacy treated the southern</td>
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<td>population with needless cruelty.</td>
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<td>2. _____ The Thirteenth Amendment that freed the slaves also increased the</td>
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<td>representation of southern states in Congress.</td>
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<td>3. _____ The northerners who imposed tough readmission requirements on</td>
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<td>southern states believed in racial equality, and southerners did not.</td>
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<td>4. _____ The Fourteenth Amendment outlawed racial segregation and prevented</td>
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<td>southern states from denying African Americans the right to vote.</td>
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<td>5. _____ By their own stubborn behavior, southerners brought a more severe</td>
<td>5. _____</td>
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<td>reconstruction on themselves.</td>
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<td>6. _____ African Americans controlled the reconstruction governments</td>
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<td>Congress set up to govern the former Confederate states.</td>
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<td>7. _____ The fact that black free labor was less productive than slave</td>
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<td>labor proved that African Americans could not be trusted to work independently</td>
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<td>of white supervision.</td>
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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 16 you should be able to:

1. Compare and contrast the provisions of both presidential and congressional Reconstruction plans.
2. Describe the problems and accomplishments of the Radical Reconstruction governments in the postwar South.
3. Explain why sharecropping and the crop-lien system came to dominate southern agriculture after the Civil War.
4. Explain why Radical Reconstruction governments faltered and were replaced by conservative Democratic party governments in the South by 1877.
5. List the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Presidential Reconstruction

When the Civil War ended, the nation faced the complex legal question of how to readmit the former Confederate states back into the Union. President Lincoln’s lenient 1862 “Ten Percent Plan” merely required southern states to adopt a republican form of government, accept emancipation, and provide for African American education. It did not require black suffrage. Radical Republicans in Congress objected to the plan’s moderation and to Lincoln’s assumption that the president’s pardoning power mandated his control of Reconstruction policy. Lincoln pocket vetoed Congress’ Wade-Davis bill that would have required a majority (not merely 10 percent) of southern voters to take a loyalty oath, and would have required southern states to disenfranchise former Confederates and repudiate their Confederate debt.

Lincoln’s successor, Andrew Johnson, was a spokesman for small farmers, but he held contempt for blacks and was a stubborn defender of states’ rights. He granted amnesty to all but a handful of southern planters and former Confederate officials, and by December 1865 southern states had organized new governments, ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, and elected new members to Congress.

Republican Radicals

Ultra-Radical Republicans led by Charles Sumner demanded immediate equal rights for African Americans and that they be given the vote, land, and an education. Most Republicans would settle for less. Congress objected to Johnson’s Reconstruction proposal because it would increase southern (Democratic party) representation in Congress, it allowed former Confederate leaders to hold public office, and it allowed southerners to adopt restrictive Black Codes to exploit and control African Americans.

Congress Rejects Johnsonian Reconstruction

Johnson alienated Congress by vetoing a new Freedmen’s Bureau bill and a Civil Rights Act that were designed to aid and protect the former slaves. Congress overrode his veto of the Civil Rights Act and took control of Reconstruction. Johnson’s combative personality played into the hands of the Radicals even though few northerners believed in racial equality or in providing special protection for the rights of the former slaves. But Radical Republicans understood that if African Americans were to achieve real equality, a political revolution would have to occur that would permit interference by the federal government in local affairs.
The Fourteenth Amendment

The Radical-sponsored Fourteenth Amendment increased the power of the federal government over the states. It confirmed the great change wrought by the Civil War: the growth of a more complex, more closely integrated social and economic structure requiring closer national supervision. The amendment made African Americans citizens and protected all citizens against state violations of their right to due process and equal protection of the law. It temporarily disenfranchised some former Confederates, repudiated the Confederate debt, and penalized states that refused to give African Americans the right to vote. It did not outlaw segregation, nor did it clearly prevent a state from disenfranchising African Americans. In his 1866 “swing around the circle” campaign, President Johnson denounced the amendment and encouraged southern states not to ratify it. But most northerners were determined that African Americans have at least formal legal equality. They elected Republicans in numbers that increased the Radicals’ strength in Congress and in northern states to a level sufficient to complete the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Reconstruction Acts

Southern recalcitrance and abuse of African American rights led to several Reconstruction Acts in 1867. The South was divided into five military districts. The army officers who commanded these districts were empowered to protect civil rights, maintain order, and supervise the organization of new state governments. These governments were required to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and guarantee African Americans the right to vote.

Congress Supreme

The North’s effort to impose its will on the South was provoked by the suffering and frustration of the war years, postwar southern recalcitrance, Johnson’s stubbornness, and the threat of a Democratic party resurgence. In the course of Reconstruction, Republicans attempted a grand revision of the federal government that was designed to increase the authority of Congress over the president and the Supreme Court. It culminated in an attempt to impeach President Johnson and remove him from office, but the Senate failed to convict him of impeachment charges by a single vote. The impeachment trial weakened the presidency, but its outcome preserved the federal government’s checks-and-balance system.

The Fifteenth Amendment

The Reconstruction Acts and the Fourteenth Amendment enfranchised southern African Americans who immediately used their votes to help Ulysses S. Grant win the 1868 presidential election. Hoping to cement African American voting rights throughout the nation, Congress proposed the Fifteenth Amendment that forbade all states to deny the vote on account of race, color, or previous servitude (but not sex). The amendment was motivated in part by considerations of partisan advantage, but it also reflected the North’s discomfort with a double standard on voting rights, appreciation for African American soldiers’ service during the Civil War, and hope that it would end the strife of Reconstruction. The amendment contained
loopholes and was later subverted by southern states, but a more strongly worded amendment could not have been ratified at the time.

“Black Republican” Reconstruction: Scalawags and Carpetbaggers

Former slaves voted Republican, but the real rulers of the “black Republican” governments in the South were mostly white Republicans and former southern Whigs—”scalawags,” and, less frequently, idealistic or ambitious northern “carpetbaggers.” Most of the few African Americans who held office were better educated and more prosperous than most southern blacks, and a disproportionate number of them were mulattos or had been free blacks before the war. In the main, they were able and conscientious public servants and not vindictive toward ex-Confederates.

Like governments in all sections at every level at the time, Reconstruction state governments were guilty of waste and corruption and a callous disregard of the public interest. Still, Radical southern governments accomplished much: With higher taxes, they financed railroad construction and expanded social services like free public education. African Americans eagerly grasped the opportunity to learn how to read and write, even though schools were segregated.

The Ravaged Land

The Civil War ravaged southern property, and emancipation created confusion. Most former slaves wanted their own land, and northern congressman Thaddeus Stevens tried to design a way to seize former plantations and divide the land among the former slaves. But most Americans had too much respect for private property to support his confiscation policy. Southern whites expected that blacks were inherently lazy and would not work as free men, and, in fact, after the abolition of slavery, cotton production diminished. The decline in productivity was not due to the inability of former slaves to work independently, however, but to their refusal to work like slaves. They quite reasonably devoted more time to their families and to leisure and refused to send their wives and children to the fields. In freedom, black families became more like white families.

Sharecropping and the Crop-Lien System

An early attempt to pay ex-slaves wages to work in the fields was unsuccessful because money was scarce and African Americans disliked working for wages. They wanted independence. So, planters broke up their estates into small units and “rented” land and supplies to African American families who provided the labor to work the land. The two then shared the crop at the end of the harvest—sharecropping. The scarcity of capital produced the crop-lien system, where local merchants made loans against the collateral of the fall cotton harvest. It made both landowners and sharecroppers, black and white, dependent on credit obtained only at high rates of interest. Southern manufacturing made some gains during Reconstruction. The cigarette, coal and iron, and textile industries all increased production. Overall, however, the South’s share of the national output of manufactured goods sharply declined during Reconstruction.
The White Backlash

The key to the survival of Radical southern governments was the ability of wealthy merchants and planters to mobilize the African American vote. But racist vigilante groups like the Ku Klux Klan gradually drove African Americans out of politics by resorting to violence and intimidation. Congress responded to the KKK by placing southern elections under federal jurisdiction. But the Klan’s actions cowed many African Americans and weakened the will of southern white Republicans.

Northern and southern whites edged toward a new solidarity based on white supremacy. Nationalism was reasserting itself. With the former slaves protected against reenslavement, northerners’ commitment to Radical Reconstruction was waning, as was their interest in racial equality. Also, northern industrialists, who were coming to see the importance of a well-disciplined labor force, became more sympathetic to the southern insistence on more control over their own labor force; that is, the former slaves.

Grant As President

Interest in Reconstruction also flagged because other matters diverted the attention of northerners: industrial development, railroad construction, western settlement, and tariff and currency policy. The Republican party was also damaged by the incompetence, graft, and corruption that permeated the Grant administration. In 1872, a reform element organized the Liberal Republican party and nominated Horace Greeley for president. They advocated low tariffs, sound money, and termination of special attention to the rights of African Americans. Grant was reelected, but the Democrats regained control of the House of Representatives in the 1874 elections. Republican control of Reconstruction governments in the South was ending.

The Disputed Election of 1876

In 1876, both the Republicans and the Democrats nominated presidential candidates who were unblemished by corruption. The election results were confused when Electoral College votes in three southern states and Oregon were disputed. Congress created a special electoral commission to assign the disputed votes. The commission gave all the disputed votes to the Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes. Outraged Democrats threatened to prevent his inauguration.

The Compromise of 1877

Compromise-minded southern Democrats indicated they were willing to accept Hayes if he would end Reconstruction. After his inauguration, Hayes withdrew all occupying federal troops from the South and appointed a former Confederate general to his cabinet. This “Compromise of 1877” ended Reconstruction. But this new sectional harmony came at the expense of former slaves, now condemned to lives of poverty, indignity, and near hopelessness.
PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

pocket veto

amnesty

impeachment

sharecropping

crop-lien system

Describe the following:

Ten Percent Plan

Wade-Davis bill

Thirteenth Amendment

Black Codes

Freedmen’s Bureau
Civil Rights Act

“swing around the circle”

Fourteenth Amendment

Reconstruction Acts

Tenure of Office Act

Fifteenth Amendment

Force Acts

Compromise of 1877

Identify the following:

Thaddeus Stevens

Charles Sumner

Andrew Johnson
Radical Republicans

scalawags

carpetbaggers

Ku Klux Klan

Ulysses S. Grant

Liberal Republicans

Horace Greeley

Rutherford B. Hayes

SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. On the complex question of bringing the defeated Confederate states back into the Union,
   A. southerners believed that they had legally seceded and would have to be formally readmitted back into the Union.
   B. Radical Republicans believed that secession was illegal and that former Confederate states needed no formal readmission to the Union.
   C. President Lincoln believed secession was illegal, but that southern states still needed to be formally readmitted to the Union.
   D. Charles Sumner believed that the Confederate states had ceased to exist as states and must be treated as conquered territory.
2. President Lincoln’s Ten Percent Plan for Reconstruction did NOT require southern states to
   A. adopt a republican form of government.
   B. accept the fact of slavery’s abolition.
   C. provide schooling for former slaves.
   D. guarantee African Americans the right to vote.

3. Congress’ Wade-Davis bill required southern states to
   A. guarantee African American equality.
   B. guarantee universal manhood suffrage.
   C. repudiate the Confederate debt.
   D. gradually abolish slavery.

4. Andrew Johnson was made President Lincoln’s running mate in 1864 primarily for the political benefits that would result from his
   A. being a Radical Republican leader.
   B. patient and compromising manner.
   C. being a Democrat from a border slave state.
   D. having been a southern slaveowner.

5. President Johnson’s Reconstruction proposal would NOT have
   A. allowed former Confederates to hold public office.
   B. increased the number of southerners in Congress.
   C. required full civil and political equality for African Americans.
   D. allowed southern states to use special legal codes to control former slaves.

6. President Andrew Johnson did NOT veto the
   A. Civil Rights Act.
   B. Freedmen’s Bureau bill.
   C. Wade-Davis bill.
   D. Reconstruction Act.

7. The Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed
   A. U.S. citizenship to former slaves.
   B. land ownership for former slaves.
   C. freedom to slaves.
   D. former slaves the right to vote.

8. The Fourteenth Amendment did NOT
   A. require former Confederate states to pay their war debts.
   B. prohibit former Confederate officials from voting.
   C. guarantee former slaves due process of law.
   D. guarantee all citizens equal protection of the law.

9. The Fourteenth Amendment
   A. specifically outlawed racial segregation.
   B. specifically prevented any state from denying African Americans the right to vote.
   C. altered the power relationship between the federal and state governments.
   D. established legal Black Codes to protect the rights of the former slaves.
10. The South was divided into five military districts under the provisions of the
   A. Tenure of Office Act.
   B. Civil Rights Act.
   C. Reconstruction Act.
   D. Confiscation Act.

11. Congress’ decision to bring impeachment charges against President Johnson was most
    immediately provoked by his
   A. highly partisan “swing around the circle” in 1866.
   B. readmission of former Confederate states.
   C. dismissal of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton.
   D. advice to southern states not to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment.

12. The Fifteenth Amendment was an attempt to gain _____ for African Americans.
    A. land ownership
    B. the right to vote
    C. an education
    D. citizenship

13. The _____ were LEAST likely to hold powerful positions in Radical Reconstruction
    governments in the South.
    A. scalawags
    B. carpetbaggers
    C. former slaves
    D. Republicans

14. Radical Reconstruction governments in the South did NOT
    A. clean up government corruption.
    B. raise taxes.
    C. fund public schooling.
    D. finance railroad construction

15. After the Civil War,
    A. the South’s general economic condition declined.
    B. the planter elite no longer controlled land ownership.
    C. the sharecropping system of labor management declined.
    D. most former slaves became small landowners.

16. All of the following are true of the southern economy during Reconstruction EXCEPT
    A. former slaves disliked working for wages.
    B. money was scarce.
    C. cotton production declined.
    D. the South’s percent of national manufacturing output increased.
17. The Liberal Republican party in 1872 did NOT demand
   A. lower tariffs.
   B. sound money.
   C. civil liberties for African Americans.
   D. honest government.

18. The disputed votes in the 1876 presidential election were assigned to candidates by
   A. the Joint Committee on Reconstruction.
   B. a special Electoral Commission.
   C. the Supreme Court.
   D. the Electoral College.

19. After his inauguration in 1877, President Hayes
   A. demanded that all southern states ratify the Fifteenth Amendment.
   B. became the first Democrat in the presidency since 1856.
   C. withdrew all federal occupying troops from the South.
   D. pardoned former president Grant for his involvement in political corruption.

20. Arrange the following events in their proper time order:  (A) Wade-Davis bill, (B) Reconstruction Act,  (C) Fifteenth Amendment,  (D) Compromise of 1877
   A. A, B, D, C
   B. A, B, C, D
   C. C, D, B, A
   D. B, A, C, D

Essay Questions

1. Compare and contrast the provisions of the Ten Percent Plan, Wade-Davis bill, Johnson’s Amnesty plan, and the Radical Republican’s plan for Reconstruction. Explain why the Radicals’ plan came to be the one adopted.

2. Define the problems faced by Radical Reconstruction governments in the postwar South. List the major accomplishments of these governments.

3. Define “sharecropping” and the “crop-lien system” and explain why these came to dominate the landowner-merchant-labor relationship in the post-Civil War southern economy.

4. Explain why Radical Reconstruction failed to accomplish all it set out to do.

5. State the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments and describe the historical context in which they were proposed and ratified.
CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Facts, Inferences, and Judgments

Search the text excerpt below for statements of fact, inference, and judgment. For each of the numbered statements in the excerpt, circle F for fact, I for inference, or J for judgment on the answer grid that follows.

(1) The real rulers of the “black Republican” governments were white: the “scalawags” . . . and the “carpetbaggers”. . . . (2) The scalawags were by far the more numerous. (3) A few were prewar politicians or well-to-do planters . . . . (4) But most were people who had supported the Whig party before the secession crisis . . . .

(5) That blacks should fail to dominate southern governments is certainly understandable. (6) They lacked experience in politics and were mostly poor and uneducated. . . . (7) Not all black legislators and administrators were paragons of virtue. (8) In South Carolina, despite their control of the legislature, they broke up into factions repeatedly and failed to press for laws that would improve the lot of poor black farm workers. . . . (9) One Arkansas black took $9,000 from the state for repairing a bridge that had cost only $500 to build. . . .

(10) However, the corruption must be seen in perspective. . . . (11) [G]raft and callous disregard of the public interest characterized government in every section and at every level during the decade after Appomattox. . . . (12) The New York City Tweed Rig probably made off with more money than all the southern thieves, black and white, combined. (13) While the evidence does not justify the southern corruption, (14) it suggests that the unique features of Reconstruction politics . . . do not explain it. . . .

(15) In fact, the Radical southern governments accomplished a great deal. . . . (16) Tax rates zoomed, but the money financed the repair and expansion of the South’s dilapidated railroad network, rebuilt crumbling levees, and expanded social services. . . .

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CHAPTER 17

In the Wake of War

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from Anticipation to Reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

Anticipation                        Reaction

1. _____ The horrific violence of the Civil War produced a postwar mood of sober reflection on the priority of life, family, and spiritual values

   1. _____

2. _____ In the late nineteenth century, unlike the late twentieth century, the U.S. national government was dominated by Congress, not by the presidency.

   2. _____

3. _____ Freedmen (former slaves) lost their right to vote in southern states as soon as Union’s occupying troops withdrew and southern Democrats regained control of former Confederate state governments.

   3. _____

4. _____ Booker T. Washington emerged as the first spokesman for resistance against disenfranchisement, discrimination, segregation, and second-class citizenship for African Americans.

   4. _____

5. _____ The labor needed to build the western transcontinental railroad to California was largely provided by immigrant workers from Mexico.

   5. _____

6. _____ Most of the land issued under the Homestead Act was acquired by individual or family farmers in 160-acre lots.

   6. _____

7. _____ Most of the wealth extracted from the western mining frontier after the Civil War was taken by the prospectors who arrived first with their picks and shovels.

   7. _____

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 17 you should be able to:

1. Compare and contrast the major political parties in the 1870s and 1880s
2. Explain the significance of Booker T. Washington’s “Atlanta Compromise.”
3. Identify the federal government’s policies toward the Plains Indians in the late nineteenth century, and explain the relative success and failure of each.
4. Compare and contrast the key features of the mining, farming, and cattle frontiers in the late nineteenth century, and identify the significance of the railroads to each.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

New Problems, New Solutions

The English author James Bryce, in *The American Commonwealth*, claimed that the politicians neglected to solve the problems produced by rapid industrialization.

Congress Ascendant

In the post-Reconstruction era, many Americans were strongly materialistic and tolerated waste and corruption so long as no one interfered with their personal pursuit of profit. Congress dominated the government between the administrations of Andrew Johnson and Theodore Roosevelt but was held in overall low esteem. The Senate was perceived as a “rich man’s club,” whereas the House of Representatives gained notoriety for its disorder and inefficiency. Partisan divisions were fundamentally sectional, stemming from the outcome of the Civil War. The parties seldom took clearly opposing positions on issues and were often balanced in Congress, but the Republicans won all but two presidential elections between 1860 and 1908. Businessmen, African Americans, the wealthy, and New England usually favored Republicans, while immigrants, Catholics, ethnic minorities, and the South usually voted for Democrats. Grover Cleveland was the only Democrat to occupy the White House between the election of James Buchanan (1856) and Woodrow Wilson (1912), but most presidential contests were extremely close.

The Political Aftermath of War

The political history of the late nineteenth century bore little relationship to the meaningful issues of the day. Four issues dominated the post-Reconstruction era: “the bloody shirt,” the tariff, currency reform, and civil service reform. By “waving the bloody shirt,” Republican politicians blamed Democrats for the Civil War and the Lincoln assassination, and supported the Grand Army of the Republic’s demand for pensions for Union veterans. Both parties, manufacturers, workers, and farmers all supported protective tariffs. Business and political leaders argued that protective tariffs fostered the growth of industry and created jobs. Tariff debates usually ignored the public interest in deference to special interests, and every new tariff bill turned into an occasion for logrolling, lobbying, and politicking.

Currency issues revolved around greenbacks, the paper money issued by the Union government during the Civil War. Steps were taken to increase or decrease the amount of money in circulation. Greenbackers supported inflation in an age of deflation, but the major parties refused to confront each other over the issue until the end of the century, and the net economic effect was negligible. Civil service reform was proposed as government grew larger and more complex. Corruption, waste, and venality flourished and created a federal government that that was
monumentally inefficient. But politicians of both parties, arguing that patronage was the life-blood of politics, paid only lip service to reform.

**Blacks After Reconstruction**

Minorities were treated with contempt in the postwar decades. As Reconstruction ended, President Rutherford Hayes told African Americans to trust southern whites, a policy Frederick Douglass termed “sickly conciliation.” For a while, African Americans, though treated to northern indifference and southern fraud, intimidation, and violence, were not totally disenfranchised in the postwar South. But by 1900 few African Americans were permitted to vote, a deprivation resulting from poll taxes and literacy tests.

Almost every Supreme Court decision after 1877 that affected African Americans somehow nullified or curtailed their rights. In 1883, the Supreme Court struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875 on grounds that the Fourteenth Amendment protected African Americans from discrimination by the states, but not by individuals. In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the Court affirmed a policy that would stand for another 58 years: Segregation was legal so long as separate facilities were of “equal quality.” Most northerners supported the government and the courts that allowed segregation to be imposed throughout the South. This halted the progress in public education for African Americans the Reconstruction governments had made. The African American schools that survived taught a docile, essentially subservient philosophy, preparing their students to accept second-class citizenship.

**Booker T. Washington: A “Reasonable” Champion for Blacks**

Most late-nineteenth-century whites were convinced that African Americans were racially inferior and consigned them complacently to poverty, ignorance, and oblivion. African Americans reacted to this situation in a variety of ways, making a choice between militancy and black separatism on one hand, and self-help and accommodation on the other.

In his 1895 “Atlanta Compromise” speech, Washington urged whites to assist African American “self-help” endeavors. He minimized the importance of civil and political rights for African Americans and advised them to accept segregation and second-class citizenship while concentrating on learning useful skills. After African Americans improved themselves accordingly, Washington predicted, they would be accepted as equals by whites. Though he chose accommodation and not confrontation, Washington worked against restrictive measures and organized African American voters in the North.

**White Violence and Vengeance**

By the time of the Atlanta Compromise, Washington’s call for “sagacious silence,” could hardly be heard over the cries of African American victims of white violence. From 1890 to 1910, nearly a hundred African Americans were lynched annually; others were executed after biased and nominally legal trials. Some were brutally mutilated before being put to death.
White fears were excited by rumors of African American males as rapists and predators; white women hence demanded that white men do their duty to protect their womenfolk. Violence succeeded in disenfranchising many southern African American men, a situation which created opportunities for African American women to fill the familial and community leadership void.

The West After the Civil War

Many foreign-born residents coming from Mexico, China, and Europe immigrated to the West after the Civil War. Besides its great open spaces, the West contained several bustling cities, the most significant being San Francisco. The western economy was based on agriculture, mining, commercial ventures, and the early stages of industrialization. California was particularly affected by the steady flow of Chinese laborers, most of whom came to the United States under the Burlingame Treaty of 1868. The Chinese provided much of the labor needed to build the western link of the transcontinental railroad, but, after 1880, as the need for their labor declined and resentment against them increased, Congress passed legislation prohibiting any further Chinese immigration.

The Plains Indians

For 250 years Indians had been driven back steadily by the whites, but they still occupied roughly half of the United States in 1860. The Plains tribes lived by hunting the buffalo, millions of which ranged over the Plains. From the whites, the Indians obtained the horse, the cavalry sword, the rifle, liquor, and diseases. Over time, the buffalo herds diminished and warfare increased. The United States government treated each tribe as a separate sovereign nation in the policy of “concentration,” initiated in the 1851 tribal council called at Horse Creek near Fort Laramie, Wyoming. Using this strategy of divide and conquer, each Indian tribe was persuaded to accept limits to its hunting grounds.

Indian Wars

Warfare erupted on the Plains when federal troops were pulled from the West to fight against the Confederacy. In 1864, a party of Colorado militia led by Colonel J. M. Chivington came upon an unsuspecting Cheyenne community at Sand Creek and killed an estimated 450 people. General Nelson A. Miles termed this Chivington Massacre the “foulest and most unjustifiable crime in the annals of America.” In turn, the Indians killed dozens of isolated white families. In 1866, the Oglala Sioux under Red Cloud killed Captain W. J. Fetterman’s entire band of 82 soldiers, who were constructing the Bozeman Trail through Sioux hunting grounds in Montana.

In 1867, the government changed strategy and announced that the Plains Indians would be confined to two small reservations, one in the Black Hills of South Dakota and the other in Oklahoma. This new “small reservation” policy was weakened by the ferocity of the Indians’ guerilla warfare and by the government’s maladministration of Indian affairs. Indian Bureau agents often cheated the Indians.

When gold was discovered in the Black Hills, miners entered reservation lands, and the Sioux again went on the warpath. Led by Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, and Rain-in-the-Face, 2,500 Sioux
killed the entire 264-man force led by General George Custer at the Little Bighorn River in Montana. While the battle heartened the Indians, when they ran short of rations that autumn they returned to the reservation.

**The Destruction of Tribal Life**

The building of the transcontinental railroads and the slaughter of the buffalo signaled the destruction of tribal life on the Plains. By the 1880s the buffalo neared extinction, and tribes in the mountains and deserts beyond the Plains gave up their fight. The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 divided tribal lands into individual allotments in a vain attempt by Congress to convert the Indians into small agricultural capitalists. The Dawes Act had disastrous consequences in the long run, and in 1934 the government resumed the previous policy of encouraging tribal ownership and recognizing distinct Indian cultures.

**The Lure of Gold and Silver in the West**

The natural resources of the West were exploited thoughtlessly and ruthlessly. Gold and silver discoveries spurred the growth of mining towns, which sprang up overnight. Claims were staked out along every stream and gully. Soon the boom collapsed, as the prospectors encountered mainly backbreaking labor and disappointment. Miners adopted the get-rich-quick philosophy and gave no thought to conserving resources for future generations.

Law enforcement was a constant problem, as such mining towns as Virginia City, Nevada, and Deadwood, South Dakota, attracted rascals, pickpockets, and gamblers from throughout the world. Virginia City was built on the riches of the Comstock Lode, and Deadwood was born in the Black Hills strike.

Homestake Mining ultimately controlled the mines about Deadwood, and Anaconda Mining dominated the area about Butte, Montana. Thus, although independent and enterprising prospectors made the key discoveries, stockholders of large mining corporations made off with most of the wealth. These gold and silver rushes had valuable results: They provided the nation with immense wealth, they stirred increased interest and permanent settlement in the West, and they speeded its political organization.

**Big Business and the Land Bonanza**

The 160 acres of land permitted under the Homestead Act of 1862 was insufficient for raising livestock or commercial agriculture west of the Mississippi. Moreover, many potential homesteaders could not raise the $1,000 needed to finance a farm, even on free land. The Timber Culture Act of 1873, helpful to farmers in Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas, allowed individuals to claim an additional 160 acres of land if they agreed to plant a quarter of it in trees within 10 years. The Timber and Stone Act of 1878 allowed anyone, including lumber companies, to acquire a quarter section of forestland for $2.50 per acre.

Frontier farmers grappled with many problems as they pushed across the Plains with their families. Despite the rich soil, the farmers faced periodic drought, floods, grasshopper plagues,
Western Railroad Building

Private investors would not hazard the huge sums needed to lay tracks across hundreds of miles of western land when traffic over the road could not possibly produce profits for many years. Therefore, government subsidized the laying of railroads across the West through loans and land grants to states and to companies building intersectional trunk lines. Most of the grants went to four transcontinental railroads: Union Pacific-Central Pacific from Omaha to Sacramento; the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe from Kansas City to San Francisco; the Southern Pacific from San Francisco to New Orleans; and the Northern Pacific, joining Duluth with Portland, Oregon.

Land-grant railroads encouraged the growth of the West by advertising their property widely, by providing cheap transportation for settlers and the army, and by providing efficient shipping services for farmers. The Pacific Railway Act of 1862 established the pattern for land grants, with builders of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific allocated five square miles of public land on each side of the railway for each mile of track laid. In competing for the subsidies, the two companies built redundant miles of inferior-grade track. The one transcontinental railroad built without federal land grants was James J. Hill’s high-quality Great Northern, connecting St. Paul with the Pacific.

The Cattle Kingdom

For 20 years after the Civil War, cattlemen and sheep raisers made millions of dollars grazing their herds on public lands on the Plains. The rise in demand for food in America’s growing industrial cities and the expansion of the railroad network made these herds of cattle increasingly profitable.

In 1866, a number of Texans drove large herds northward toward Sedalia, Missouri, railhead of the Missouri Pacific, but the wooded terrain and the presence of Indian reservations hampered the route. The next year drovers led herds north by a more westerly route along the Chisholm Trail to Abilene, Kansas. At the same time, Charles Goodnight and Oliver Loving drove 2,000 head in a great arc west to New Mexico Territory and into Colorado.

Open-Range Ranching

Cattlemen found that the hardy Texas stock could flourish on the prairie grasses of the Great Plains. The grasses offered cattlemen a bonanza almost as valuable as the gold mines; they profited by fattening their cattle on the public’s land. Investors from Europe and the East began to pour funds into the cattle business. Open-range ranching required ownership of only a few acres along some watercourse. In this semi-arid region, control of water enabled a rancher to dominate the surrounding area. Outfits such as the Nebraska Land and Cattle Company and the
Union Cattle Company of Wyoming soon dominated the business, much as large companies had consolidated mining holdings.

Ranchers poached on the public domain because under federal law there was no reasonable way for them to obtain possession of the large areas of grassland necessary to raise cattle on the Plains.

**Barbed-Wire Warfare**

Congress’ refusal to change the land laws resulted in fraud and overcrowding. The Desert Land Act of 1877 allowed anyone to obtain 640 acres in the arid states for $1.25 an acre provided that the owner irrigated part of it within three years. Over 2.6 million acres were taken up under this law, but in most cases no sincere effort was made to irrigate the land.

Ranchers formed cattlemen’s associations to halt thievery and protect their water rights. To keep other ranchers’ cattle from those sections of the public domain they considered their own, the associations fenced huge areas. Barbed wire, invented in 1874 by Joseph F. Glidden of Illinois, thereby contributed to the disappearance of the open range. The open-range cattle kingdom was further undermined by overproduction, overgrazing, and by blizzards that preceded and followed the summer drought of 1886. Cattle ranching, like mining, thereafter became less of an individual enterprise and more of a big business.

**PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS**

*Define the following:*

Gilded Age

“waving the bloody shirt”

*greenbacks*

*patronage*

*poll tax*
literacy test

land grant

severalty

bonanza farm

Describe the following:

Grand Army of the Republic

concentration policy

Custer’s Last Stand

Plessy v. Ferguson

Atlanta Compromise

Civil Rights Cases

Chisholm Trail
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<td>Timber Culture Act</td>
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<td>Timber and Stone Act</td>
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<td>Desert Land Act</td>
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*Identify the following:*

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Booker T. Washington</td>
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<td>Joseph G. McCoy</td>
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<td>Joseph F. Glidden</td>
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<td>W.J. Fetterman/J.M. Chivington</td>
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SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. In the post-Reconstruction period, which of the following was the most admired?
   A. natural resource conservation
   B. material gain
   C. personal sacrifice for the common good
   D. efficient and honest government

2. In the Gilded Age, the fundamental division between Democrats and Republicans was
   A. ethnic.
   B. emotional.
   C. religious.
   D. sectional.

3. In the 1870s and 1880s national elections,
   A. people voted fairly evenly between Democrats and Republicans.
   B. most people voted Republican.
   C. most people voted Democratic.
   D. a remarkable number of people voted for third parties.

4. Which one of the following would LEAST likely vote for a Democratic candidate in a late-nineteenth-century presidential election?
   A. white southerner
   B. Catholic
   C. African American
   D. immigrant

5. Which one of the following was NOT one of the four issues that obsessed politicians in the late nineteenth century?
   A. civil service reform
   B. tariff rates
   C. racial policies
   D. aid to Civil War veterans

6. In the late nineteenth century, high protective tariffs were favored by
   A. farmers.
   B. manufacturers.
   C. wage workers.
   D. all of the above.

7. Of the following, those LEAST likely to support some kind of currency inflation in the late nineteenth century were
   A. farmers.
   B. greenbackers.
   C. bondholders.
   D. silver miners.
8. In the *Civil Rights Cases*, the Supreme Court  
A. upheld its decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*.  
B. outlawed segregation in public accommodations.  
C. ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment protects a person’s civil rights against invasion by the states, not by individuals.  
D. declared that the Constitution is “color blind.”

9. In the late nineteenth century, the  
A. percentage of black males who voted more than doubled.  
B. living standard of the average southern black more than doubled.  
C. number of black children who attended integrated public schools more than doubled.  
D. number of black men lynched by racist mobs more than doubled each year.

10. In the “Atlanta Compromise,” Booker T. Washington  
A. demanded that Congress enact a Force Act requiring that blacks be allowed to vote in the South.  
B. called for the desegregation of public accommodations.  
C. urged blacks to learn practical skills rather than demand their political rights.  
D. insisted that blacks must marshal all their efforts to oppose the Supreme Court’s “separate but equal” doctrine.

11. Which one of the following had the LEAST effect on disenfranchising southern blacks in the late nineteenth century?  
A. violence and violent rhetoric aimed at blacks  
B. literacy tests  
C. poll taxes  
D. the Supreme Court’s ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*

12. The 1868 Burlingame Treaty  
A. encouraged the immigration of Chinese laborers to work on railroad construction.  
B. prohibited the immigration of any Chinese immigrants for 10 years.  
C. denied the right to vote to Chinese immigrants.  
D. banned Chinese immigrants from the California gold fields.

13. The most important thing the whites gave the Plains Indians was  
A. the horse.  
B. the rifle.  
C. reservation land.  
D. farming skills.

14. The government Indian policy called “concentration” was designed to do all the following EXCEPT  
A. provide land allotments and citizenship to individual Indians.  
B. reduce intertribal warfare.  
C. enable the government to negotiate separate treaties with each tribe.  
D. implement a strategy of divide and conquer against the Indians.
15. The most decisive blow to the survival of the Plains Indians’ culture came from
   A. slaughter of the buffalo.
   B. blizzards and droughts.
   C. neglect of their farms.
   D. success of the U.S. Army.

16. Which of the following pairings is a mismatch?
   A. J. M. Chivington—Sand Creek Massacre
   B. George A. Custer—Little Bighorn River
   C. Nelson A. Miles—“The only good Indians I ever saw were dead.”
   D. W. J Fetterman—Chief Red Cloud

17. The chief beneficiaries of the wealth in the western mining fields were
   A. stockholders of mining corporations.
   B. boom town merchants.
   C. Chinese laundries.
   D. the earliest prospectors.

18. The gold rushes had all these results EXCEPT
   A. they helped pay for the Civil War and postwar economic development.
   B. they brought permanent settlement to the West.
   C. they introduced the concept of environmental preservation to the West.
   D. they speeded the political organization of the West.

19. “Bonanza” farms usually cultivated
   1. vegetables.
   2. potatoes.
   3. cotton.
   4. wheat.

20. The cattle boom was ended by a combination of all of these EXCEPT
   A. overproduction.
   B. rising costs.
   C. open-range grazing.
   D. bad weather.

**Essay Questions**

1. Identify four key political issues of the Gilded Age and explain the failure of political leaders to respond to the challenges these issues presented.

2. Explain how and why the Plains Indians were subdued and confined to reservations.

3. Explain how the *Civil Rights Cases* of 1883 and the Supreme Court’s decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* limited the civil rights and social equality of African Americans in the United States. Elaborate on the African Americans’ response to these decisions.

4. Identify the similarities and differences of life in the mining, farming, and cattle frontiers.
5. Explain the connection between government policies and construction of the transcontinental railroads in the late nineteenth century.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Circle the item in each of the following sets of items which is LEAST related to the other three.

1. massacre, bison, army, Fargo
2. Comstock, Atchison, Deadwood, Homestake
3. discrimination, separatism, citizenship, repression
4. scalping, tepees, reservation, warriors
5. miners, drovers, mavericks, fencing
6. claims, irrigation, prospectors, assay
7. semi-arid, desert, humid, drought
8. grasshoppers, blizzards, fire, harvest
9. Comanche, Cherokee, Crow, Cheyenne
CHAPTER 18

*An Industrial Giant*

**ANTICIPATION/REACTION**

*Directions*: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from Anticipation to Reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

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- 1. _____ Between 1870 and 1900, led by businessmen, Americans glorified material wealth.
- 2. _____ In the late nineteenth century, the United States’ national economy was characterized by the decentralization of wealth and ever-expanding opportunities for all.
- 3. _____ The first “big business” in the United States was the steel industry, made possible by the invention of the Bessemer process and the organizational skills of Andrew Carnegie.
- 4. _____ Thomas Edison invented, patented, and profited from the typewriter, telephone, and incandescent light bulb.
- 5. _____ Late-nineteenth-century reformers in the United States blamed the uneven distribution of wealth in the nation on the federal tax system and the growing power of federal regulatory commissions.
- 6. _____ Early national labor unions found it hard to curry public support because they planned and participated in violent labor-management confrontations like the Haymarket riot.
- 7. _____ The American Federation of Labor (AFL) enjoyed solid and growing support at the end of the nineteenth century because it denounced the strike as a tool for winning concessions from management.
LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 18 you should be able to:

1. Evaluate the importance of railroads to the development of the national economy in the late nineteenth century.
2. Describe the impact of Andrew Carnegie in the establishment of the steel industry, and compare it to the impact of John D. Rockefeller in the petroleum industry; focus on why “concentration” was the tendency in these and other enterprises in the late nineteenth century.
3. Assess the traditional support for free enterprise among late-nineteenth-century Americans, along with their interest in government regulation of business.
4. Compare and contrast the ideas of Henry George, Edward Bellamy, and Henry Demarest Lloyd, and compare and contrast their ideas to those of late-nineteenth-century Marxian socialists.
5. Elaborate the conditions that gave rise to labor unions and labor violence in the late nineteenth century.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Essentials of Industrial Growth

Between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of the twentieth century, the United States was transformed into a world industrial power at a pace not previously seen in history. Great Britain and Germany, the most prosperous European nations, lagged behind the United States. The gross national product increased by 44 percent between 1874 and 1883. The consequences for the nation’s political institutions were profound.

The discovery of new natural resources, a vigorous and expanding population, foreign investment capital, and a growing national market shielded by protective tariffs all contributed to the flourishing of manufacturing enterprise. In the name of progress, business glorified material wealth. Such attitudes produced a generation of robber barons who, in their search for wealth, engaged in such corrupt practices as stock manipulation, bribery, cutthroat competition, and monopoly. Many immigrants viewed America as a land of opportunity, though some became mired in grinding poverty and struggled for survival in dreary, unhealthy living conditions.

New machinery increased productivity in industry and agriculture, but it also displaced increasingly dependent workers and farmers. Expanded industry affected nearly everyone, making available such consumer goods as packaged cereals, canned foods, ready-made clothing, and cigarettes. The perfection of the typewriter revolutionized the performance of office work. George B. Eastman pioneered the development of mass-produced film and the simple but efficient Kodak camera.

Railroads: The First Big Business

Railroads were probably the most significant element in American economic development in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. With high fixed costs, railroads needed to carry as much
traffic as possible in order to net a profit, so they constructed feeder lines to draw business to the main “trunk” lines. Among the first railroads was Cornelius Vanderbilt’s New York Central, which ultimately operated between New York City and the principal midwestern cities. Thomas Scott’s Pennsylvania Railroad also linked Philadelphia and Pittsburgh to several midwestern cities. The Baltimore and Ohio railroad also gained access to Chicago, which became the nation’s railroad hub. In the Southwest, Jay Gould consolidated the Kansas Pacific, Union Pacific, and Missouri Pacific. In the Northwest, Henry Villard and James J. Hill built their respective Northern Pacific and Great Northern. Northern capitalists controlled most trunk lines in the South.

Railroads charged what the market would bear, more for manufactured goods and less for bulky products like wheat or coal. The railroads stimulated the economy, particularly in rural areas with undeveloped resources. Technological advances in railroading such as the air brake, steel track, and Pullman sleeping car also accelerated economic development. To speed the settlement of new regions, the land-grant railroads sold land cheaply and on easy terms. They offered reduced rates to travelers interested in buying farms.

**Iron, Oil, and Electricity**

The giant steel industry that emerged after the Civil War was a result of the Bessemer process, perfected independently by Henry Bessemer of Great Britain and William Kelly of Kentucky. Steel could be mass-produced in locations near the Mesabi iron-ore fields of Lake Superior and the coal deposits surrounding Pittsburgh. Petroleum production, pioneered in the drilling of a well in Pennsylvania by Edwin L. Drake, provided lubricants and kerosene decades before gasoline was needed to power the internal combustion engine.

The telephone and electric light were two other technical advances meant to serve a high-speed, urban civilization that put great stress on communication. Alexander Graham Bell’s telephone successfully competed against Western Union’s telegraph. By 1900, American Telephone and Telegraph dominated the phone business. At Menlo Park, New Jersey, Thomas Edison built the prototype of the modern research laboratory from which came patents on the phonograph, motion picture projector, storage battery, mimeograph, and incandescent light bulb. In 1882, Edison opened a power station in New York and successfully demonstrated that electricity could be a substitute for steam power in factories, and the electric power industry expanded rapidly.

**Competition and Monopoly: The Railroads**

Economies of large-scale operations, the cost of new machine technology, and the downward trend in prices after 1873 (deflation) created intense competition in the railroad industry. This led to ownership of the railroads concentrating in fewer hands. According to classical economists, competition advanced the public interest by keeping prices low, but, in practice, it also cut deeply into railroad profits, causing the lines to try to increase the volume of goods they hauled.

Amid such competition pressures, the railroads offered rebates, passes, and even drawbacks (rebates on the business of the shippers’ competitors) to large shippers. Small shippers, therefore, suffered rate discrimination and found that they sometimes paid two to three times the
price per mile for sending goods as their larger rivals. Cutthroat competition made it difficult to run a railroad both honestly and profitably. Railroads constantly reorganized to improve efficiency or just to survive, and these reorganizations combined the large railway systems under the control of such financiers as J. P. Morgan.

**Competition and Monopoly: Steel**

The iron and steel industry was also intensely competitive. In the steel industry, fast developing technology put a premium on efficiency to avoid obsolescence, and transportation improvements brought even widely separated producers into competition.

Andrew Carnegie, the kingpin of the steel industry, expanded his production capabilities in bad times, when it cost considerably less to do so. Carnegie could hence buy out competitors during business panics. He also grasped the importance of technology by employing top-flight specialists and chemists to keep setting new records in steel production. Carnegie was a merciless competitor, but he believed that great wealth entailed social responsibilities; so, after he mastered the steel industry, he retired to devote himself to philanthropy. In 1901, J. P. Morgan bought out the Carnegie Steel Company and created United States Steel, the world’s first billion-dollar corporation.

**Competition and Monopoly: Oil**

The pattern of fierce competition leading to combination and monopoly is best illustrated by the history of the petroleum industry. The Standard Oil Company, founded by John D. Rockefeller, emerged as the giant in the industry. Rockefeller exploited technical advances and persuaded or coerced competitors to sell out. By 1879, he controlled over 90 percent of the nation’s oil-refining capacity, along with a network of pipelines and petroleum reserves. A meticulous organizer, Rockefeller had a profound grasp of the economies of large-scale production.

After achieving his monopoly, Rockefeller organized the Standard Oil trust in order to evade Ohio laws that forbade his company from operating in other states. Therefore, his board of nine trustees could manage Rockefeller holdings across state lines. The Rockefeller trust was intended to centralize and streamline the operation of his far-flung petroleum holdings in the interest of efficiency, stability, and profit.

**Competition and Monopoly: Retailing and Utilities**

The pattern of competition leading to dominance by a few huge companies was repeated in many businesses. Telephone and electric lighting companies established monopolies to offset costly duplication of equipment and loss of service efficiency. Thomas Edison realized little profit from his invention of the electric light; he complained that his patents were mainly “invitations to lawsuits.” In 1892, Edison merged with his main competitor to form the General Electric Company. Thereafter, GE and Westinghouse dominated electric utilities.

In retailing, the period saw the growth of urban department stores, particularly the firms of John Wanamaker in Philadelphia, Alexander Stewart in New York, and Marshall Field in Chicago.
These merchants advertised heavily and offered lower prices than traditional stores, efficient service, and money-back guarantees. Similarly, three giant firms dominated the life insurance business.

**Americans’ Ambivalence to Big Business**

Many late-nineteenth-century Americans embraced laissez-faire—the notion that government should not interfere in economic matters. Charles Darwin’s theses on nature’s ways spurred the belief in inevitable progress guided by the natural selection of individual organisms best adapted to survive in a particular environment. This “survival of the fittest” ideology, or social Darwinism, fit well with Americans’ view of their own experience and seemed to offer scientific evidence that free competition (natural selection) advanced the common good. Rhetoric aside, many Americans saw no contradiction between their devotion to free enterprise and accepting some types of government regulation of business. Most entrepreneurs did not hesitate to accept government aid, whether railroad subsidies or protective tariffs, banking laws or public land grants.

But the growth of huge industrial and financial organizations, while they lowered prices, created the fear that monopolists were destroying economic opportunity and threatening democratic institutions. People worried about the political influence of wealthy tycoons and the security of republican institutions in the face of the growing disparity between rich and poor in America. Talk persisted of the likelihood of a future autocracy of wealth or revolutionary socialism.

Former President Hayes in 1890 denounced the “evils of the money piling tendency,” which he claimed rewarded the wealthy too generously. Business leaders defended the concentration of wealth, although Andrew Carnegie in his “Gospel of Wealth” said that the rich should use their money philanthropically to “produce the most beneficial results for the community.” Many clergymen denounced unrestrained competition, which they considered un-Christian. The new American Economic Association denounced laissez-faire and declared government aid “an indispensable condition of human progress.”

**Reformers: George, Bellamy, Lloyd**

The popularity of some radical social theorists reflected the public’s anxiety. Henry George, in *Progress and Poverty*, attacked the nation’s uneven distribution of wealth, arguing that only a single tax on land could prevent the disparity between rich and poor from growing larger. Though George lost his race for mayor of New York City, single-tax clubs sprang up nationwide. Edward Bellamy’s utopian novel, *Looking Backward, 2000-1887*, described a future socialistic America in which all economic activity was carefully planned and all citizens shared equally. Bellamy maintained that such a state would arrive without violence or revolution. A third assault on monopoly was Henry Demarest Lloyd’s *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, which denounced Standard Oil and the concepts of Social Darwinism and laissez-faire.

None of these writers questioned the underlying values of the middle-class majority, and all of them insisted that reform could be accomplished without serious inconvenience to any individual or class. Most of their readers never considered trying to apply the reformer’s ideas.
**Reformers: The Marxists**

Marxian ideas, which claim that the state should own all the means of production, reached America in the 1870s. Laurence Gronlund, in *The Cooperative Commonwealth*, viewed competition as “established anarchy,” middlemen as “parasites,” and speculators as “vampires,” yet he was a proponent of peaceful, orderly reform. More radically, Daniel De Leon, a follower of George, Bellamy, the Knights of Labor, and Marx, claimed that workers could not improve their lot until they joined his revolutionary Socialist Labor party.

**The Government Reacts to Big Business: Railroad Regulation**

Political action related to the growth of big business came first at the state level of government. The National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, founded in 1867 by Oliver Kelley, promoted regulation of the railroads. Granger-dominated state legislatures enacted legislation to outlaw freight rate discrimination, but railroads claimed that this deprived them of their property without due process of law.

In *Munn v. Illinois*, the Supreme Court ruled that any business that served a public interest, such as a railroad, was subject to government regulation; therefore, the state Granger laws were constitutional. But railroad regulation by the states, inefficient from the start, was further hampered in 1886 when the Supreme Court seemed to reverse the *Munn* decision when it declared in the *Wabash* case that an Illinois law that forbade long- and short-haul inequities was unconstitutional—only the federal government, said the court, could regulate interstate shipments.

In 1887, the Interstate Commerce Act, designed to outlaw the excesses of competition, declared that railroad rates should be reasonable and just. Moreover, rebates and other competitive practices were declared unlawful. However, the Interstate Commerce Commission could not fix rates; it could only take the railroads to court when it considered rates unreasonably high. While the ICC, the first federal regulatory commission, challenged laissez-faire, it did not undertake a radical assault on private property as its critics feared. Later legislation made the ICC more effective, and it subsequently became a model for federal regulatory agencies in the twentieth century.

**The Government Reacts to Big Business: The Sherman Antitrust Act**

As with railroad regulation, antitrust laws originated in state legislatures, but they too were generally ineffective. The federal Sherman Antitrust Act (1890), designed to restore competition, declared illegal any combination “in the form of a trust or otherwise” that was “in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations.” The loosely worded act allowed questionable business combinations to continue.

Critics said that the law was designed more to quiet public clamor for action against the trusts than in breaking up any of the new business combinations. The Supreme Court emasculated the law in *United States v. E. C. Knight Company*, which held that the American Sugar Refining Company had not violated the law by taking over its competitors. Although the trust controlled
98 percent of all U.S. sugar refining, the court held it was not restraining trade and thus did not violate the Sherman Act. This decision precipitated a wave of business mergers.

The Labor Union Movement

Unionization was the workers’ response to big corporations—unions were combinations designed to eliminate competition for jobs and to provide efficient organization for labor. Early labor leaders tended to be visionaries out of touch with the practical needs of the workers. They promoted worker cooperatives and opposed the wage system and strikes. The Knights of Labor, headed by Uriah Stephens and Terence Powderly, urged that workers “own and operate” mines, factories and railroads. The Knights rejected the traditional grouping of workers by crafts and admitted blacks, women, immigrants, skilled and unskilled workers, and endorsed the eight-hour day.

The Knights attracted a huge membership in the 1880s, but the public was alienated by its inability to control local acts of violence and intimidation. Membership was already declining when, in 1886, anarchists called a protest meeting at Haymarket Square after a striker was killed at a plant in Chicago. When police intervened, someone threw a bomb into their ranks, killing seven officers.

The American Federation of Labor

The Knights of Labor suffered in public perception due to the Haymarket tragedy even though the union was not responsible for the riot. The new American Federation of Labor (AFL), founded as a craft union by Samuel Gompers, understood that most workers would remain wage earners, and emphasized a sense of common purpose, pride, and companionship. The AFL avoided direct involvement in politics, focused on “bread and butter” issues of wages, hours, and working conditions, and relied heavily on strikes, which were used to win concessions from employers and to attract recruits. Gompers’ approach to labor problems produced solid gains, with membership reaching more than a million by 1901.

Labor Militancy Rebuffed

Most employers, frightened by the uncertainties of their times, behaved like tyrants when dealing with their workers. Employers frequently discharged workers who tried to organize unions and failed to provide rudimentary protections against injury on the job. Many employers considered workers who joined unions to be “disloyal,” but they still treated labor as a commodity to be purchased as cheaply as possible.

Labor disputes sometimes turned violent. In 1877, President Hayes dispatched troops to halt a general rail strike in the Southwest. In 1892, violent strikes broke out among Idaho silver miners and at Carnegie’s Homestead, Pennsylvania, steel plant. At Homestead, strikers seeking higher wages attacked private guards hired to protect strikebreakers and seven guards were killed. The attack brought sympathy to the company and turned the public against the strikers.
The most important strike occurred in 1894, when Pullman Palace Car workers walked out in protest against wage cuts. Eugene Debs of the American Railway Union organized the workers. President Cleveland dispatched troops to ensure movement of the mails. When Debs defied a federal injunction to end the walkout, he was jailed for contempt, and the strike was broken.

**Whither America, Whither Democracy?**

Each year more of the nation’s wealth and power seemed to fall into fewer hands. As with the railroads, other industries appeared to be increasingly dominated by bankers. The banking firm of J. P. Morgan controlled railroad, steel, electric, agricultural machinery, rubber and shipping companies, two life insurance companies, and several other banks. This centralization of control increased production efficiency and living standards rose, but some questioned how ordinary people would be affected when a few tycoons with huge fortunes commanded extraordinary influence in Congress and the courts. What would be the ultimate effect of big business on American democracy?

**PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS**

*Define the following:*

- feeder lines____________________________________________________________

- long-haul/short-haul inequity____________________________________________

- rebates________________________________________________________________

- trust__________________________________________________________________

- “survival of the fittest”__________________________________________________

- laissez-faire____________________________________________________________

- social Darwinism________________________________________________________
“Granger laws” ___________________________________________________________

injunction ______________________________________________________________

collective bargaining _____________________________________________________

Describe the following:

New York Central _________________________________________________________

Bessemer process __________________________________________________________

Standard Oil ______________________________________________________________

General Electric ___________________________________________________________

U.S. Steel ________________________________________________________________

Progress and Poverty _____________________________________________________

Wealth Against Commonwealth _____________________________________________

National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry ________________________________

Interstate Commerce Commission __________________________________________
Knights of Labor

Pullman strike

Identify the following:

Jay Gould

Alexander Graham Bell

J. Pierpont Morgan

Andrew Carnegie

John D. Rockefeller

William Graham Sumner

Edward Bellamy

Terence V. Powderly

Samuel Gompers
MAP EXERCISE

Refer to the map on the next page. Place the appropriate letter that represents the route followed by the respective railroad. Consult an historical atlas if necessary.

_____ 1. Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe   _____ 2. Baltimore and Ohio
_____ 3. Central Pacific   _____ 4. Chicago, Burlington and Quincy
_____ 5. Erie   _____ 6. Great Northern

SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. American manufacturing flourished in the late nineteenth century because
   A. of the discovery and exploitation of new natural resources.
   B. the protective tariff policy shielded the growing national market from foreign competition.
   C. European immigrants provided cheap labor.
   D. all of the above.
2. Probably the most significant element in late-nineteenth-century economic development was
   A. oil refining.
   B. steel production.
   C. electric power.
   D. railroad operations.

3. The dominant system builder of Southwest railroads in the late nineteenth century was
   A. Cornelius Vanderbilt.
   C. Thomas Scott.
   D. Henry Villard.

4. What first turned steel from a rare metal into a mass-produced commodity was the
   A. Bessemer process.
   B. sluice box.
   C. rolling press.
   D. open-hearth method.

5. The first corporation to have a capitalization of over $1 billion was
   A. Standard Oil of Ohio.
   B. General Electric.
   C. American Sugar Refining Company.
   D. United States Steel.

6. Thomas Edison invented all the following EXCEPT the
   A. phonograph.
   B. electric light bulb.
   C. telephone.
   D. motion picture projector.

7. To improve their profit margin, railroads did all of the following EXCEPT
   A. give discounts to short-haul customers.
   B. give away land to attract new business.
   C. pay drawbacks to good customers.
   D. provide rebates to large volume shippers.

8. The railroads, oil companies, and steel corporations were driven to concentrate ownership in fewer and fewer hands because of
   A. greed for profits.
   B. intense competition.
   C. compulsion to control.
   D. fear of government regulation.

9. Andrew Carnegie’s success in the steel industry was largely due to his
   A. grasp of the importance of technological improvements.
   B. ability to choose good subordinates.
   C. ruthless competitiveness.
   D. all of the above.
10. The first oil well drilled in the United States was in
   A. Oklahoma.
   B. Ohio.
   C. Texas.
   D. Pennsylvania.

11. The primary goal of John D. Rockefeller’s trust was to
   A. reduce production.
   B. monopolize refining.
   C. make operations more efficient.
   D. relieve him of management responsibilities.

12. What most concerned Americans about business combinations was that they would
   A. destroy economic opportunity.
   B. raise prices.
   C. invite government regulation.
   D. not last.

13. The primary message in the “Gospel of Wealth” was
   A. “the wrong and evil of the money-piling tendency is changing laws, government, and morals, and giving all power to the rich.”
   B. “unrestrained competition is un-Christian; state aid and regulation is an indispensable condition of human progress.”
   C. “the rich must use their money in the manner which is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results to the community.”
   D. “within a few years, most of the wealth and talent of our country will be on one side, while arrayed on the other will be the great mass of the people.”

14. The advocate of a “single tax” on property to alleviate the maldistribution of wealth and provide public funds for schools and other social services was
   A. Laurence Gronlund in The Cooperative Commonwealth.
   C. Henry George in Progress and Poverty.
   D. Henry Demarest Lloyd in Wealth Against Commonwealth.

15. The Supreme Court’s ruling in Munn v. Illinois
   A. upheld the right of organized labor to bargain collectively.
   B. asserted that only Congress could regulate interstate commerce.
   C. permitted state legislatures to regulate railroad rates within a state.
   D. determined that the Sherman Antitrust law was unconstitutional.

16. All of the following are true of the Sherman Antitrust Act EXCEPT
   A. it was supposed to restore competition.
   B. it was emasculated in United States v. E. C. Knight Company.
   C. it forbade business combinations in the form of trusts that restrained trade.
   D. it led to a sharp decline in the formation of company mergers after 1890.
17. A strong message of the Knights of Labor was that
   A. workers must not resign themselves to remaining wage earners all their lives.
   B. strikes should be used vigorously to gain progress for their members.
   C. union membership should be restricted to skilled craft workers.
   D. unions were better off not supporting political objectives.

18. The Haymarket Riot
   A. resulted when someone threw a bomb into the ranks of the police at a mass meeting in Chicago.
   B. was caused by the Knights of Labor.
   C. led to the collapse of the American Railway Union.
   D. resulted in all of the above.

19. Which of these statements is FALSE?
   A. The 1877 Southwestern rail strike brought train traffic to a standstill, prompting President Hayes to send in federal troops.
   B. The assassination of steel executive Henry Clay Frick ended labor unrest at the Homestead plant near Pittsburgh.
   C. Eugene Debs was jailed for disobeying a federal injunction issued by the courts in the Pullman strike.
   D. The goal of most strikers in the Haymarket affair was the eight-hour day.

20. Which union was the most successful in the late nineteenth century?
   A. American Railway Union
   B. American Federation of Labor
   C. Knights of Labor
   D. National Labor Union

Essay Questions

1. Explain why railroads, steel, and petroleum companies tended to form monopolies in the late nineteenth century.

2. What was the common thread linking Henry George, Edward Bellamy, and Henry Demarest Lloyd? Summarize their principal theories.

3. Explain how business and management prevailed in the major labor altercations of the late nineteenth century.

4. Why did Congress pass the Interstate Commerce Act and the Sherman Antitrust Act? List the key provisions of each law and show how both acts were sometimes undermined by court decisions.

5. Why did most Americans reject the proposals of Laurence Gronlund and Daniel De Leon?
CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Each of these statements sets forth an opinion regarding economic thought. Designate each statement by either an “L” for expressions of laissez-faire, “R” for regulated capitalism, or “S” for socialism.

1. The state ought to own all the means of production.  
2. The trend toward monopoly can best be addressed through government agencies that watch out for the interests of smaller companies facing a continuing squeeze from big business.  
3. The best way to reduce railroad rates is to permit intense competition within the industry.  
4. The Interstate Commerce Commission has outlived any function it may have once had and should be abolished forthwith.  
5. “There is no good reason why labor cannot, through cooperation, own and operate mines, factories, and railroads.”  
6. “If I wanted a boiler iron, I would go out on the market and buy it where I could get it cheapest, and if I wanted to employ men, I would do the same.”  
7. Workers must preserve the benefits of the eight-hour day, mine safety laws, and collective bargaining rights.  
8. The rising standard of living in the late nineteenth century proves that the public benefited from the growth of industrial giants.  
9. The trend toward industrial consolidation will continue until one monster trust dominates the economy. Then all will realize the need for nationalization.  
10. Granger laws established “reasonable” maximum rates for railroads and warehouses.
CHAPTER 19

*American Society in the Industrial Age*

**ANTICIPATION/REACTION**

*Directions:* Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “*Anticipation*” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you *now* agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “*Reaction*” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you *then* agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from *anticipation* to *reaction* and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. _____ Post Civil War middle-class family life can be characterized as</td>
<td>1. _____ Post Civil War middle-class family life can be characterized as</td>
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<tr>
<td>typically Victorian: stiff, pious, prudish, and oriented toward social</td>
<td>typically Victorian: stiff, pious, prudish, and oriented toward social</td>
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<td>reform.</td>
<td>reform.</td>
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<td>celebrated America’s new “consumer society” that produced the “most</td>
<td>celebrated America’s new “consumer society” that produced the “most</td>
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<td>materialistic and money-making people ever known.”</td>
<td>materialistic and money-making people ever known.”</td>
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<td>3. _____ The number of family farmers, the amount of land they cultivated,</td>
<td>3. _____ The number of family farmers, the amount of land they cultivated,</td>
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<td>and the volume of goods they produced all declined as industrialization</td>
<td>and the volume of goods they produced all declined as industrialization</td>
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<td>and manufacturing expanded in the national economy in the late</td>
<td>and manufacturing expanded in the national economy in the late</td>
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<td>nineteenth century.</td>
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<td>4. _____ The attitudes of late-nineteenth-century working-class Americans</td>
<td>4. _____ The attitudes of late-nineteenth-century working-class Americans</td>
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<tr>
<td>grew increasingly radical as mechanization took away their jobs,</td>
<td>grew increasingly radical as mechanization took away their jobs,</td>
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<td>industrialization reduced their personal contact with their employer,</td>
<td>industrialization reduced their personal contact with their employer,</td>
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<td>their relative standard of living declined, and they began to</td>
<td>their relative standard of living declined, and they began to</td>
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<td>recognize “rags to riches” for the myth that it was.</td>
<td>recognize “rags to riches” for the myth that it was.</td>
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<td>5. _____ Immigrants to the United States between 1890 and 1920 were more</td>
<td>5. _____ Immigrants to the United States between 1890 and 1920 were more</td>
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<td>often from southern and eastern European countries, poor, Catholic,</td>
<td>often from southern and eastern European countries, poor, Catholic,</td>
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<td>and assimilated more slowly than their predecessors.</td>
<td>and assimilated more slowly than their predecessors.</td>
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<td>6. _____ In the late nineteenth century, the working-class inner-city</td>
<td>6. _____ In the late nineteenth century, the working-class inner-city</td>
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<tr>
<td>poor were more likely to get aid and sympathy from neighborhood</td>
<td>poor were more likely to get aid and sympathy from neighborhood</td>
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<td>Catholic churches than from Protestant denominations.</td>
<td>Catholic churches than from Protestant denominations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. _____ Until 1900, private charity without public funding showed itself</td>
<td>7. _____ Until 1900, private charity without public funding showed itself</td>
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<td>capable of effectively providing support for the needy in America’s</td>
<td>capable of effectively providing support for the needy in America’s</td>
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<td>cities.</td>
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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 19 you should be able to:

1. Discuss the lifestyles of middle-class families and wage earners in the late nineteenth century.
2. Differentiate between “old” and “new” immigration. Assess the reception of “new” immigrants.
3. Describe urban slum life near the turn of the century.
4. Explain how and why cities grew in the late nineteenth century and relate this to late-nineteenth-century social problems.
5. Summarize the late-nineteenth-century religious criticisms of America’s urban and industrial expansion and evaluate the solutions critics proposed.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Middle-Class Life

The Civil War sapped the middle class of much of its reform zeal and moral fervor. Whereas piety had once characterized middle-class aspirations, the postwar period yielded to pretension and ostentatious living. Though their family relations have long been depicted as stiff or prudish, diaries reveal that many late-nineteenth-century couples experienced emotionally intense and sexually fulfilling relationships. Middle-class mothers had two or three children—four or five fewer than their grandmothers—either because they married later in life or practiced abstinence, or, increasingly, turned to contraceptive devices and abortions. Children were carefully supervised, particularly by their mothers, and were taught good manners and proper courtship practices.

Typical of the middle class were shopkeepers, small manufacturers, skilled craftsmen, established farmers, and such professionals as teachers, doctors, lawyers, and the clergy. Middle-class family life was often measured in terms of tangible goods: fashionable clothing and a large house crowded with furniture, books, and lamps. Thorstein Veblen, in Theory of the Leisure Class, assailed this culture of conspicuous consumption.

Skilled and Unskilled Workers

The number of industrial workers grew rapidly from 1860 through 1890 and, while they lacked much sense of solidarity, they exerted an increasing influence on society. More efficient methods of production enabled workers to increase their output, making possible a rise in the standard of living, particularly for those in skilled occupations.

Industrialization also created problems for factory workers. Mechanization contributed to monotonous working conditions and undermined artisans’ pride in their labor. Machines controlled the pace of work and increased workplace danger. Industrialization led to a decline in personal contact between employer and employee, and accentuated swings of the business cycle.
Working Women

Thousands of women left the home to take low-paying jobs in industry and department stores. Educated middle-class women dominated nursing, thought of as the “perfect female profession.” In time, women replaced men as elementary school teachers, clerks, secretaries, and operators of the new typewriters in government and business offices. Opportunities for promotion for women, however, were rare.

Farmers

The number of farmers and the volume of agricultural production increased in the late nineteenth century, but the overall status of most farmers declined. Compared to middle-class city dwellers, farmers seemed like provincial “hayseeds.” This angered and frustrated farmers and waves of radicalism swept through the farm country, giving rise to demands for social and economic experiments advocated by the Grange.

Farmers were not all affected by economic developments in the same way. Eastern farmers grew relatively prosperous serving the expanding urban markets in that region. Middle Western farmers took advantage of cheaper transportation and crop diversification to weather bad times. In the South, however, the crop-lien system kept many in economic bondage. Plains farmers struggled to overcome isolation and loneliness and a succession of mostly natural hardships: drought, storms, and insect plagues.

Working-Class Family Life

Family income varied among workers who received similar hourly wages, depending on the steadiness of employment and the number of family members holding jobs. Although some spent nearly all their income on food, others saved on incomes of little more than $500 a year. Hence the standard of living was affected by family health, intelligence of the worker, the wife’s ability as a homemaker, and the commitment to middle-class values.

Working-Class Attitudes

The political, social, and economic attitudes of workers varied according to individual perspectives. Some workers favored laws to prohibit strikes; others urged nationalization of land and transportation; some preferred a graduated income tax. Most workers did not call for radical changes in the economic system because they were steadily growing more prosperous. Nevertheless, the gap between the very rich and the ordinary citizen was widening.

Working Your Way Up

Considerable geographic mobility existed in urban areas in the late nineteenth century, mobility that in most cases was accompanied by some economic or social improvement. Economic expansion, personal ambitions, and the public education system encouraged this upward mobility. Public expenditures for education nearly quadrupled from 1870 to 1900, almost all for
elementary schools; secondary schooling was assumed to be only for the wealthy and for those with special abilities. Industrialization created demands for vocational and technical training, and with the backing of industrialists, new institutions offered courses in carpentry, sewing, and other crafts.

Although Carnegies were rare, people were nonetheless motivated by the rags-to-riches myth, and they continued to subscribe to the middle-class values of hard work and thrift no matter how hopeless their economic situation, or how unrealistic their expectations.

**The “New” Immigration**

Industrial expansion increased the need for labor, and this in turn stimulated immigration. Competition among the new steamship lines made the Atlantic passage faster, safer, and cheaper. Political and religious persecution and the collapse of the peasant economy in central and southern Europe caused many to emigrate.

After 1885, immigrants, most of whom entered through New York City’s Castle Gate, arrived in record numbers. The only groups excluded were criminals, incompetents, and, after 1882, the Chinese. Under the *padrone* system, unskilled Italian and Greek laborers were brought to the United States by various companies to work under low-wage contracts, a practice outlawed by the Foran Act in 1885.

After 1880, there was a noticeable shift in the pattern of immigration to the United States. Newer arrivals were coming from southern and eastern Europe, rather than the traditional sources in northern and western Europe.

**New Immigrants Face New Nativism**

The “new” immigrants from southern and eastern European had difficulty assimilating into American culture because they retained their close family and kinship ties and appeared clannish to “native” Americans. Sometimes immigrants came as “birds of passage,” not intending to remain and become part of the American community.

Social Darwinists found the flood of new immigration alarming and urged the exclusion of southern and eastern Europeans, whom they considered physiologically inferior to Anglo-Saxons. Some workers objected to the economic competition from so many immigrants. Employers eventually grew fearful of the perceived radicalism of many new foreigners, particularly after the Haymarket bombing.

Nativists formed the American Protective Association in 1887 to resist “the Catholic menace.” In 1897, anti-immigrant attitudes reached a climax when Congress passed a bill requiring a literacy test that was sponsored by the Immigration Restriction League. President Cleveland vetoed it, claiming it was contrary to the American tradition of open immigration.
The Expanding City and Its Problems

“New” immigrants lacked the resources needed to travel to the agriculturally developed regions, and they could not afford to buy land or farm equipment. So, they tended to settle where their predecessors had, in ethnically segregated neighborhoods in large industrial cities. There, immigrants retained their traditional culture and continued to speak their native language, although most became U.S. citizens. Some Americans blamed the high percentage of foreigners for a plethora of urban problems, but the rapidity of urban expansion better explains the crowded conditions, lack of sanitation, crime, and rampant poverty in late-nineteenth-century cities.

Teeming Tenements

Rapid urban growth put pressure on municipalities for improved sewer and water facilities, fire and police protection, street repair and maintenance, garbage collection, and health and zoning regulations. Immigrants were often jammed together without benefit of bathroom facilities or ventilation. Substandard living quarters and overcrowding aggravated divorce, the disintegration of family life, crime, and juvenile delinquency. Jacob Riis captured the horror of crowded “dumbbell” tenements in *How the Other Half Lives*. Meanwhile, the well-to-do retired to the suburbs or to wealthy districts isolated from the slums.

The Cities Modernize

Gradually, and for practical reasons, the facilities of urban living were improved. After the relationship between polluted water and disease was fully understood, communities improved their water and sewage systems. Public-spirited groups in the cities joined forces to plant trees, clean up litter, develop recreational areas, and light the cities after dark.

The electric trolley changed the character of urban living by more than doubling the radius of a city. Previously, the walking distance of its dwellers had limited a city’s size. Also, dramatic population shifts resulted as the better-off moved away from the center city, and this economic segregation speeded the growth of urban ghettos. The combined activities of trolley operators and real estate developers made home ownership possible for people of modest means and spurred suburban growth.

Advances in bridge design also aided the flow of city populations. As urban real estate became more valuable, architects began to build upwards and tall buildings appeared. Such architects as Louis Sullivan emphasized the function of skyscrapers, their simple beauty, moderate cost, and efficient use of space. The 1893 Chicago World’s Fair spawned a “city beautiful” movement and the development of city parks, notably New York’s Central Park, but efforts to relieve congestion in slum districts made little headway.

Leisure Activities: More Fun and Games

New York, with its Metropolitan Museum of Art, remained unsurpassed as a center of artistic and intellectual life, and Boston sponsored an outstanding symphony. The gradual reduction of
the work day left working men with more free time. For them, the saloon became a kind of club, a place to meet friends and consume alcohol, which was forbidden on most work premises. More attention became focused on such “healthy” activities as tennis, golf, bicycling, and spectator sports. Professional boxing gained fans from the working class when John L. Sullivan became heavyweight champion. Professional baseball teams first organized in 1869 with the Cincinnati Red Stockings. In 1891, James Naismith developed the rules of basketball. Football evolved from English rugby in the late nineteenth century and was originally played almost entirely by upper- and middle-class collegians. The modern character of football came through the work of Walter Camp, the athletic director at Yale University. Spectator sports had little appeal to women, and, because it was unfeminine, few women participated in organized athletics.

**Christianity’s Conscience and the Social Gospel**

Churches traditionally stressed the values of individual responsibility, thrift, and hard work, a view that brought meager comfort to the poorer sections of large cities. In New York, many Protestant congregations abandoned depressed areas of Lower Manhattan in order to serve suburban middle-class and upper-class worshippers. Some Protestant clergy considered immigrant poverty to be an act of God brought on by sinful individuals. As the Protestants left the inner cities, Catholic churches remained to provide basic social welfare, but they too seemed unconcerned with the social causes of urban blight; sin was personal, poverty an act of God.

Dwight L. Moody, a Protestant evangelist, sought to persuade slum residents to cast aside their sinful ways. He and other evangelists helped to establish mission schools, the Salvation Army, and the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA).

Other clergymen preached a “Social Gospel” that emphasized improving living conditions on Earth, rather than saving souls for the hereafter. Such Social Gospelers as Washington Gladden advocated civil service reform, a ban on child labor, corporate regulations, and heavy taxation on incomes and inheritance, and they defended labors right to organize and strike. Most Social Gospelers supported capitalism, but a few became socialists. Charles Sheldon’s *In His Steps* described how a mythical town accomplished moral regeneration when a group of leading citizens decided to live truly Christian lives, asking themselves, “What would Jesus do?” before adopting any course of action.

**The Settlement Houses**

Settlement houses helped immigrants adapt to new communities by helping them find jobs, shelter, and other necessities. In 1889, Jane Addams founded Chicago’s Hull House, the most famous of the American settlement houses. The majority of settlement house workers were well-to-do young women just out of college.

Settlement workers lived in the neighborhood and identified with it socially. They expected to benefit morally and intellectually themselves by experiencing a way of life far different from their own. They agitated for tenement house laws, improved garbage collection, regulation of the labor of children and women, better schools, playgrounds, child nutrition, and day care.
In 1898, the first Catholic-run settlement house opened in New York. Two years later the Brownson House in Los Angeles, catering to Mexican immigrants, opened its doors. But private beneficence proved totally inadequate to dealing with the problem of urban poverty, and slums spread faster than the settlement houses could clean them up. Government action seemed necessary if the needy were to be cared for.

Civilization and Its Discontents

The wealthy grew richer, the poor languished in poverty, and the aging poet Walt Whitman lamented that Americans had become the “most materialistic and money-making people ever known.” The voices of the dissatisfied were rising. As the divorce rate grew, so did the taste for luxuries. Heart disease and mental illness increased. According to the economist David Wells, these “diseases of civilization” were linked to the “continuous mental and nervous activity” that accompanied “high-tension methods of business.” Henry Cabot Lodge complained of the “lawlessness” of plutocrats, and Henry Adams lamented the moneygrubbers that industrialism and its materialistic values had made possible.

PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

“culture of consumption” ____________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

“hayseeds”__________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

upward mobility_____________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

“new” immigration _________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

*padrone* system ____________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

nativist __________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________
Describe the following:

American Protective Association _____________________________________________

How the Other Half Lives ________________________________________________

Social Gospel ___________________________________________________________

Hull House _______________________________________________________________

Identify the following:

Thorstein Veblen _________________________________________________________

Louis Sullivan __________________________________________________________

John L. Sullivan _________________________________________________________

James Naismith _________________________________________________________
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. For workers, industrialization meant all the following EXCEPT
   A. a rising standard of living.
   B. monotonous working conditions.
   C. sharper swings in the business cycle.
   D. more personal contact with their employers.

2. In the late nineteenth century, the “perfect female profession” was thought to be
   A. nursing.
   B. teaching.
   C. sales.
   D. typewriting.

3. “New” immigrants would NOT have come from
   A. Russia.
   B. Scotland.
   C. Turkey.
   D. Italy.

4. The “Social Gospel” accented
   A. salvation by faith in Jesus.
   B. improving living conditions in urban ghettos.
   C. vigorous revival movements to invigorate the ghettos.
   D. the perfection of life in a heavenly utopia.

5. All of the following are features of the late nineteenth century EXCEPT
   A. the rich were getting richer.
   B. more people were getting richer.
   C. the gap between the rich and the ordinary workers’ wealth was narrowing.
   D. ordinary workers’ incomes were rising.
6. The upward mobility of America’s workers in the late nineteenth century was the result of all of the following EXCEPT
   A. the energy and ambition of the workers themselves.
   B. national economic growth.
   C. heavy spending on public education.
   D. higher attendance and completion rates in high schools.

7. Which of the following pairs is a MISMATCH?
   A. Jane Addams — Hull House
   B. Jacob Riis — How the Other Half Lives
   C. Charles Sheldon — In His Steps
   D. Louis Sullivan — “White City”

8. Studies of late-nineteenth-century business leaders show that most
   A. were Jews or Catholics.
   B. grew up in well-to-do middle-class homes.
   C. had relatively little formal education.
   D. were examples of the “rags-to-riches” dream come true.

9. Ocean-going steamships made immigrants’ transatlantic passage all of the following EXCEPT
   A. safe.
   B. cheap.
   C. comfortable.
   D. fast.

10. The main motive for immigration to the United States in the late nineteenth century was
    A. political oppression.
    B. religious persecution.
    C. overcrowding.
    D. desire for economic improvement.

11. In the 1880s, the source of America’s “new” immigration shifted to
    A. northern and western Europe.
    B. Latin America.
    C. southern and eastern Europe.
    D. Asia and the Pacific.

12. Some “native” Americans complained that “new” immigrants were all of the following EXCEPT
    A. ethnically alike.
    B. racially inferior.
    C. political radicals.
    D. undermining wage rates.
13. The primary effort of the American nativists in the 1890s was to lobby Congress to enact
   A. the (Chinese) Exclusion Act.
   B. the Foran Act.
   C. a literacy test for potential immigrants.
   D. federal funding for settlement houses.

14. The chief cause of city growth in the late nineteenth century was the
   A. growth of commerce.
   B. establishment of a national transportation network.
   C. invention of skyscrapers.
   D. expansion of industry.

15. Most “new” immigrants did NOT
   A. tend to settle in ethnic neighborhoods of cities.
   B. move to agricultural regions and become farmers.
   C. try to maintain their traditional culture.
   D. become U.S. citizens.

16. The practical considerations that eventually led to city improvements included all of the
    following EXCEPT
   A. tax reduction opportunities.
   B. public health considerations.
   C. slower urban growth.
   D. inter-city competition.

17. The electric trolley replacement of the horsecar resulted in all of the following EXCEPT
   A. a decline in urban real estate values.
   B. the growth of suburbs.
   C. economic segregation of city dwellers.
   D. the geographical growth of cities.

18. The “Social Gospel”
   A. focused on improving living conditions rather than on saving individual souls.
   B. was neutral toward political reform.
   C. preached that poverty was an act of God.
   D. opposed the unionization of labor.

19. It was NOT true of settlement house workers that they
   A. were mostly young, middle-class women.
   B. attempted to Americanize “new” immigrants.
   C. agitated for better housing and labor legislation.
   D. were idealistic, but too unknowledgeable to be successful.

20. Who described Americans of the late nineteenth century as “the most materialistic and
    money-making people ever known”?
   A. Reverend Dwight L. Moody
   B. reformer Jane Addams
   C. Washington Gladding in the “Social Gospel”
   D. poet Walt Whitman
Essay Questions

1. Explain how and why women displaced men in specific occupations in the late nineteenth century.

2. Discuss daily life among “typical” middle-class American families of the late nineteenth century, with specific reference to job, household, children, and values.

3. Contrast “old” immigration with “new” immigration.” Mention specific countries from which “new” immigrants came and discuss their problems of assimilation.

4. Explain how the “Social Gospel” contrasted with traditional Protestantism and Catholicism. What did it criticize? What solutions did it offer?

5. Discuss the burgeoning interest in sports and recreation in the late nineteenth century, with reference to team sports and such activities as tennis, golf, or bicycling.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Each of the following statements refers to nineteen-century religion. Place a “P” beside those that reflect traditional Protestant doctrine and an “SG” beside those referring to the “Social Gospel.”

___ 1. Faith in God, thrift, and hard work will sustain the poor in transcending the material difficulties of life.

___ 2. Before people can lead pure lives, they need food, shelter, and the opportunity to develop their talents.

___ 3. Due to the excesses of capitalism, workers have the right to form unions.

___ 4. Slum conditions create the sins and crimes of cities.

___ 5. There is no substitute for personal responsibility in meeting social problems.

___ 6. The realities of life in industrial cities dictate the need for Christians to apply the teachings of Jesus to seek such reforms as factory inspection laws and utility regulations.

___ 7. Man is “bad” because the institutions of society have made him so.

___ 8. The ultimate state of human perfection will be found only in the hereafter; therefore, society is limited in controlling individual behavior.

___ 9. People must be persuaded to cast aside their sinful ways in the interest of themselves and overall society.

___10. “No man in this land suffers from poverty . . . unless it be his sin.”
11. “I am my brother’s keeper.”


13. “Ye must be born again.”

14. It has become increasingly apparent that the wealth and authority of the state must be used to check the growth of blighted areas.

15. The inherent greed of unchecked capitalism will destroy the country.
CHAPTER 20

Intellectual and Cultural Trends

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Industry had a major effect on the way Americans lived and worked, but had little impact on the way they thought.</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The land-grant universities established by the Morrill Act of 1862 all began as coed schools.</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Darwinian evolutionary thought so dominated late-nineteenth-century social thought that hardly anyone conceived of an alternative way of viewing society.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Originally, progressive education was more about good character and citizenship than teaching the three Rs.</td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. In most of his novels, Mark Twain intended to provide pious moralizing for middle-class readers.</td>
<td>5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Literary “naturalists” penned mostly adventure novels that stressed the beauty and delicacy of nature and the need to preserve the environment.</td>
<td>6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. To be pragmatic is to be practical—to believe that ideas and theories are worthwhile only if they have practical consequences; that is, if they actually work.</td>
<td>7.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 20 you should be able to:

1. Identify the developments in the late nineteenth century that were responses to the public’s thirst for knowledge—what vehicles delivered knowledge to those who were eager to learn?
2. Compare and contrast the key changes that occurred in American education in the late nineteenth century—from public schools through graduate schools.
3. Explain how Darwin’s evolutionary theory influenced the social science disciplines in the late nineteenth century.
4. Compare and contrast the definitions of literary romanticism, realism, and naturalism. What fundamental values are embedded in each?
5. Identify the major assumptions of pragmatism and list the strengths and weaknesses of the philosophy of pragmatists.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The Knowledge Revolution

Industrialization altered the way Americans’ thought; new technologies revolutionized the communication of ideas; a pervasive materialism profoundly affected late-nineteenth-century education and literature, and Darwin’s theory of evolution influenced philosophy, law, and history. As society became more complex, the need for specialized training and higher education increased. This desire for knowledge was reflected in the rise of the Chautauqua movement. The Chautauqua featured speakers on national tour who discussed a multiplicity of subjects and provided opportunities for thousands seeking intellectual stimulation and improvement.

The proliferation of public libraries and inexpensive newspapers were even more important means of disseminating information and educating the masses. New technologies like the web press and linotype helped satisfy an ever-growing demand for the printed word. The first newspaper publisher to reach a mass audience was Joseph Pulitzer, owner of the New York World. Pulitzer provided news about crime, scandal, catastrophe, society, the theater, sports, comics, and political and financial affairs. His rival, William Randolph Hearst and the New York Journal, copied Pulitzer’s methods.

Magazine Journalism

In 1865, there were about 700 magazines in the United States; by 1900, more than 5,000. The Atlantic Monthly, Harper’s, and The Century featured current affairs, fiction, poetry, history, and biographies, all aimed for the upper middle-class market. Before 1885, Frank Leslie’s periodicals offered illustrations, cheap romantic fiction, jokes, and advice columns for the average American. After 1885, the Literary Digest and Review of Reviews provided press opinion and monthly commentary on the news. In 1889, Edward W. Bok became editor of Ladies’ Home Journal, which focused on child care, gardening, and interior decorating, and commissioned public figures to discuss important questions. Bok also printed reproductions of art masterpieces and crusaded for women’s suffrage, conservation, and other reforms. Like the newspapers, magazines utilized new printing technology to cut costs and depended heavily on advertising for revenues.

Colleges and Universities

Although less than two percent of the college-age population was enrolled in higher education at the turn of the century, new higher educational institutions were established by the states and through the federal land-grant program under the Morrill Act of 1862. Philanthropists endowed
older institutions and founded new ones. In 1869, Harvard’s new president, Charles W. Eliot, introduced the elective system, encouraged new teaching methods, and expanded offerings in laboratory science, economics, and modern languages.

Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, modeled after German universities, specialized in research and graduate education and produced such scholars as Woodrow Wilson in political science, John Dewey in philosophy, and Frederick Jackson Turner in history. The University of Chicago, established in 1892 through the Rockefeller fortune, stressed high-quality instruction, small class sizes, and academic freedom. New women’s colleges opened, but the only professions available to their graduates were nursing, teaching, and social work. Nevertheless, they provided most of the leaders of the early-twentieth-century campaign for equal rights for women.

Not all the changes in higher education were beneficial. Business philanthropists on whom colleges depended for donations, and state politicians who considered the colleges as part of their patronage system, at times threatened academic freedom and exalted practical values of education over the humanistic. On campus, social activities and organized sports sometimes claimed more of the students’ attention than their studies.

Revolution in the Social Sciences

Social scientists of the late nineteenth century studied the impact of industrialization on society, applied the theory of evolution to nearly every aspect of human relations, and utilized the scientific method to seek objective truths in fields that by nature are subjective. The classical economists were challenged by a new group of scholars led by Richard T. Ely of Johns Hopkins, who opposed laissez-faire and extolled the virtue of government aid as indispensable to human progress. To these “institutionalists,” the proper way to study economic problems was by analyzing actual conditions, not by applying abstract laws or principles.

Traditional sociologists had maintained that only the force of evolution, which moved with cosmic slowness, could change society. Late-nineteenth-century scholars such as Lester Frank Ward urged the improvement of society by “cold calculation” and triumph over the “law of competition.” People could control the social environment by government regulation and social planning for the betterment of society.

The new political scientists rejected the Founding Fathers’ emphasis on the political system as an impersonal set of institutions and abstract principles, and stressed the significance of political parties, pressure groups, and, in the case of Woodrow Wilson, the power of congressional committees. Wilson viewed politics as a dynamic process and offered no objection to the expansion of government power.

Progressive Education

The period’s dynamic social changes prompted educators to de-emphasize the three R’s, strict discipline, and rote learning. Settlement house workers found that slum children needed training in handicrafts, citizenship, and hygiene as much as academic studies. They argued for the
establishment of playgrounds, nurseries, and kindergartens. “We are impatient with the schools which lay all stress on reading and writing,” declared the socialist Jane Addams.

John Dewey gave direction to these forces of change when he outlined the theory of “progressive education,” which focuses on the unique needs of the child, rather than the specific academic discipline. In The School and Society, Dewey insisted that new information be related to what the child already knows and urged that the school become an active instrument of social reform. To Dewey, education ought to build character and teach good citizenship as well as transmit knowledge.

**Law and History**

Jurisprudence, by nature conservative and rooted in tradition, also felt the pressure of evolutionary thought. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., argued that judges should not limit themselves to the legal precedents, but should stress the “necessities of the times,” and institutions as they actually are. Holmes’s views were often in the minority during his years on the Supreme Court, but in the long run the Court adopted much of his thinking.

Historians had long claimed that the roots of democracy came from the ancient tribes of northern Europe. This “Teutonic origins” theory, since discredited, provided ammunition for those who wanted to suppress blacks and restrict immigration. Frederick Jackson Turner, the leading historian of the late nineteenth century, argued that the westward movement had fostered nationalism, individualism, and democracy. In fact, Turner claimed that nearly everything unique to America could be traced to the frontier experience. He exaggerated the importance of the frontier, but his work showed how important it was to investigate the evolution of institutions.

**Realism in Literature**

The romantic era of literature lost its creative force in the late nineteenth century and slowly yielded to the Age of Realism. The realist school focused upon the complexities and problems associated with industrialism and slum life. It emphasized the force of the environment on human life, and did so with dispassionate, empirical observation. Realist authors created multidimensional characters, depicted persons of every social class, and used dialect and slang to enhance their subjects.

**Mark Twain**

Mark Twain was the first great American realist author. Twain possessed a keen reportorial eye, a zest for living, a sense of humor, and the ability to love humanity yet be repelled by vanity and perversity. Twain’s novels include *The Gilded Age*, a satire of the unscrupulous Colonel Beriah Sellers; *Huckleberry Finn*, a realistic portrait of the mischievous title character and the loyal slave Jim; *The Innocents Abroad*, a look at Americans traveling in Europe; and *Life on the Mississippi*, an acclaimed account of the world of the river pilot. Twain always put much of his own experience and feeling into his work.
William Dean Howells

Howells’ novels focused on the social problems created by industrialization. The Rise of Silas Lapham dealt with ethical conflicts faced by businessmen in a competitive society. In A Hazard of New Fortunes, Howells attempted to portray realistically the whole range of metropolitan life. As the most influential literary critic of the time, Howells introduced Americans to Tolstoy, Dostoyevski, Ibsen, and Zola, and encouraged such young novelists as Stephen Crane, Theodore Dreiser, Frank Norris, and Hamlin Garland.

Crane embodied the Darwin-influenced school of literature known as naturalism. The naturalists believed that the human being was a helpless creature whose fate was determined by his environment. Maggie: A Girl of the Streets described the seduction and eventual suicide of a young woman in the slums. The Red Badge of Courage captured the pain and humor of the Civil War. Dreiser’s Sister Carrie is a naturalistic novel that treated sex so forthrightly that it was withdrawn after publication. In McTeague, Frank Norris told the story of a brutal dentist who murdered his wife with his bare fists.

Henry James

Born into wealth, Henry James spent much of his life in Europe, writing novels, short stories, and plays. His works, which never received widespread popularity during his lifetime, stressed the clash of American and European cultures. He examined wealthy, sensitive, yet often corrupt persons in high society, and investigated such social issues as feminism and the problems faced by artists in the modern world. The American told the story of a wealthy American in Paris in love with a French noblewoman who rejected him because of her family’s disapproval. The Portrait of a Lady depicts the disgust of an intelligent woman married to a charming but morally corrupt man. All of James’ works are highly refined accounts of the interactions of individuals and their environments.

Realism in Art

The romantic tradition retained its vitality among American artists even as they also turned to realism. Foremost among American realist artists was Thomas Eakins of Philadelphia, who glorified in the ordinary, never touching up a painting to please the sitter. Some of his finest paintings, such as The Gross Clinic, are illustrations of surgical procedures. The Swimming Hole, a glimpse of six men bathing, is a stark portrayal of nakedness.

Winslow Homer of Boston was a master of watercolor, who specialized in realism. He roamed America, painting scenes of southern farm life, Adirondack campers, and seascapes.

James A. McNeill Whistler, whose portrait of his mother is perhaps the most famous painting by an American, left the United States and lived abroad. An eccentric, Whistler painted both romantic and realistic works. Another expatriate artist, Mary Cassatt, a sister of the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, was a leading figure in the impressionist movement. Her work was more French than American and was little appreciated in the United States. Wealthy businessmen were often patrons of realistic art, especially portrait paintings.
The Pragmatic Approach

The theory of evolution produced key changes in American thinking about religious and philosophical issues. Evolutionary thought challenged the biblical account of creation and the idea that the human race had been formed in God’s image. Although many intellectuals embraced Darwinism, millions continued to uphold the literal truth of the Bible. Even if the Genesis account of creation could not be taken literally, the Bible remained a repository of wisdom and inspiration.

Darwin’s impact on philosophy was especially significant. If one accepted evolution, logic dictated the belief that even scientific laws were impermanent. Its founder, Charles S. Peirce, called such thinking pragmatism.

Pragmatism was explained in less technical language by William James, the brother of novelist Henry James. James’ *Principles of Psychology* established that discipline as a modern science. To James, the environment was not in itself the determining factor of human behavior; instead, free will, the desire to triumph, and the relativity of truth were more important. Progressivism inspired much of the reform spirit of the early twentieth century. Yet pragmatism also bred insecurity among average people, who were bothered by its message that there could be no reliance on eternal values in the absence of absolute truth. Pragmatism also seemed to encourage materialism and support the view that the end justified the means—that what worked was more important than what ought to be.

PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

*Define the following concepts:*

- **realism**: ____________________________

- **naturalism**: ____________________________

- **frontier thesis**: ____________________________

- **pragmatism**: ____________________________

*Describe the following:*

- **Chautauqua**: ____________________________
Identify the following:

Joseph Pulitzer

John Dewey

William James

William Randolph Hearst

Charles W. Eliot

Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.

Mark Twain

Fredrick Jackson Turner

SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The goals of the Chautauqua movement included all the following EXCEPT
   A. offer entertainment.
   B. maintain high intellectual standards.
   C. earn a profit.
   D. provide educational enrichment.
2. The first American publisher to reach a truly massive audience was
   A. Frank Leslie.
   B. William Randolph Hearst.
   C. Joseph Pulitzer.
   D. Edward W. Bok.

3. What university specialized in graduate education in the late nineteenth century?
   A. University of Michigan
   B. Harvard University
   C. University of Chicago
   D. Johns Hopkins University

4. Which one of the following pairings contains a MISMATCH?
   A. Richard Ely — institutionalist
   B. Albert Michelson — physical chemistry
   C. Frederick Jackson Turner — frontier thesis
   D. Charles W. Eliot — elective system

5. Which one of the following was NOT impressive to late-nineteenth-century reform social scientists?
   A. the development of institutions
   B. the theory of evolution
   C. abstract laws
   D. objective truths

6. According to Woodrow Wilson, which of these was the most influential in American government at the turn of the century?
   A. interest groups
   B. political parties
   C. political action committees
   D. congressional committees

7. The institutionalist school of economics argued in favor of
   A. natural laws.
   B. practical social reform.
   C. laissez-faire.
   D. abstract principles.

8. Major influences on late-nineteenth-century intellectual and cultural trends included all the following EXCEPT
   A. Darwinian evolutionary theory.
   B. the scientific method.
   C. industrial materialism.
   D. Calvinist doctrine.
9. Thorstein Veblen was critical of what phenomenon in late-nineteenth-century America?
   A. businesslike ideals, aims, and methods were exalted over the humanistic in American universities
   B. the dominance of higher education by progressive educators
   C. the failure of city government to solve the problems of education in the inner cities
   D. the attempt to apply scientific truths to human relations

10. “Progressive” educators were LEAST likely to support
    A. rote learning of the rules of grammar.
    B. reciting the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag.
    C. instruction in civic duties and responsibilities.
    D. emphasis on personal hygiene.

11. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., stressed which of these concepts of law?
    A. attention to the necessities of the time
    B. strict interpretation of the Constitution
    C. written statute
    D. reliance on precedent

12. Literary realists were noted for all the following EXCEPT their
    A. multidimensional characters.
    B. treatment of contemporary social problems.
    C. pious moralizing.
    D. attention to the conflicts inherent in human nature.

13. The most influential literary critic of the late nineteenth century was
    A. Stephen Crane.
    B. Theodore Dreiser.
    C. Henry James.
    D. William Dean Howells.

14. Mark Twain was noted for all of these EXCEPT his
    A. sense of humor.
    B. intense self-consciousness.
    C. materialism.
    D. use of his own experiences.

15. Which of these authors is MISPAIRED with his work?
    A. Frank Norris — Maggie, A Girl of the Streets
    B. Mark Twain — A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court
    C. William Dean Howells — The Rise of Silas Lapham
    D. Henry James — The Portrait of a Lady

16. In which of the following pairs is there a MISMATCH?
    A. Winslow Homer — watercolor
    B. Thomas Eakins — human anatomy
    C. Mary Cassatt — romanticism
    D. James A. McNeill Whistler — impressionism
17. The artist associated with French impressionism was
A. Thomas Eakins.
B. James Whistler.
C. Mary Cassatt.
D. Winslow Homer.

18. William James believed that truth is
A. relative.
B. found only in Scripture.
C. absolute.
D. found only in the abstract.

19. In its application, pragmatism is incompatible with
A. materialism.
B. social reform.
C. laissez-faire.
D. optimism.

20. Pragmatism seemed to suggest that
A. the end justified the means.
B. what worked was more important than what ought to be.
C. materialism was a higher value than intellect.
D. all of the above.

**Essay Questions**

1. Explain how newspapers and magazines contributed to the pursuit of knowledge at the turn of the century. Mention specific publications and their fields of specialization.

2. Explain the increase in the number of colleges and universities in the late nineteenth century despite the relatively few enrolled students.

3. Evaluate the realist and naturalist schools of American literature. Mention specific authors and their key works.

4. Explain how evolutionary thinking revolutionized sociology psychology, philosophy, and law. Mention specific individuals who dominated these disciplines.

5. Assess pragmatism in light of scientific developments and religion at the turn of the century. Stress William James’ role in the discipline of psychology.
CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Label each of the following statements as primarily “P” for *progressive* education or “T” for more *traditional* education.

____1. Education should not neglect rote learning of multiplication tables and rules of grammar.

____2. Education is the cornerstone of social progress and reform.

____3. Education should teach youngsters how to think as much as instruct them in specific categories of knowledge.

____4. A study of American history should emphasize topics of current interest rather than obscure points from the distant past.

____5. Field trips are ideal for stimulating student interest in a variety of matters.

____6. Education must center on the child, and new information should be directly related to what the child already knows.

____7. Education in America should concentrate on four basic subjects: (1) mathematics, (2) biological and physical sciences, (3) English and foreign languages, and (4) history and the related fields of geography, government, and economics.

____8. Education should not neglect the teaching of moral values based on the Judeo-Christian ethic of western civilization.

____9. Education should teach youngsters how to use their leisure time more effectively and how to serve public needs through volunteerism.

___10. The value of particular topics of study need not be judged on the basis of immediate practical application.

___11. Colleges of education staffed by professional educators are best suited to prepare classroom teachers.

___12. Clear language and thought, not specialized professional jargon, are essential to the development of an orderly mind.
CHAPTER 21

Politics: Local, State, and National

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. _____ Because they sought to appeal to as many voters as possible, both major political parties took clear-cut positions on major political and economic issues in the late nineteenth century.</td>
<td>_____ 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. _____ The boss-controlled political “machines” in American cities in the late nineteenth century were notorious because they organized immigrant voters to vote for their candidates without giving the immigrants anything in return.</td>
<td>_____ 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. _____ Because most late-nineteenth-century national elections were close, candidates stuck to the issues and avoided personal attacks during their campaigns.</td>
<td>_____ 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. _____ William McKinley was the only late-nineteenth-century president to serve two full terms in office.</td>
<td>_____ 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. _____ The Populist party called for political cooperation among farmers and labor, blacks and whites, and all ethnic groups to bring reform to the country’s economy.</td>
<td>_____ 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. _____ In the late nineteenth century, the Democratic party supported higher tariffs, civil service reform, and the gold standard.</td>
<td>_____ 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. _____ The 1896 presidential election divided voters along class lines.</td>
<td>_____ 7.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 21 you should be able to:

1. Explain the lack of political activism by the two major political parties and their national candidates at the turn of the century.
2. Compare and contrast how political allegiance to the Republican and Democratic parties cut across sectional, religious, ethnic, and economic lines in the late nineteenth century.
3. Describe the key characteristics of city governments in the late nineteenth century. Assess how well they faced and solved their most troubling problems.
4. Evaluate the presidencies of Rutherford Hayes, James Garfield, Chester Arthur, Grover Cleveland, and Benjamin Harrison as to values, style, policy positions, and effectiveness.
5. Explain how farm discontent led to the formation of the Alliance and Populist movements. Assess the program they offered and the reason(s) for their failure.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Political Strategy and Tactics

The Democratic and Republican parties, seeking to appeal to as wide a segment of voters as possible, have frequently avoided clear-cut stands on controversial questions. Such equivocations reached abnormal proportions in the late nineteenth century because of the nearly equal balance of power between the two major parties.

The rapid pace of social and economic changes that accompanied industrialization militated against political decisiveness. No one had yet devised solutions to current problems such as the currency supply, the spoils system, and alternatives to laissez-faire. So, sometimes politicians avoided the issues out of respect for their own ignorance.

Voting Along Ethnic and Religious Lines

The major parties were essentially separate state organizations dealing with local people and local issues. They struggled to control a maze of diverse and competing interests. In order to establish winning electoral coalitions, the parties had to take into consideration the voters’ ethnic backgrounds, religious affiliation, residence in cities or on farms, how they felt about the Civil War, and other aspects of their lives that had no relationship to national political issues.

Generally, southerners, Catholics, and German and Irish Americans voted Democratic; northerners, Protestants, and persons of Scandinavian and British descent voted Republican. Often, such local and state issues as public education and prohibition interacted with religious, partisan, and ethnic factors to determine how an individual would vote in any given election.

City Bosses

The movement of the middle class to the suburbs left a leadership vacuum in large cities, which was filled by political “bosses,” with their informal but powerful “machines.” Immigrants who flocked to the cities were largely of peasant stock and unacquainted with principles of representative democracy. The mobility of urban workers and the difficulties of slum life also lessened the ability of urban newcomers to develop independent political influence. These factors made it easier for ward bosses to gain the political support of “the masses” for whom they found
jobs, distributed food, and gave assistance when jailed for minor offenses. The bosses helped to educate the immigrants so that they could make the transition from the near medieval society of their origins to a modern industrial America.

The most notorious boss, William Marcy Tweed, looted New York City taxpayers in a multiplicity of ways between 1869 and 1871. A corrupt manipulator, Richard Croker, ran New York’s Tammany Hall Democratic organization from the mid-1880s to the end of the century. Although they provided useful social services, bosses were essentially thieves who grew wealthy on kickbacks and bribes. But the boss system developed and survived because middle-class city dwellers were indifferent to the plight of the poor. Some leading citizens shared in the urban corruption, particularly tenement owners and utility executives who traded favors with corrupt politicians. Middle-class urban reformers resented the boss system mainly because it gave power to “proletarian mobs” of “illiterate peasants” rather than themselves.

**Party Politics: Sidestepping the Issues**

Since Democrats controlled the “Solid South,” and New England and the West were Republican, the outcomes of presidential elections were determined by such states as New York, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Partisan loyalty in these states was closely divided. All but three of 18 presidential candidates nominated between 1868 and 1900 came from those four states, and each of these three lost the election.

Partisanship was intense in these states and campaigns were conducted in a carnival atmosphere. Lying, character assassination, and bribery undermined the body politic of the day. Drifters were paid in cash or a few drinks to vote the party ticket. Sometimes the dead rose from the grave to cast ballots.

**Lackluster Leaders**

The leading statesmen of the late nineteenth century showed little interest in important issues of the period. Rutherford Hayes’ Civil War record helped him to gain the governorship of Ohio in 1868. In 1876, the Republicans nominated him for president because of his reputation for honesty and moderation. Hayes played down the tariff issue, endorsed civil service reform, and vetoed bills to expand the currency supply. In most matters, Hayes was content to merely “let the record show that he had made the request” of Congress to act on key issues.

Hayes’ successor, James A. Garfield, was assassinated after four months in office. Like Hayes, Garfield was an Ohioan and a Union veteran. He had oratorical and managerial skills, but was indecisive. Garfield’s assassination resulted when two rival Republican factions, the “Stalwarts” and the “Half-Breeds,” quarreled over patronage. Garfield infuriated the Stalwarts—led by Roscoe Conkling—when he authorized an investigation of a post office scandal and appointed a Half-Breed collector of the Port of New York. In July 1881, an unbalanced Stalwart lawyer, Charles Guiteau, shot Garfield in the Washington rail station.

Garfield’s vice-president, Chester A. Arthur, a Stalwart who had been the New York customs collector, succeeded to the presidency. Personally honest and an excellent administrator, Arthur signed into law the Pendleton Act, which made about 10 percent of government jobs available by
competitive examination, and created a bipartisan Civil Service Commission to administer it. The act also made it illegal to compel officeholders to make political contributions. A good administrator, Arthur, like his predecessors, made little effort to push his program through Congress.

New York’s Democratic governor, Grover Cleveland, won the 1884 election by defeating the Republican former House Speaker James G. Blaine of Maine. Cleveland’s business-like attitude toward public administration endeared him to civil service reformers, and his conservatism pleased business. Blaine’s reputation had been soiled by publication of the “Mulligan letters,” which connected him to the corrupt granting of congressional favors to a railroad in Arkansas. It was revealed during the campaign that Cleveland, a bachelor at the time of his election, had fathered a child out of wedlock. Nevertheless, Cleveland prevailed in a close election thanks to the support of disgruntled eastern Republicans known as “mugwumps,” who opposed government corruption and inefficiency. Cleveland also held a narrow view of his power as president, but, unlike his predecessors, in 1887 he was bold enough to call for a lower tariff.

When seeking reelection in 1888, Cleveland led in popular votes, but the electoral majority went to the Indiana corporation lawyer, Benjamin Harrison. Described as a “human iceberg,” Harrison was too reserved to make a good politician. He supported protective tariffs, conservative economic policies, and liberal veterans’ pensions, but had an unimpressive civil service reform record. Under Harrison, Congress spent for the first time in a period of peace more than $1 billion in a single session. Without influence from Harrison, it also raised the tariff to a new high and passed the Sherman Antitrust Act. The Republicans lost control of Congress in the elections of 1890, and two years later Cleveland was swept back into office, defeating Harrison by a comfortable margin.

The most outstanding congressional leader was perhaps James Blaine, who served in both the House and Senate from Maine. Blaine favored sound money but was open to suggestions for increasing the volume of currency. A moderate Republican during Reconstruction, he was tolerant toward the South. Almost alone among politicians of his era, Blaine was interested in foreign affairs. Congressman William McKinley of Ohio was a man of simple honesty and a politician to the core. John Sherman of Ohio, brother of the Civil War general, mastered financial matters but left little mark on the history of the century. Thomas Reed of Maine was sharp-tongued, vindictive, and ultraconservative.

Crops and Complaints

The travail of Midwestern farmers was the force that finally brought American politics face to face with the problems of the industrial age. These farmers prospered in the immediate post-Civil War decades; then, in the 1890s wheat prices dropped sharply. In the South, cotton prices continued in the downward spiral that had begun during Reconstruction. Farmers claimed that the tariff, the shortage of credit, international competition, and the domestic marketing system that enabled middlemen to gobble up a large share of agriculture profits aggravated their predicament. The downward trend in the business cycle in the early 1890s completed the devastation, and thousands of farmers lost their farms and returned eastward.
The Populist Movement

The agricultural depression triggered the formation of the Southern Alliance in 1877. Alliance co-ops bought fertilizer and other supplies in bulk, sold them to members, and sought to market their crops cooperatively but could not raise capital from banks. Other Alliance movements sprang up in the Midwest, but there was no national organization due to regional and partisan divisions of the Plains and southern farmers. They disagreed over tariff and federal land policy, railroad regulation and financial reform, and whether or not to form a third party after Alliance-supported candidates fared well in various elections in the South and Midwest in 1890.

Encouraged by these successes, farm leaders met in St. Louis in 1892 to organize the People’s, or Populist, party. They attributed their problems to conspiracies organized by selfish interests. At the national convention in Omaha, the Populists nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa and drafted a platform calling for a graduated income tax, national ownership of railroads, telephone and telegraph, and a “subtreasury” plan to permit farmers to store nonperishable crops in government warehouses and receive government loans until market prices improved. The platform also called for the unlimited coinage of silver, democratic political reforms, the eight-hour working day, and immigration restriction.

The Populists were not revolutionaries but viewed themselves as a majority oppressed by the “establishment.” Among colorful Populists were Congressman Tom Watson of Georgia, “Sockless Jerry” Simpson of Kansas, and Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota, whose *Caesar’s Column* pictured a future America where a few plutocrats tyrannized helpless workers and peasants. In the South, the Populists were unable to unite white and black farmers, as politicians played on racial fears to keep the region loyal to the Democratic party. Urban workers failed to support the party. Though defeated, James B. Weaver polled over a million popular votes and 22 electoral votes.

Showdown on Silver

The 1892 election seemed to indicate a strong voter interest in the coinage of silver, though the real issue was what, if anything, could be done to check deflation—declining prices. People on fixed incomes benefited from declining prices, but few others did. Though the nation had previously adopted a policy of bimetallism, silver ceased to be used as a basis for currency in the so-called “Crime of [18]73.” Silver mine owners, seeking a market for their surplus production and joined by other inflationists, demanded that the metal again be coined, and the Bland-Allison Act (1878) and Sherman Silver Purchase Act (1890) required the government to buy silver. But as supplies increased, the price of silver continued to plunge.

The Depression of 1893

President Cleveland believed that the silver issue, by shaking business confidence, caused the Panic of 1893. Consequently, he reverted to the gold standard by obtaining repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act and thereby split the Democratic party. As the nation’s economic fortunes continued into a severe depression in 1894, several “armies” of the unemployed, one led by Jacob Coxey of Ohio, marched on Washington to demand relief. Coxey proposed that the government authorize $500 million in federal public works to put men to work. Instead, club-wielding policemen dispersed Coxey’s Army. This callous treatment convinced many that the government had little interest in the suffering of the people.
Meanwhile, the Supreme Court sided with business in several key cases. It refused to use the Sherman Antitrust Act to break up the Sugar Trust, invalidated a federal income tax, and denied the writ of habeas corpus to Eugene Debs for his role in the Pullman strike. Cleveland’s presidency underwent a grave financial test in 1895 when the nation’s gold supply dropped to $41 million. Amidst a public outcry, the president permitted a group of bankers led by J. P. Morgan to underwrite a $62 million bond issue to revive the gold supply.

The gold standard and “free” silver met their final test in the 1896 election. Armed with an intense rhetorical weapon, his “Cross of Gold” speech, William Jennings Bryan defeated the “goldbugs” at the Democratic convention. Bryan then waged a spirited “free silver” campaign against the Republicans nominee, Ohio Governor William McKinley, and the gold standard. The Populists, whose vote had increased 42 percent in the 1894 midterm elections, fused with the Democrats and endorsed Bryan in 1896, and thereby undermined their credibility as a third party.

**The Election of 1896**

Few presidential campaigns prior to 1896 raised such intense emotions. Republicans from the silver-mining states backed Democrat Bryan; Gold Democrats defected to Republican McKinley. Most newspapers, even those of Democratic inclination, endorsed McKinley. Viewed in the East as a dangerous radical, Bryan was declared “insane” by the *New York Times*. Bryan, a remarkable orator, was the first presidential candidate to take to the stump, traveling 18,000 miles and making more than 600 speeches.

Ohio businessman and political “kingmaker,” Marcus Alonzo Hanna, managed McKinley’s campaign and raised $3.5 million from businessmen, often by intimidation. He sent speakers into doubtful districts and blanketed the nation with campaign literature. McKinley, who could not compete with Bryan’s oratory, conducted a carefully staged “front porch” campaign from his home in Canton, Ohio. That system conserved his energies and enabled him to avoid the appearance of seeking the presidency too openly, which was considered bad form at the time. Without leaving his doorstep, McKinley met thousands of people from throughout the nation. On election day, though the popular vote was close, McKinley won the electoral college vote, 271 to 176.

**The Meaning of the Election**

During the campaign some Republicans vowed to flee the country if Bryan were elected. But with workers voting with capitalists and with the farm vote split, the election did not divide the nation along class lines. As McKinley emerged triumphant, the silver issue paled in significance. Moreover, gold discoveries in Alaska and South Africa and improved methods of extracting gold from low-grade ores led to a natural expansion of the money supply. And, for all his innate conservatism, President McKinley proved able to deal pragmatically with current problems.
### PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

**Define the following concepts:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political boss</td>
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<td>Civil service reform</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Subtreasury plan&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Free silver&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Patronage</td>
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</table>

**Describe the following:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tammany Hall</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Half-Breeds</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pendleton Act</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Farmers Alliance</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Identify the following:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Marcy Tweed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The unwillingness of politicians to fully address the major political issues in the late nineteenth century can, in part, be explained by
   A. middle-class complacency.
   B. the diversion of foreign threats.
   C. the strength of postwar intersectional harmony.
   D. the lack of any significant problems facing the country.
2. Political indecision was a feature of late-nineteenth-century politics because of all the following EXCEPT
   A. both parties wanted to appeal to as wide a segment of the electorate as possible.
   B. given the pace of change, no one had devised any effective solutions for the unique problems presented by industrialization.
   C. the strength of the two major political parties was so out of balance.
   D. rational and consistent governmental actions were not well defined.

3. To which party late-nineteenth-century voters were loyal was LEAST affected by their
   A. views on national issues.
   B. religious affiliation.
   C. place of residence.
   D. ethnic background.

4. In the late nineteenth century, which one of the following would most likely vote Republican?
   A. a southerner
   B. an Irish American
   C. a Catholic
   D. an immigrant of Scandinavian descent

5. Which one of the following is LEAST descriptive of late-nineteenth-century immigrants to the United States?
   A. they moved frequently
   B. they had little experience with representative government
   C. they moved from cities
   D. they moved to cities

6. Key states in winning the presidency in the last two decades of the nineteenth century included all of the following EXCEPT
   A. Michigan.
   B. Indiana.
   C. Ohio.
   D. New York.

7. Which one of these presidents was assassinated while in office?
   A. Rutherford B. Hayes
   B. Chester A. Arthur
   C. James A. Garfield
   D. Grover Cleveland

8. The Pendleton Act established
   A. the first legal restrictions on immigration.
   B. the highest tariff rate in U. S. history.
   C. federal civil service and corrupt practice laws.
   D. public works projects during the Panic of 1893.
9. The main reason for the factional rivalry between the Stalwarts and the Half-Breeds was their
   A. competition for patronage.
   B. differences over the proper level of tariff rates.
   C. disagreement over government regulation.
   D. conflicting views about the wisdom of expanding the currency.

10. Most late-nineteenth-century presidents had a narrow conception of presidential power, but in 1887, President Cleveland tried to provide constructive leadership on
    A. the deflationary problem.
    B. the currency issue.
    C. veterans’ pensions.
    D. the tariff question.

11. One of the few congressional leaders in the late nineteenth century who was interested in foreign policy was
    A. Roscoe Conkling.
    B. James Blaine.
    C. John Sherman.
    D. Thomas Reed.

12. Jacob Coxey
    A. was the Populist party’s presidential nominee in 1896.
    B. was William McKinley’s 1896 campaign manager.
    C. assassinated President Arthur.
    D. led a march of the unemployed on Washington in 1894.

13. In the late nineteenth century, farmers blamed their problems on all the following EXCEPT
    A. a conspiracy of special interests.
    B. middlemen.
    C. organized labor.
    D. a shortage of credit.

14. On which one of these issues did northern and southern farmers disagree?
    A. Prices for wheat and cotton were too low.
    B. Railroad freight charges were too high.
    C. Political action by farmers in their own interests was needed.
    D. Protective tariffs were too high.

15. Populists called for all of the following EXCEPT the
    A. graduated income tax.
    B. protective tariff.
    C. “subtreasury” plan.
    D. increasing the money supply.
16. The Populist party’s Omaha Platform included all the following EXCEPT
   A. government ownership of the railroads.
   B. election of senators by popular vote.
   C. immigration restriction.
   D. a national sales tax.

17. “. . . You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not
    crucify mankind upon a cross of gold,” warned
   A. William Jennings Bryan.
   B. James Weaver.
   C. William McKinley.
   D. Grover Cleveland.

18. In the 1890s, farmers wanted all of these EXCEPT
   A. federally funded crop storage and loans.
   B. a federally funded program of public works for the unemployed.
   C. Bryan for president.
   D. a return to bimetallism.

19. Mark Hanna realized that campaign procedures had been irrevocably changed by the 1890s
    because of the
   A. “free” silver issue.
   B. development of third parties, such as the Populists.
   C. success of Bryan’s stump-speaking campaign.
   D. Pendleton Act.

20. From among these regions, in the 1896 presidential election the Populists got most of their
    votes from
   A. New England.
   B. the South.
   C. states bordering the Great Lakes.
   D. the Pacific Coast states.

Essay Questions

1. In light of sectional, partisan, ethnic, and economic differences among voters, explain why
   political leaders in the late nineteenth century avoided taking unequivocal stands on public
   issues.

2. Define the conditions that enabled political “bosses” and “machines” to organize city voters.
   Identify some of the “bosses” and explain their reactions to reform movements.

3. Evaluate the administrations of Presidents Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, and Harrison
   in reference to their conceptions of the office and the use of executive power. What were a
   few accomplishments of each president?

4. Show how farm discontent led to the formation of the Populist party. List some of the goals
   of the Populists and identify the leading Populist figures.
5. Explain the outcome of the election of 1896 in reference to candidates, parties, issues, political strategies and tactics, and the emotional climate. Explain its lasting significance as the election that “marked the coming of age of modern America.”

**CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE**

Label each of the following statements concerning politics in the late nineteenth century as “T” for true statement, “O” for an opinion, or “F” for a false statement.

___1. McKinley’s victory in 1896 was possible because the Republicans were still the majority party, and McKinley obtained support from substantial Democratic defectors.

___2. The Bryan-McKinley race is considered a “watershed” election because it settled the question of the gold standard and ushered in a long era of Republican domination of the presidency.

___3. The public held Congress in high esteem a century ago even though some members exhibited unstatesmanlike conduct.

___4. Cleveland’s handling of the gold reserve reflected his inability to deal with crises.

___5. Populists played a leading role in Benjamin Harrison’s election as president.

___6. Abraham Lincoln, in the early 1860s, considered James Blaine “one of the coming men of the country.”

___7. Blaine’s moderate views toward the South contributed to the support he received in the region in 1884.

___8. Bryan’s defeat was fortunate because his program would have jeopardized the financial security of the nation.

___9. Thomas Reed’s political courage would have been useful in the White House during an era when presidents tended to be cautious caretakers.

___10. McKinley’s front-porch campaign proved superior to Bryan’s stump speeches.
CHAPTER 22

The Age of Reform

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. _____ The original goal of the progressive movement aimed at relieving the economic distress of American farmers after the Panic of 1893.</td>
<td>_____ 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. _____ Progressives believed that the problems of U. S. society were caused by the structure of its political and economic institutions rather than by the character weaknesses of individual Americans.</td>
<td>_____ 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. _____ Generally, progressives were notably radical in their selfless efforts on behalf of others, their disdain for capitalism, and their moral flexibility.</td>
<td>_____ 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. _____ Women were not allowed to vote in the United States until the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920.</td>
<td>_____ 4.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. _____ President Theodore Roosevelt believed that the best way to deal with large corporations was to break them up into smaller units of free enterprise.</td>
<td>_____ 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. _____ Theodore Roosevelt was the first president to use the power of his office to help labor unions.</td>
<td>_____ 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. _____ Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson were both proponents of racial equality and civil rights for African Americans.</td>
<td>_____ 7.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 22 you should be able to:

1. Explain the origins and philosophical basis of the progressive movement and list the successes it had reforming cities and states.
2. Evaluate the Roosevelt administration in regard to its business policies and the Square Deal. What were its most notable achievements?
3. Evaluate the presidency of William Howard Taft as a “progressive” administration, and explain how Taft split the Republican party after 1909.

4. Analyze the election of 1912 regarding political parties, candidates, issues, results, and long-range implications.

5. Evaluate Woodrow Wilson’s presidency using his “New Freedom” campaign message as criteria. Why did non-whites benefit little from his or any other progressive administration?

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Roots of Progressivism

Historians call the period between the end of the Spanish-American War and American entry into World War I the progressive era. Progressive in this sense refers to reform as a response to industrialism that followed the Civil War. In reality, the roots of progressivism predate 1898, and remnants of the movement continued into the 1920s. Some progressives demanded an end to inefficient and corrupt political machines that were overly influenced by special interest groups; others wished to break up or more strictly regulate the industrial corporations and trusts; still more proposed reforms on behalf of the urban poor, including the abolition of child labor, regulation of working hours and conditions for women, and improved worker safety.

It seemed obvious to progressives that in America’s increasingly urban, industrial, and complex society, people must become more socially minded and the economy more carefully organized. This placed a premium on cooperation and efficiency. In many instances, progressive backing for reform harmonized with intellectual currents of the time—the new social sciences, the Social Gospel, pragmatism—and blended with their ideas for social improvement. Many now turned to putting these ideas into practice.

The Muckrakers

A group of journalists brought the vague apprehensions of many progressives into focus by exposing the abuses of the political, social, and economic systems. These “muckrakers” flooded the press with exposé articles on such topics as insurance companies, college athletics, prostitution, sweatshop labor, and political corruption. Henry Demarest Lloyd and Ida Tarbell, for example, attacked the Standard Oil monopoly in the Atlantic Monthly and McClure’s, respectively. Lincoln Steffens wrote hard-hitting articles (“The Shame of the Cities”) that exposed the ties between big-city machines and business operators.

The Progressive Mind

Progressives tried to arouse the conscience of ordinary people in order to “purify” American life. They believed that human beings were by nature decent and well-intentioned, and claimed that the evils of society lay in the structure of institutions rather than in weaknesses or sinfulness of individuals. Therefore, most progressives believed that government should be made more responsive to the will of citizens who stood for traditional virtues. Despite its democratic rhetoric, progressivism was often paternalistic and sometimes contradictory. Middle-class
reformers frequently oversimplified issues and treated their personal values as standards of absolute truth and morality. They also found it difficult to cooperate with actual working people for whom they purportedly spoke. Though progressives stressed individual freedom, many supported prohibition. Seldom did they challenge fundamental principles of capitalism or try to reorganize society. Many progressives were anti-immigrant and had little to offer African Americans.

“Radical” Progressives: The Wave of the Future

Some progressives espoused more radical views imported from Europe. Eugene V. Debs, for instance, ran for president on the Socialist party ticket, and helped organize a radical union, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), that proclaimed that the working class had nothing in common with its employers. The IWW was anti-capitalist, but it never attracted many ordinary workers.

Progressive intellectuals were influenced by Sigmund Freud’s theory of psychoanalysis that would eventually revolutionize manners and morals. “Bohemian” thinkers, nearly all of whom came from middle-class backgrounds and many of whom were genuinely creative people, flocked to New York’s Greenwich Village. The creative and basically optimistic writers of the era included the poets Ezra Pound, who yearned for an American renaissance, and Carl Sandburg, who hailed his native “City of Big Shoulders” while denouncing Chicago’s plutocrats.

Political Reform: Cities First

Progressivism began in the cities, where the anonymity and complexity of life allowed government corruption and inefficiency to flourish. Reformers worked to dismantle political machines from New York to San Francisco, where the legendary lawyer Abe Ruef made a fortune in illegal political activities. Progressive mayors such as Samuel “Golden Rule” Jones in Toledo succeeded in rousing the citizens against corrupt officials. Others obtained “home rule” charters and created research bureaus, deprivitized city utilities, and created new forms of municipal government. The commission system, which began in Galveston, Texas, in 1900, integrated legislative and executive functions in the hands of an elected commission. The city-manager system, first adopted in Dayton, Ohio, authorized a professional, non-partisan manager to administer city affairs.

Political Reform: The States

Progressives found they could not improve the cities unless state legislatures were willing to cooperate, because municipalities are creations of states, and rural majorities, insensitive to urban needs, controlled most state legislatures. Nevertheless, Republican Governor Robert La Follette, who believed that the people would always do the right thing if properly informed, built a model for progressive policies in Wisconsin. Despite the opposition of rail and lumbering interests, La Follette initiated a direct primary election for nominating candidates, a corrupt-practices act, and laws limiting campaign expenditures and lobbying. La Follette’s “Wisconsin Idea” spread across the nation from New Jersey to Oregon, where voters introduced the initiative and referendum designed to make state government more responsive to popular will.
State Social Legislation

The states gradually adopted social legislation to regulate employment practices and working conditions, but before 1900 the collective impact of such legislation was not impressive. Judges often used the Fourteenth Amendment’s restriction against depriving individuals of “life, liberty or property” as grounds for overturning social legislation, and they adopted an increasingly narrow interpretation of state police power.

In *Lochner v. New York*, the Supreme Court ruled the states could not limit bakers to a 10-hour day; individuals could work as many hours as they wished. And after Congress passed a law in 1916 to ban child labor, the Court declared it unconstitutional in *Hammer v. Dagenhart* (1918). Many states acted to improve worker safety, particularly after the 1911 Triangle shirtwaist factory fire in New York City, which claimed the lives of nearly 150 women because the company had no fire escapes and kept its doors locked. By 1917, most states had limited the hours of women industrial workers, and some had set wage standards. In 1908, the Supreme Court had ruled in *Muller v. Oregon*, a landmark case argued by attorney Louis D. Brandeis, that the state could limit women laundry workers to a 10-hour day on grounds that long hours at work undermined the health of women, the well-being of their families, and the good of communities.

Progressives also attacked monopolies in their states. Wisconsin enacted a graduated income tax, established an industrial commission to enforce labor and factory legislation, and created a conservation commission. In New Jersey, Governor Woodrow Wilson’s urging led to legislation establishing a commission with authority to fix rates charged by rail, gas, electric, and telephone companies. However, piecemeal state legislation failed to solve the problems of an ever more complex national economy.

Political Reform: The Woman Suffrage Movement

On the national level, progressives pushed for adoption of a woman suffrage amendment, a goal long pursued by Susan B. Anthony and other feminists. A lack of unity and confusion over the proper role of women had handicapped this effort for years. Nevertheless, feminists gradually obtained voting rights for women in some western states by 1910, and demanded political, social, and economic equality with men. The suffragists then shifted the campaign back to the national level and the Nineteenth Amendment was approved by Congress in 1918 and ratified in 1920.

Political Reform: Income Taxes and Popular Election of Senators

The progressive reform drive found further expression in the Sixteenth Amendment (1913), authorizing a federal income tax, and the Seventeenth Amendment (1913), permitting voters to choose directly their state’s two United States senators. Meanwhile, progressive congressmen, led by George Norris of Nebraska, reformed procedures in the House of Representatives in 1910 by stripping the Speaker of his control over committee assignments and placing such selections in the hands of party caucuses.

Theodore Roosevelt: Cowboy in the White House
Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt assumed the presidency upon the assassination of William McKinley in 1901. Earlier he had served in a number of elective and appointed offices, and he had been a rancher, a soldier, and a writer. He was notably aggressive and argumentative, yet warmhearted and committed to the ideals of public service and national greatness. His elevation to the presidency alarmed some conservatives, yet Roosevelt’s energy, enthusiasm, and sound thinking in crises served the nation well. He often got what he wanted by exercising his executive power rather than by persuading Congress to pass new laws.

Roosevelt’s domestic program included some federal control of big corporations, increasing the regulatory power of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the conservation of natural resources. To these ends, a number of progressive measures passed Congress. The Newlands Act (1902) funneled proceeds from land sales in the West into irrigation projects. The Department of Commerce and Labor and the Bureau of Corporations were established to discourage monopolies. The Elkins Act (1903) strengthened the ICC against the railroads.

**Roosevelt and Big Business**

Roosevelt acquired a reputation as a “trustbuster,” but this description was only partially accurate because he did not believe in breaking up corporations indiscriminately. He assured corporate leaders that he was not opposed to size per se but to conditions that tended to create monopolies and insisted that regulation was the best way to deal with large corporations. Still, in 1902, he ordered the Justice Department to revive the Sherman Antitrust Act by filing suit against the Northern Securities Company, a western railroad monopoly. The Supreme Court ordered the breakup of the company. Roosevelt then ordered suits against Standard Oil and the American Tobacco Company. At the same time, however, he directed the Bureau of Corporations to work with U.S. Steel and International Harvester to help them voluntarily remedy malpractices and avoid antitrust suits.

**Roosevelt and the Coal Strike**

Roosevelt was the first president to use executive power to benefit organized labor. In 1902, anthracite miners struck for higher wages, an eight-hour day, and recognition of the United Mine Workers. The mine owners refused concessions and prepared to starve the strikers into submission. Roosevelt, who sympathized with the miners and feared a winter coal shortage, called both sides to a conference in Washington. When no settlement resulted, Roosevelt threatened to use federal troops to seize and operate the mines. This threat of government intervention brought the owners to terms: The miners soon returned to work with a 10-percent wage increase and a nine-hour day, while the owners obtained a 10-percent increase in the price of coal and were not required to recognize the union. Everyone received a “square deal,” but Roosevelt was the main winner. Without calling on Congress for support, he expanded executive power and federal authority. His action marked a step forward in the evolution of the modern presidency.
TR’s Triumphs

The popular Roosevelt was easily reelected in 1904, defeating the conservative New York judge Alton B. Parker. Encouraged by his landslide, Roosevelt pressed for further reforms. In 1906, the Hepburn Act expanded the regulatory powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Congress passed meat-inspection and pure-food and drug legislation, which had been encouraged by the muckraker Upton Sinclair, whose novel, *The Jungle*, exposed filthy conditions in Chicago’s slaughterhouses. Roosevelt agreed to the packers’ demand that the government pay the costs of inspection. The Food and Drug Administration attempted to enforce the ban on the manufacture and sale of adulterated and fraudulently labeled products.

Roosevelt Tilts Left

Roosevelt never accepted the “lunatic fringe” of the progressive movement, but steadily took more liberal positions in the sense that he consistently defended what he considered the nation’s interests against exploitation by business interests. Conservation of natural resources was one of his passions and perhaps the most significant achievement of his presidency. While president he placed some 150 million acres of forestlands in federal reserves and enforced laws governing grazing, mining, and lumbering.

Conservative, or “Old Guard,” Republicans blamed a business panic in 1907 on Roosevelt’s trustbusting, but the president paid them little heed. In fact, in the years following the panic, he denounced them as “malefactors of great wealth” and endorsed federal income and inheritance taxes, stricter regulation of interstate corporations, and reforms designed to help industrial workers.

William Howard Taft: The Listless Progressive, or More is Less

As his successor, Roosevelt chose Secretary of War William Howard Taft, who easily defeated Democrat William Jennings Bryan’s third and final White House bid in 1908. Though Taft supported progressive legislation, he never absorbed the progressive spirit of his times. He lacked the physical and mental stamina required of a modern president.

Taft followed Roosevelt’s lead in enforcing the Sherman Act, expanding the national forest reserves, and promoting mine safety legislation. He approved legislation for an eight-hour day for workers under government contracts and even asked Congress to lower the tariff, something Roosevelt had avoided. While the House passed lowered tariff legislation favored by Taft, protectionists in the Senate restored high rates on many items. Taft did little to assist progressive senators who objected to the higher rates; instead he signed the Payne-Aldrich tariff measure into law. Taft also got into hot water with conservationists even though he believed in stewardship of natural resources. Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger returned to the public domain certain waterpower sites that the Roosevelt administration had withdrawn. Chief forester Gifford Pinchot, a conservationist, objected when he learned that Ballinger was also upholding claims of mining interests to Alaskan coal lands. When Pinchot persisted in criticizing Ballinger, Taft dismissed Pinchot.
**Breakup of the Republican Party**

Pinchot’s dismissal created a rift between Taft and Roosevelt that shattered the Republican party into progressive and Old Guard factions. Whereas Taft allied himself to the Old Guard, Roosevelt supported the progressives and in 1910 unveiled a comprehensive program of social legislation and expansion of federal power to regulate business that he called the New Nationalism.

In 1912, Roosevelt declared his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination and won most of the party’s presidential primaries. Because some Taft delegates to the Republican national nominating convention had been chosen under questionable circumstances, Roosevelt challenged the right of 254 delegates to their seats. The Taft-dominated credentials committee awarded enough disputed seats to the president, who won the nomination on the first ballot. Thereafter, Roosevelt ran as a third-party candidate under the Progressive or “Bull Moose” banner. He advocated a number of reforms, including strict regulation of corporations, a tariff commission, national presidential primaries, minimum wage and workers’ compensation laws, and the elimination of child labor.

**The Election of 1912**

The Democrats nominated Woodrow Wilson, a political scientist and Princeton University president who had been elected governor of New Jersey in 1910. Wilson’s “New Freedom” platform claimed that the national government could best prevent unfair business practices by allowing competition, breaking up trusts, and establishing fair rules for the conduct of free enterprise. Conversely, Roosevelt believed that complexities of the modern world required regulation of the trusts and economic planning; in effect, the employment of Hamiltonian means to achieve Jeffersonian ends. With a united Democratic party, Wilson soundly defeated both Roosevelt and Taft. As representatives of progressivism, Wilson and Roosevelt together polled more than two-thirds of the popular vote.

**Wilson: The New Freedom**

Woodrow Wilson was an immediate success as president. Among his early legislative victories was the enactment of the Underwood Tariff (1913), which reduced rates to their lowest level since before the Civil War. To compensate for lost revenue, Congress collected the first income taxes under the Sixteenth Amendment, passed in 1913. Wilson signed the Federal Reserve Act (1913), which gave the nation a central banking system for the first time since the 1830s. The measure divided the nation into 12 banking districts, each under the supervision of a “banker’s bank.” All national banks (state banks had the option to join) had to invest six percent of their capital as a reserve requirement. The nerve center of the system was the Federal Reserve Board in Washington, which controlled the amount of money in circulation through the manipulation of the reserve requirement and the rediscount rate, the commission charged to the member banks by the reserve banks.

In 1914, Wilson replaced Roosevelt’s Bureau of Corporations with the Federal Trade Commission, which issued cease and desist orders against “unfair” trade practices. The Clayton Antitrust Act outlawed both price discrimination that fostered monopoly and interlocking
directorates that acted as a subterfuge for controlling competing companies. It also exempted labor unions from antitrust laws and curtailed the use of injunctions in labor disputes. In practice, the actual differences between Wilson’s New Freedom and Roosevelt’s New Nationalism were slight. Both resulted in governmental regulation of the economy. However, there were limits to Wilson’s progressivism: He opposed low-interest government loans to farmers, a federal law prohibiting child labor, and a woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution.

The Progressives and Minority Rights

With few exceptions, progressives, like most members of the middle class, exhibited strong prejudice against non-white people as well as against certain whites, and were generally unconcerned about the conditions of poor immigrants. For instance, in 1913 the Dillingham Commission proposed restrictions on the number of newcomers to be admitted to the United States, particularly those from southern and eastern Europe. Secondly, in the Dead Indian Land Act of 1902, Native Americans were given greater latitude to sell their inherited land allotments. But while greater efforts were undertaken to improve the education of Native American children, progressives assumed that only vocational training would help them. Finally, racial segregation was rigidly enforced in the South. Lynching remained a persistent problem; indeed some 1,100 blacks were murdered by mobs between 1900 and 1914. African Americans were denied both education and their right to vote by Jim Crow laws. Few blacks attended high school. Some southern progressives justified the disfranchisement of African Americans on grounds that it was electoral reform—it prevented corrupt white politicians from purchasing black votes.

Black Militancy

Breaking with the accommodationist rhetoric of Booker T. Washington, William E. B. Du Bois exhorted African Americans to establish their own businesses, run their own newspapers and colleges, write their own literature, and preserve their identity as a people, rather than assimilate meekly into white society. Du Bois called for black education, civil rights, and repeal of racist voting laws. An elitist, he believed that African Americans could overcome the vices of immorality, crime, and laziness through the leadership of its “exceptional men,” or “talented tenth.” In 1909, Du Bois joined with a group of whites to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the flagship organization in the war against racial discrimination. Du Bois edited the organization’s journal, *The Crisis*.

Such militancy produced few immediate gains for blacks. Though he had invited Booker T. Washington to dine at the White House, Theodore Roosevelt pursued a “lily-white” policy as the Bull Moose nominee in 1912. President Wilson, a segregationist whose administration was dominated by white southerners, refused even to appoint a privately-funded commission to study racial problems. Wilson’s attitude alarmed Du Bois and other black militants.
PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

progressive _______________________________________________________________

muckrakers _______________________________________________________________

“ashcan” artists __________________________________________________________

city manager ____________________________________________________________

commission government __________________________________________________

trustbuster __________________________________________________________________

“talented tenth” __________________________________________________________

Describe the following:

McClure’s __________________________________________________________________

Wisconsin Idea __________________________________________________________________

Muller v. Oregon __________________________________________________________________

Triangle shirtwaist factory __________________________________________________________________
Identify the following:

Lincoln Steffens

William “Big Bill” Haywood

Robert M. “Bob” La Follette

Susan B. Anthony

Gifford Pinchot

William E. B. Du Bois
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The progressive movement sprang from the struggle against all the following EXCEPT
   A. racial injustices towards African Americans and Native Americans.
   B. the influence of giant corporations.
   C. working conditions for child and women labor.
   D. government corruption.

2. Progressive values included all the following EXCEPT
   A. laissez-faire.
   B. individual freedom.
   C. organization.
   A. efficiency.

3. Most progressive leaders were all of the following EXCEPT
   A. radical.
   B. optimistic.
   C. individualists.
   D. middle class.

4. The progressive movement was generally all the following EXCEPT
   A. anti-capitalist.
   B. anti-immigrant.
   C. anti-black.
   A. anti-monopolist.

5. Progressive reformers in the cities adopted one or more of the following EXCEPT
   A. the initiative and referendum.
   B. “gas and water socialism.”
   C. city manager form of government.
   D. city commissioner form of government.

6. The Supreme Court decision in which case was pro-progressive?
   A. *Lochner v. New York*
   B. *Hammer v. Dagenhart*
   C. *Adkins v. Children’s Hospital*
   D. *Muller v. Oregon*
7. Probably the most progressive state and its governor were
   A. Woodrow Wilson and New Jersey.
   B. Robert La Follette and Wisconsin.
   C. Charles Evans Hughes and New York.
   D. Upton Sinclair and California.

8. Upton Sinclair’s novel, *The Jungle*, influenced federal legislation on
   A. railroad legislation.
   B. meat inspection and pure food and drugs.
   C. conservation of natural resources.
   D. child labor protection.

9. Probably Theodore Roosevelt’s most significant achievement as president was his support for
   A. federal meat inspection and pure and food and drugs.
   B. child labor legislation.
   C. railroad regulation.
   D. conservation of natural resources.

10. Although he was a progressive, while he was a member of Roosevelt’s cabinet, William Howard Taft had been disturbed by Roosevelt’s
    A. vigorous enforcement of the Sherman Antitrust Act.
    B. timidity toward railroad regulation.
    C. long list of new reform legislation for enactment by Congress.
    D. sweeping use of executive power.

11. Taft split the Republican party into “Old Guard” and “progressive” wings by his actions in all of the following EXCEPT
    A. Ballinger-Pinchot controversy.
    B. credentials dispute at the 1912 Republican convention.
    C. Payne-Aldrich Tariff.
    D. mine safety legislation.

12. Match the progressive amendment with its subject
    A. Sixteenth   1. prohibition
    B. Seventeenth 2. woman suffrage
    C. Eighteenth 3. income tax
    D. Nineteenth 4. popular election of senators
    A. A3, B1, C4, D2
    B. A1, B2, C3, D4
    C. A3, B4, C1, D2
    D. A4, B3, C2, D1

13. Theodore Roosevelt was best known as president as
    A. a war hero.
    B. a big game hunter.
    C. leader of the “Bull Moose” faction.
    D. a trustbuster.
14. Theodore Roosevelt can be fairly characterized as all the following EXCEPT
   A. aggressive.
   B. argumentative.
   C. broadly curious.
   D. unsound in judgment.

15. During the 1902 coal strike, President Roosevelt threatened to
   A. close down the mines.
   B. dispatch federal troops to seize and operate the mines.
   C. order the owners to recognize the unions’ right to collective bargaining.
   D. send in National Guard troops to break the strike.

16. The heart of President Roosevelt’s “New Freedom” message in 1912 was to
   A. expand federal power to regulate the trusts.
   B. enact a comprehensive program of social legislation.
   C. gain government ownership of business.
   D. break up the trusts and restore competition.

17. During the progressive movement, all of the following occurred EXCEPT
   A. the Dead Indian Land Act opened federally funded trade and vocational schools for
      Native American youth.
   B. a Gentlemen’s Agreement excluded Japanese immigration into the United States.
   C. the Dillingham Commission recommended restrictions on immigration from
      southern and eastern Europe.
   D. Jim Crow laws in the South became more rigid and lynchings more frequent.

18. Included in the “small avalanche of important measures” passed by Congress during
    Wilson’s first two years in the presidency were all the following EXCEPT
    A. Underwood Tariff Act—lowering tariff rates.
    B. Hepburn Act—expanding federal regulation of railroads.
    C. Clayton Antitrust Act—tightening antitrust regulation.
    D. Federal Reserve Act—creating a national banking system.

19. William E. B. Du Bois wanted African Americans to do all the following EXCEPT
    A. lift themselves up by their own bootstraps.
    B. preserve their own identity rather than amalgamate into white society.
    C. follow the leadership of a “talented tenth” of blacks.
    D. stop dreaming of political power, civil rights, and higher education and instead
       realistically adjust and accommodate to living in a white-dominated society.

20. William E. B. Du Bois was a founding member of the
    A. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).
    B. Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).
    C. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).
    D. Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).
Essay Questions

1. Explain how the progressive movement emerged as a response to post-Civil War industrialism. What was the role of the muckrakers in the progressive movement?

2. Discuss political reforms at the municipal and state levels during the Progressive Era. Identify some key mayors and governors and their accomplishments.

3. Explain how Theodore Roosevelt helped to strengthen the executive function of the presidency, with reference to his policies toward business and the Square Deal.

4. Describe the presidential election of 1912 in reference to parties, nominees, platforms, issues, campaign styles, results, and long-term significance.

5. Explain why the progressive movement offered little hope to blacks and other minority groups desiring to improve their status.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Circle the one item in each listing that is unrelated to the other three.

1. reform
   improvement
   status quo
   change

2. progressive
   “Old Guard”
   conservationist
   trust busting

3. New Nationalism
   monopoly
   New Freedom
   regulation

4. accommodationist
   segregation
   equality
   “lily-white”

5. John Mitchell
   Mary “Mother” Jones
   Samuel Gompers
   Carter Woodson

6. Theodore Roosevelt
   William Howard Taft
   Woodrow Wilson
   William Jennings Bryan

7. Eugene V. Debs
   Upton Sinclair
   Ida Tarbell
   Lincoln Steffens

8. New Freedom
   antitrust
   centralized banking
   laissez-faire

9. Isadora Duncan
   Eugene O’Neill
   John Bunyan
   Alfred Stieglitz

10. George Baer
    James J. Hill
    J.P. Morgan
    Samuel Gompers
CHAPTER 23

From Isolation to Empire

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

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Between 1865 and 1890, while its attention was on industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, the United States played only a minor role in world affairs.

As a result of the Spanish-American War, in 1898 the United States acquired Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii from Spain.

Domestic opposition to the acquisition of the Philippines was largely based on the racial prejudices of Americans.

In the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, former president Theodore Roosevelt warned the United States against assuming the role of “policeman of the western hemisphere.”

The United States adopted an “Open Door” policy at the turn of the century, which called for equal trade rights and nondiscriminatory tariff collections for all nations trading in China.

The United States built the Panama Canal only after agreeing that it would be open to the ships of all nations.

Between 1865 and 1915, the United States adopted a policy of “the Constitution follows the flag” and granted U.S. citizenship to all the inhabitants of the lands it acquired.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 23 you should be able to:

1. List factors leading to the rise of imperialism in the United States and explain American special interest in Latin America and the Far East at the turn of the twentieth century.
2. Summarize the Spanish-American War with reference to causes, key battles, outcome, and the peace treaty.
3. List reasons why Americans were divided over the question of annexing the Philippines in 1898.
4. Evaluate the significance of the Open Door policy in China.
5. Trace the timetable of events that led to construction of the Panama Canal.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Isolationism or Imperialism?

Busy exploiting the West and building their great industrial machine, Americans in the late nineteenth century showed little concern for events in Europe but indicated growing interest in Latin America and East Asia. The disdain for Europe was based on the perception of it as a decadent and undemocratic society, and was perpetuated by the United States’ being set apart from Europe by the Atlantic Ocean.

Great Britain was singled out for particular enmity as a result of historically based resentments and more recent events. For instance, the United States pressed for compensation from Great Britain for Union shipping sunk during the Civil War by Confederate cruisers that had been built in British naval yards during the Civil War. Britain finally agreed to pay an arbitrated settlement of the Alabama claims based on the 1871 Treaty of Washington.

Origins of the Large Policy: Coveting Colonies

The United States was particularly sensitive to European presence in the Western Hemisphere. During the Civil War, France had established a protectorate over Mexico and installed the Austrian Archduke Maximilian as emperor. Secretary of State William Seward demanded that the French withdraw, and the United States moved troops to the Rio Grande. France pulled out in 1867, and Mexican nationalists seized power and executed Maximilian.

In 1867, Seward arranged the purchase of Alaska from Russia, thereby ridding the North American continent of another foreign power. That same year Seward acquired the Midway Islands and proposed annexing Hawaii, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. This generated a great debate on extra-continental expansion. At the same time, American trade grew to the extent that by 1898 the nation was shipping abroad more manufactured goods than it imported. This growing awareness of the United States’ ability to compete with Europeans in foreign markets provoked more American interest in world affairs.

Shifting intellectual currents also encouraged interest in other nations. The Darwinist historian John Fiske claimed that American democracy was destined to spread peacefully over the entire world. The missionary Josiah Strong in Our Country claimed that God had ordained the Anglo-Saxon race to impress Christian institutions on all humankind. The completion of the conquest of the American West also encouraged Americans to consider expansion beyond the seas, as did the urge to compete with European imperialists and the sheer excitement and adventure of overseas enterprises.
Finally, military and strategic needs dictated that Americans adopt a colonial policy. Naval Captain Alfred T. Mahan in *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* argued that a powerful navy and overseas bases would make the United States invulnerable in war and prosperous in peace. Therefore, he urged America to build a modern fleet, obtain coaling stations and bases in the Caribbean, annex Hawaii, and cut a canal across Central America. Leading disciples of Mahan’s “large policy” included Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge; President Harrison’s secretary of the navy, Benjamin Tracy; and future president, Theodore Roosevelt.

**Toward an Empire in the Pacific**

The Hawaiian Islands were an important way station to East Asia, and the control of those islands was essential to American success. Therefore, the United States took very deliberate steps to acquire Hawaii, using the sugar trade as leverage. Descendants of missionary families who were engaged in raising sugar dominated the Hawaiian monarchy. The McKinley Tariff of 1890 discontinued a duty on raw sugar and compensated American producers of cane and beet sugar through a bounty. This policy destroyed the advantage Hawaiian sugar growers had gained in an earlier reciprocity treaty. Interest thus developed among American sugar growers in Hawaii to annex the islands to the United States in order to avoid the tariff.

In 1891, Queen Liliuokalani, a Hawaiian nationalist, attempted to rule as an absolute monarch. She was overthrown in a coup supported by the United States diplomatic minister, John L. Stevens. A treaty of annexation was drafted in the closing days of the Harrison administration, but President Cleveland withdrew the agreement because he believed that the Hawaiians opposed annexation and he disapproved of the way the monarchy had been toppled. Nevertheless, in 1898, Congress annexed the islands by joint resolution, a procedure requiring only a simple majority vote.

**Toward an Empire in Latin America**

In Central and South America the United States had major economic interests, and the strategic importance of the region was clear. The Monroe Doctrine had long conditioned Americans to the idea of protecting the national interests in the Western Hemisphere. As early as 1869, President Grant had supported construction of an interoceanic canal even though the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Great Britain made exclusive U.S. control of such a canal impossible at that time. In 1880, though, the French engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps formed a company to build a canal across the isthmus, prompting President Hayes to announce that the United States would not permit a European power to control such a waterway.

In 1895, President Cleveland, seeking an election issue, became involved in a border dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana. He directed Secretary of State Richard Olney to dispatch a near-ultimatum to the British, declaring that “the United States is practically sovereign on this continent.” Britain finally agreed to Cleveland’s call to arbitrate the dispute. The boundary tribunal ironically awarded most of the disputed land to Britain. Although Cleveland had threatened war, the dispute marked the beginning of an era of Anglo-American friendship.
The Cuban Revolution

An 1894 tariff act cut Cuban sugar growers off from the American market. The resulting distress precipitated a revolt in Cuba. In 1896, General Valeriano Weyler arrived in Havana from Spain to assume duties as governor of the island. Determined to end the guerilla warfare waged by Cuban nationalist rebels, Weyler herded the rural population into “reconcentration” camps, which only hardened the rebels’ resolve. The American public, most newspapers, veterans’ organizations, labor unions, and many Protestant clergymen sympathized with the Cubans, whom the press depicted as fighting for liberty and democracy against an autocratic Old World power. But although the fighting also endangered American investments in Cuban sugar plantations, President McKinley genuinely desired to avoid intervention.

When riots broke out in Havana in early 1898, McKinley sent the battleship Maine to protect American citizens. Shortly thereafter, William Randolph Hearst’s New York Journal printed a letter written by the Spanish minister in Washington, Dupuy de Lôme, to a friend in Cuba. The letter denounced McKinley as a “bidder for the admiration of the crowd,” an insult to the president. On February 15, the Maine exploded and sank in Havana harbor; 260 crew members perished. No one has ever determined what actually happened, but Americans were outraged and blamed the Spanish. Spain’s culpability seems doubtful because such action would have guaranteed a declaration of war by the United States.

After weeks of uncertainty, Spanish pride and Cuban patriotism took the question of peace or war out of his hands and President McKinley asked Congress for authority to use the armed forces in Cuba. At the last moment, the Spanish government seemed to yield, but Cuban nationalists pressed for what Spain could not give them without a fight—full independence.

The “Splendid Little” Spanish-American War

On April 20, 1898, Congress by joint resolution recognized the independence of Cuba, authorized armed forces to drive out the Spanish, and passed the Teller Amendment, which disclaimed any intention of annexing the island to the United States. Though the war was ostensibly fought to free Cuba, the early action took place in the Philippines, where Commodore George Dewey moved his naval squadron and captured the Spanish base at Manila Bay in the Philippine Islands.

Meanwhile, in the Cuban theater of the war, the United States won swift and total victory. Americans blockaded Santiago, where the Spanish fleet was docked, while an expeditionary force commanded by General William Shafter pressed toward Santiago. By July 1, American volunteers known as the Rough Riders—led by Teddy Roosevelt and Leonard Wood—stormed San Juan heights outside the city. When the Spanish fleet tried to run the American blockade, it was destroyed.

After the surrender of Santiago, American troops occupied Puerto Rico. On August 12, a day before the fall of Manila in the Philippines, Spain agreed to vacate Cuba, to cede Puerto Rico and the island of Guam to the United States, and to decide the fate of the Philippines at a peace conference in Paris.
Developing a Colonial Policy

The debate over taking the Philippines thrust the United States into the ranks of major world powers. In view of the Teller Amendment forsaking any claim over Cuba, logic would indicate that the United States would not annex the Philippines. Yet expansionists wanted to take the entire archipelago to expand the trade, wealth, and power of the United States. President McKinley believed that the public wanted the islands, and business opinion, eyeing the markets of East Asia, shifted dramatically in support of annexation.

The Anti-imperialists

An important minority of Americans argued that because Filipino statehood was not under consideration, it would be unconstitutional to annex the islands. Annexation would violate the right to self-government that lay at the heart of the spirit of the Declaration of Independence because in such a scenario the United States would govern without the consent of the governed. Many who opposed annexation were partisan Democrats; others were motivated by ethnic and racial prejudices that led them to believe Filipinos were unfit for U.S. citizenship. Labor leaders feared competition from Asian workers who might flood into the United States.

McKinley was unable to think of any practical alternative to annexation and he looked favorably on the commercial possibilities that would stem from acquisition of an empire. Public opinion made his decision for annexation easier. In the Treaty of Paris (1900), the United States acquired the Philippines but agreed to pay a $20 million indemnity to soothe the feelings of the Spanish. The United States Senate narrowly approved the treaty when William Jennings Bryan, as titular head of the Democratic party, did not openly oppose it. Bryan hoped to use the issue in his planned 1900 presidential rematch with William McKinley.

The Philippine Insurrection

In 1899, Filipino nationalists under Emilio Aguinaldo rose in guerrilla warfare against the U.S. occupying forces, beginning a three-year war that cost more in lives and money than the Spanish-American War. The rebellion, characterized by extreme brutality on both sides, continued even after McKinley sent a federal judge, William Howard Taft, to be the first civilian governor of the islands. Though anti-imperialists continued to object to taking over territories without the consent of the local population, McKinley’s reelection in 1900 settled the question of Philippine annexation.

Cuba and the United States

Grave constitutional questions arose as a result of the acquisitions that followed the Spanish-American War. McKinley quickly established military governments in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. In 1900, the Foraker Act established a civil government in Puerto Rico, but it did not give the Puerto Ricans American citizenship or self-government and placed tariffs on imports to the United States. When challenged, the Supreme Court in Downes v. Bidwell, the first of several “insular cases” on colonial policy, upheld the tariff on Puerto Rican goods. This
in effect ruled that the “Constitution does not follow the flag,” and that Congress could develop
colonial policy as it pleased.

Americans found Cuba in a state of collapse and chaos after the war. American soldiers had
difficulty working with the Cubans, a fact attributed in part to racial prejudice. No strong
national leader capable of uniting Cuba appeared, but the desperate state of the Cubans, the
heavy economic stake of Americans in Cuba, and the island’s strategic importance militated
against U.S. withdrawal from the island.

The United States helped to modernize sugar production, improve sanitation, establish schools,
and restore order. President McKinley appointed General Leonard Wood as military governor.
In November 1900, Cuban leaders drafted a constitution for an independent Cuba. In the Platt
Amendment, the United States recognized the independence of Cuba but held open the
possibility that the United States would intervene if Cuban independence were threatened. In
1902, the United States vacated Cuba, but repeatedly used the threat of intervention to coerce the
Cuban government.

**The United States in the Caribbean and Central America**

The United States assumed the role of protector and stabilizer of the entire Caribbean and
Central America. Those regions’ countries were economically underdeveloped, socially
backward, politically unstable, and desperately poor. A few families owned most of the land and
dominated social and political life. Cynicism and fraud poisoned relations between those nations
and the great powers. In 1902, trouble broke out in Venezuela when a dictator refused to honor
debts owed to Europeans. Germany and Britain imposed a blockade of Venezuela to force
payment. Under American pressure, the Europeans agreed to arbitrate the dispute. For the first
time, European powers accepted the broad implications of the Monroe Doctrine.

In 1903, the Dominican Republic defaulted on $40 million worth of bonds. President Theodore
Roosevelt arranged for the United States to take charge of Dominican customs service. This
resulted in the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine that declared that the United States
would reluctantly “exercise. . .an international police power” in Latin America to maintain peace
and stability. Roosevelt’s policy brought order but caused resentment in Latin America toward
the United States.

**The Open Door Policy**

In East Asia, the United States tried to prevent the absorption of China by the great powers
through the Open Door policy announced by McKinley’s secretary of state, John Hay. Hay
asked that the trading rights of all countries be honored and that there be no discriminatory duties
within the various spheres of influence along the China coast. Tariffs were to be collected by the
Chinese. Hay’s action marked a revolutionary departure from the nation’s traditional policy of
isolation from international power politics.
Hay’s policy was tested in the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. Chinese nationalists swarmed into Peking (Beijing) and drove foreigners behind the walls of their legations, which were placed under siege. An international rescue expedition freed the foreigners. Fearing that the rebellion would lead to further problems, Hay sent off another round of Open Door notes, broadening the Open Door policy to include the territorial and administrative integrity of all China, not merely the spheres of influence.

Thereafter, the United States became involved in the settlement of the Russo-Japanese War that began in 1904 when Japan attacked Russia in a quarrel over Manchuria. President Theodore Roosevelt invited the belligerents to mediate the struggle at a conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The Japanese were disgruntled over the resulting treaty because although they gained control of Korea, Port Arthur, and the southern half of Sakhalin Island, they felt that Roosevelt led them to compromise for less than they deserved. Further angering the Japanese was the San Francisco school board’s policy of segregating Asian children in a special school, instituted in 1906. Roosevelt persuaded the school board to abandon segregation, and Japan, through the Gentlemen’s Agreement (1907), halted further Japanese immigration. Japanese resentment at American racial prejudice, however, continued.

The Panama Canal

In 1901, the United States and Britain signed the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, which abrogated the 1850 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and granted the United States the right to build a canal across Central America. As a condition, the United States agreed that any canal it might build would be “free and open to the vessels” of all nations. A route across Panama, then part of Colombia, was finally selected for the project, and in 1903, the United States signed the Hay-Herran Treaty to pay Colombia for the land. The Colombian Senate rejected the treaty on grounds that the offer was insufficient.

President Roosevelt therefore ordered a naval cruiser to Panama, where a revolution erupted, instigated by the French, who were eager to divest themselves from the canal, in November 1903. Roosevelt recognized the new Republic of Panama, from whom the United States acquired the Panama Canal Zone, a strip of land 10 miles wide across the new country. Historians have long criticized Roosevelt’s aggressiveness in the canal incident, but he never wavered in his belief that he had acted in the national interest. But his intolerance and aggressiveness in the canal incident bred resentment and fear in Latin America.

President Taft’s policy toward the outlying areas, termed “dollar diplomacy,” assumed that economic penetration would stabilize underdeveloped areas and profit the United States without the need to commit troops or spend public funds. American investments reached $500 million in Cuba by 1920, and smaller investments were made in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Like the Roosevelt Corollary, however, dollar diplomacy also provoked apprehension in Latin America.

Imperialism Without Colonies

The United States acquired its colonies in the period between 1898 and 1903. Thereafter, a conviction that the costs of colonial administration outweighed profits brought about a gradual
retreat from imperialism. Colonialism, though, is not only defined politically; many members of the American “empire” remained de facto economic colonies long after the United States relinquished political control. Critics of this economic hegemony claimed the United States exploited the underdeveloped countries while ignoring the different cultures and needs of their people. Most Americans saw it as a national duty for the United States to guide the development of countries with traditions far different from their own. This led the U.S. government into a self-defeating policy of supporting Latin American dictators in the repression of the impoverished people of developing countries.

PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

*Define the following:*

“reconcentration” camps

archipelago

anti-imperialists

“insular cases”

“spheres of influence”

“yellow peril”

isthmus

“dollar diplomacy”
Describe the following:

Treaty of Washington ______________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty _____________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Maine ________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Teller Amendment _________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Platt Amendment __________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Roosevelt Corollary ________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Boxer Rebellion __________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Open Door Policy _________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Treaty of Portsmouth _______________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

“Gentlemen’s Agreement” ________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

insular cases ____________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
Identify the following:

Rough Riders _____________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

William H. Seward ________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Queen Liliuokalani ________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

John L. Stevens __________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Valeriano Weyler _________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Dupuy de Lôme __________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

George Dewey __________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Emilio Aguinaldo _________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Leonard Wood __________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

John Hay ______________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

MAP EXERCISE

Refer to the top map on the following page. Place the letter in the blank that corresponds to the correct location.
1. Bahamas
2. Colombia
3. Costa Rica
4. Cuba
5. Dominican Republic
6. El Salvador
7. Florida
8. Guatemala
9. Haiti
10. Honduras
11. Jamaica
12. Mexico
13. Nicaragua
14. Panama
15. Puerto Rico
16. Venezuela
17. Virgin Islands
Refer to the bottom map on the preceding page. Place the letter in the blank that corresponds to the correct location.

_____ 1. Australia  
_____ 2. China  
_____ 3. Guam  
_____ 4. Japan  
_____ 5. Korea  
_____ 6. Manchuria  
_____ 7. Midway  
_____ 8. Philippines  
_____ 9. Sakhalin Island  
_____10. Wake Island

SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Late-nineteenth-century Americans did not ignore world events entirely; they just had little direct concern for what went on in
   A. South America.  
   B. East Asia and the Pacific.  
   C. Europe.  
   D. Central America and the Caribbean.

2. Secretary of State William H. Seward oversaw U.S. acquisition of
   A. Guam and Wake islands.  
   B. Alaska.  
   C. the Dominican Republic.  
   D. the Hawaiian Islands.

3. All of the following caused the United States to consider outward expansion EXCEPT
   A. Darwin’s theories.  
   B. racial and religious prejudices.  
   C. U.S. imports beginning to exceed exports.  
   D. the closing of the frontier.

4. Naval admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, author of The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, argued that for the United States to be prosperous and powerful it must do all of the following EXCEPT
   A. annex the Philippines.  
   B. build a modern naval fleet.  
   C. obtain coaling stations and naval bases.  
   D. cut a canal across Central America.
5. Which of these statements regarding American interest in Hawaii is FALSE?
A. Hawaii was annexed by a treaty ratified by the U.S. Senate.
B. The United States obtained the right to establish a naval base at Pearl Harbor in exchange for admitting Hawaiian sugar imports into the United States duty free.
C. The Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown by a coup of American residents who were supported by the head of the U.S. diplomatic legation there.
D. President Cleveland refused to annex Hawaii when the opportunity was presented to him.

6. The claim that “Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, . . .” was uttered by
A. Secretary of State William H. Seward following the purchase of Alaska.
B. Secretary of State Richard Olney during the Venezuelan boundary dispute.
C. President McKinley in his message to Congress requesting a declaration of war on Spain.
D. President Roosevelt announcing his Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.

7. Until president McKinley drafted a war message in April 1898, U.S. entry into war with Spain had been generally opposed by
A. labor unions.
B. the public.
C. business leaders.
D. the New York press.

8. The United States declaimed any intention of annexing Cuba in the
A. Roosevelt Corollary.
B. Teller Amendment.
C. Open Door notes.
D. Platt Amendment.

9. The leader of the Filipino nationalists was
A. Emilio Aguinaldo.
B. Valeriano Weyler.
C. Pascual Cervera.
D. Dupuy de Lôme.

10. What is the correct order of occurrence of these events? 1) sinking of the Maine; 2) publication of the De Lôme letter; 3) beginning of the “reconcentration” camp policy
A. 3, 1, 2
B. 3, 2, 1
C. 1, 2, 3
D. 2, 3, 1

11. As a result of the Spanish-American War, the United States acquired all of the following EXCEPT
A. the Philippine Islands.
B. Cuba.
C. Guam.
D. Puerto Rico.
12. The “fundamental element” in the anti-imperialists’ opposition to U.S. annexation of the Philippines was their
A. assumption that Filipinos were unfit for self-government.
B. fear that Filipino workers would compete unfairly against American workers.
C. belief it was unconstitutional and a violation of a peoples’ right to self-government.
D. view that the Spanish-American War was immoral and the Philippines, as fruits of victory in that war, were tainted.

13. President McKinley considered all of the following alternatives to U.S. annexation of the Philippines EXCEPT
A. allowing Great Britain or another great power to have them.
B. returning them to Spanish control.
C. granting them independence and self-government.
D. calling a national referendum in the United States to decide.

14. Compared to the Spanish-American War, the Philippine Insurrection was all of the following EXCEPT
A. more costly in lives.
B. less brutally fought.
C. longer lasting.
D. more financially expensive.

15. The “insular cases” decided that
A. “the Constitution follows the flag.”
B. Congress could not impose tariffs on products from annexed territories.
C. inhabitants of annexed territories were not citizens of the United States.
D. foreign acquisitions could not be held in territorial status indefinitely.

16. The amended constitution for an independent Cuba in 1900 required all of the following EXCEPT
A. a tariff would be placed on all Cuban products imported into the United States.
B. the United States was authorized to intervene in Cuba when necessary to preserve its independence.
C. Cuba could make no treaty with a foreign government that compromised its own independence.
D. Cuba must grant naval bases on its soil to the United States.

17. Theodore Roosevelt announced his Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine in order to
A. make a U.S. colony of the Dominican Republic.
B. make the United States an international police power in the Western Hemisphere.
C. relieve the suffering among Latin America’s uneducated peasants.
D. mollify the resentment toward the United States in Latin America.

18. Secretary of State John Hay’s Open Door notes
A. established a significant U.S. military presence in the Far East.
B. played a significant role in preserving the territorial integrity of China.
C. helped diminish the significance of “spheres of influence” in Chinese commerce.
D. marked a significant departure from the traditional U.S. policy of isolation from events in the Far East.
19. The San Francisco school board abandoned its policy of segregating Asian children in exchange for Japan’s pledge to cut off further immigration of Japanese workers in the
   A. Platt Amendment.
   B. Gentleman’s Agreement.
   C. Treaty of Portsmouth.

20. President William Howard Taft called the U.S. early twentieth-century policy of obtaining profitable economic penetration of underdeveloped areas without the trouble of owning and controlling them
   A. “Speak softly and carry a big stick.”
   B. the Open Door Policy.
   C. dollar diplomacy.
   D. non-colonial imperial expansionism.

**Essay Questions**

1. Explain how the Philippine annexation question divided Americans in 1898. What was the ultimate outcome?

2. Summarize the Spanish-American War, with emphasis on causes, principal battles, immediate results, the peace treaty, and long-term implications to American foreign policy.

3. Explain how the Open Door policy and Boxer Rebellion worked to shift America from isolationism to interventionism.

4. Discuss principal events over a period of nearly 60 years that made possible the construction of the Panama Canal.

5. Explain how the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine affected American policy at the turn of the twentieth century.

**CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE**

Label each of the following statements as “I” for *isolationist* attitudes toward foreign policy or “E” for *expansionist* or imperialist beliefs.

___1. “The trade of the world must and shall be ours.”

___2. Colonial holdings promote the prosperity of a nation by providing markets for manufactured goods.

___3. The United States has enough to be concerned with here on the continent that it need not be excessively involved in world events.
4. Whenever America has become involved in distant wars of this century, she has emerged with as many problems as she faced before entering such wars.

5. It was inconsistent to annex the Philippines in view of the Teller Amendment.

6. Had the Platt Amendment not been revoked in 1934, Cuba might well be a free nation today.

7. Unrest in French-speaking Quebec, Canada, in the 1990s should give pause to those promoting Puerto Rican statehood.

8. No major power can shirk its foreign responsibilities for long and retain major-nation status.

9. “We want peaceful commerce with all nations, and we want contact and communications, both cultural and diplomatic, with all the peoples of the planet.”

10. “We do not want to fight other peoples’ wars or use the tax dollars of our citizens to pay other nations’ debts.”
CHAPTER 24

Woodrow Wilson and the Great War

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. _______</td>
<td>1. _____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President Wilson criticized the interventionist Latin American policies of his two predecessors, Roosevelt and Taft, and he exercised a more benign and idealistic foreign policy there during his presidency.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. _______</td>
<td>2. _____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because they were largely ignorant of European politics and did not sense it posed any threat to them or their nation’s interests, most Americans did not sympathize with either belligerent when the Great War broke out in 1914.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. _______</td>
<td>3. _____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War mobilization was a great stimulus to the U.S. in 1917-1919 and expanded the economic prosperity and employment opportunities for most Americans.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. _______</td>
<td>4. _____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After U.S. entry into World War I, domestic opposition to the war nearly ceased as Americans rallied around President Wilson and his wartime policies.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. _______</td>
<td>5. _____</td>
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<tr>
<td>U.S. entry into World War I was critical; without it, Germany may well have won the war as early as 1918.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. _______</td>
<td>6. _____</td>
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<tr>
<td>The United States refused to join the League of Nations because die-hard isolationists in the U.S. Senate refused to compromise with President Wilson.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. _______</td>
<td>7. _____</td>
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<tr>
<td>Although the Communists emerged victorious in the Russian Revolution in 1917, their success had no effect on World War I or its immediate aftermath.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 24 you should be able to:

1. Outline the steps by which the United States became involved in World War I.
2. Explain how war mobilization affected the economy, the status of civil liberties, and the progressive movement in the United States.
3. Describe the critical role American troops played in the war.
4. Explain how the Paris Peace Conference revised the European map and established the League of Nations, and explain why the United States did not sign the Treaty of Versailles.

5. Explain the outbreak of the postwar “Red Scare.”

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Wilson’s “Moral” Diplomacy

President Wilson set out to raise the moral tone of American foreign policy by denouncing “dollar diplomacy” as obnoxious to principles of honor and equality. Yet, due to the strategic importance of the Panama Canal, Wilson ultimately pursued Caribbean and Central American policies similar to those of Roosevelt and Taft.

Wilson refused diplomatic recognition to the Mexican government of Victorianno Huerta, who assumed power after overthrowing Francisco Madero, leader of a coalition that itself had deposed Porfiro Díaz in 1911. Instead Wilson pressured Huerta, who he called a “butcher,” to step down. A tense situation exploded in 1914 when American sailors were arrested in Tampico, and Wilson used the incident as a pretext to dispatch troops into Mexico to overthrow Huerta. Huerta, hard pressed by Mexican opponents, abdicated. In August 1914, General Venustiano Carranza entered Mexico City in triumph, but one of Carranza’s own generals, Francisco “Pancho” Villa, turned against him and seized control of Mexico City.

When Wilson realized the extent of Carranza’s influence in Mexico, he recognized the Carranza government. In 1916, Villa, trying to undermine Carranza by forcing the United States to intervene, killed 16 Americans on a train in northern Mexico and 19 more during a raid on Columbus, New Mexico. Wilson responded by sending troops under General John Pershing to pursue Villa, who drew Pershing deep into Mexico. In early 1917, Wilson recalled Pershing’s force, leaving the Mexicans to work out their own destiny. Wilson’s moral diplomacy bred anti-Americanism in Mexico, but it ultimately permitted the constitutionalists there to consolidate their power.

Europe Explodes into War

World War I erupted in 1914 when a young Serbian nationalist assassinated the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne. This rash act precipitated general war because the major European powers had divided into two great coalitions: the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Ottoman Turkey) and the Allied Powers (Great Britain, France, and Russia).

The United States initially professed neutrality and most Americans, failing to understand the significance of the conflict, believed the war did not concern them. In addition, U.S. involvement seemed unwise because it would create internal stresses in this nation of immigrants. In addition, war offended the prevailing progressive spirit and ran contrary to America’s traditional isolation from European affairs. Still, most Americans sympathized with the Allies, whose propaganda skillfully portrayed the Germans as ruthless barbarians. A
minority of Americans, mostly of German and Irish descent (the latter motivated by hatred of the British) sympathized with the Central Powers.

**Freedom of the Seas**

Propaganda did not basically alter American attitudes; far more important were questions arising out of trade and commerce. The British used their navy’s control of the North Atlantic to prevent neutrals from trading with belligerents, although this was against international law. The United States did not try to force Britain’s hand, although an embargo might have succeeded in 1914 because the Allies were so dependent on American supplies. But Wilson’s pro-British sentiments and the expansion of trade with the Allies after 1914 made an embargo unthinkable. Whereas commerce with the Central Powers fell to a trickle, that with the Allies soared, much of it financed by American loans to the British and French.

With the land war a bloody stalemate on the Western Front in France, the Germans challenged Allied control of the seas with their use of submarines. But because these vessels depended on surprise attack, their commanders could not operate under the ordinary international rules of war and give the crew and passengers of neutral ships time to disembark onto lifeboats before sinking the vessels.

Germany declared the waters surrounding Britain a war zone and announced that it would sink without warning all enemy merchant ships in the area; neutral ships that entered the area did so at their own risk. Wilson warned the Germans he would hold them to “strict accountability” for any loss of American life or property resulting from such attacks. On May 7, 1915, a German U-boat sank the British passenger liner _Lusitania_, causing the death of nearly 1,200 persons, including 128 Americans. The attack sorely tested American diplomacy, but Wilson kept open the lines of communication. When the French steamer _Sussex_ was attacked in 1916, the United States issued another protest, and the Germans, in the _Sussex_ Pledge, agreed to stop sinking merchant ships without warning.

**The Election of 1916**

Because Wilson’s 1912 victory resulted from a split in the Republican ranks, to shore up his political base among progressives Wilson named progressive attorney Louis D. Brandeis to the Supreme Court and approved a spate of progressive legislation: the Farm Loan Act, the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act, the Adamson Act establishing the eight-hour day for railroad workers, and a worker’s compensation act for federal employees. All were sharp reversals of the “class legislation” Wilson had refused to approve in 1913 and 1914.

The Republicans nominated Associate Justice Charles Evans Hughes, a former New York governor. In his campaign, Wilson stressed progressivism and peace, and Democratic speakers reminded voters of Wilson that “He Kept Us Out of War.” Hughes appeared to have won on election night despite his ineffective personal style and equivocating campaign; however, late returns gave Wilson California and a slim victory.
The Road to War

In 1915 and 1916, Wilson sent his aide, Colonel Edward M. House, on unsuccessful secret missions to Europe to try to mediate among the belligerents. Moreover, in early 1917, Wilson delivered a speech calling for “peace without victory,” meaning that any settlement imposed by a victor could only bring hatred and more war. Each nation should be treated equally, and national groups must exercise self-determination, Wilson contended.

Wilson’s appeal fell on deaf ears. Even as he delivered it, Germany renounced the Sussex Pledge and announced the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare against vessels headed for Allied ports. Germany hoped to starve the British into submission and to halt the flow of American supplies to Allied armies. Wilson responded by severing diplomatic relations with Germany. Within a month, Walter Hines Page, United States ambassador to Britain, released the infamous Zimmermann telegram, revealing that Germany had sought a secret alliance with Mexico. Wilson ordered the arming of merchant vessels, and after several sinkings, Congress declared war on the Central Powers. After his agonizing search for an honorable alternative to war proved fruitless, Wilson, forsaking vengeance, led the American people into battle in the spirit of justice and humanity to make the world safe for democracy.

Mobilizing the Economy

Without the entry of the United States in 1917, the Great War would likely have ended in 1918 on terms dictated by Germany. Just as revolutionary Russia was leaving the war, the entry of American men and supplies helped contain Germany’s last offensive and ensure its final defeat.

American industry was converted to war production with confusion and waste. Airplane, tank, and artillery construction proceeded too slowly to affect the war. Moreover, Congress took six long weeks to decide on drafting an army.

Conversion of the economy to a wartime footing was directed by the War Industries Board, which allocated scarce materials, standardized production processes, fixed prices at levels that allowed large profits for manufacturers, and coordinated purchasing. In early 1918, Wilson appointed Treasury Secretary William G. McAdoo director-general of the railroads. McAdoo’s Railroad Administration ran the nation’s trains as a single system, pooled equipment, centralized purchasing, and raised wages and passenger rates. Meanwhile, Herbert Hoover, a mining engineer who had headed the Belgian Relief Commission earlier in the war, directed the mobilization of agricultural resources. To avoid rationing, Hoover organized a successful campaign to persuade consumers to conserve food voluntarily. During the war, the United States increased food exports and farmers profited greatly.

Workers in Wartime

With the army taking men from the labor force and with immigration reduced to a trickle, unemployment disappeared and wages rose. And though the cost of living soared, the wartime economic boom created unprecedented opportunities. Disadvantaged groups, particularly southern blacks, migrated to factory jobs in northern cities. Wilson created the National War
Labor Board, headed by former President Taft and Frank P. Walsh, a prominent lawyer, to settle labor disputes and prevent strikes. Union membership rose significantly during the war.

**Paying for the War**

World War I cost the United States about $33.5 billion, excluding pensions and other postwar expenses. About $7 billion was lent to the Allies but spent in the United States, thereby contributing to national prosperity. Two-thirds of the cost of the war was met by borrowing; five Liberty and Victory Loan drives appealed to the patriotism of Americans to support the war.

In addition to borrowing, the government collected about $10.5 billion in taxes, including a sharply graduated income tax that took more than 75 percent of the income of the wealthiest citizens, a 65 percent excess-profits tax, and a 25 percent inheritance tax. Americans also contributed generously to philanthropic agencies engaged in war work.

**Propaganda and Civil Liberties**

Wilson tried to mobilize public opinion and to inspire Americans to work for the better world that he expected to emerge from the war. His Committee on Public Information, headed by journalist George Creel, depicted the war as a crusade for freedom and democracy. Most Americans supported the war without reservation, but a minority of those of German and Irish ancestry as well as pacifists and some Socialists opposed it.

To control dissidents, Congress passed the Espionage Act, which imposed heavy fines and jail sentences on persons convicted of aiding the enemy or obstructing recruiting. The Supreme Court later upheld the Espionage Act in *Schenck v. United States* (1919), a case involving a Socialist who had mailed circulars to draftees urging them to refuse induction. The Court fashioned a “clear and present danger” rule as a yardstick for validating such restrictions on free speech.

The Sedition Act, also approved by Wilson, made “saying anything” to discourage the purchase of war bonds a crime and made it illegal to “utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language” about the government, the Constitution, or the military. Under it, Socialist Eugene V. Debs was sentenced to 10 years for making an antiwar speech. The wartime repression in the United States exceeded anything that occurred in Britain or France.

**Wartime Reforms**

The American war mobilization was an outgrowth of the Progressive Era drive to solve economic and social problems by expanding government functions. Many progressives believed the war was at last creating a sense of common purpose needed to eradicate social evils which reformers tried to capitalize on as they worked on many issues largely unrelated to the war: women’s suffrage, prohibition, health insurance, and the curtailment of prostitution and venereal disease.
Women and Blacks in Wartime

Most feminists supported the war with the expectation that it would create new job opportunities for women. Moreover, opposition to the war would have endangered the chances of obtaining national women’s suffrage. Most unions were unsympathetic to enrolling women as members, and the government urged women to concentrate on such tasks as preparing bandages, knitting clothing, and food conservation. Women who did gain employment were paid less than their male counterparts, had less chance for promotion, and lost their jobs when the war ended.

There was a “great migration” of southern blacks to the northern cities between 1914 and 1919. Many felt unwelcome and were resented in their new surroundings, but the newcomers fared better economically than those who remained in the South, and they had the vote and decent schools. All blacks drafted into the army fought in segregated units, and only a handful were commissioned officers. Despite this, W. E. B. Du Bois, in *The Crisis*, backed the war and commended Wilson for denouncing lynchings, and most blacks seemed to view the war as a way to demonstrate their patriotism and prove their worth.

Americans: To the Trenches and Over the Top

The ultimate aim of the war was the military defeat of the Central Powers. The navy reduced the threat of German submarines and provided convoys to escort merchant ships across the Atlantic. The American Expeditionary Force (AEF) commanded by General Pershing reached Paris on July 4, 1917; but not until the spring of 1918 did the “doughboys” play a vital role in the war.

In March 1918, Germany launched an offensive aided by soldiers previously committed to the Russian front. By late May the Germans had reached the Marne River, 50 miles from Paris. In its first major engagement, the AEF drove the Germans from Château-Thierry and Belleau Wood. In September, some 1.2 million doughboys fought west of Verdun in the Argonne Forest, one of the bloodiest battles ever waged. On November 11, the Allied armies forced Germany to sign an armistice.

Preparing for Peace

Wilson outlined his Fourteen Points for world peace in a speech to Congress in January 1918, calling for open diplomacy, freedom of the seas in war and peace, free trade, and a worldwide reduction in armaments. Wilson further called for the redrawing of European boundaries and self-determination for Europe’s many nationalities. Wilson hoped to maintain peace through a League of Nations, on which he felt that the fate of humanity rested. The vagueness and inconsistencies in Wilson’s peace aims soon became apparent and he eventually had to concede or compromise most of his Fourteen Points.

The epitome of self-confidence, Wilson decided to personally head the American delegation to the peace conference in Paris, becoming the first president to leave American territory while in office. As Wilson departed, he had been weakened by Republican victories in the 1918 elections and by dissatisfaction among western farmers who felt wartime price controls on wheat discriminated against them. No partisan Republican was included on the peace commission, a
strategic error in that the treaty would need to be ratified by the Senate, where Republicans were in the majority.

**The Paris Peace Conference and Versailles Treaty**

The “Big Four” at Paris included Wilson, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, French Premier Georges Clemenceau, and Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando. Clemenceau, whose concern lay with French security, had little interest in the Fourteen Points. Lloyd George agreed with many of Wilson’s proposals but found them politically impractical. Orlando left the conference in a huff when his demands were unmet.

Those who had hoped for a peace based on Wilson’s Fourteen Points found the Versailles Treaty disappointing. The victors forced Germany to admit responsibility for the war and to agree to pay $33 billion in reparations to the Allies. The treaty said nothing of freedom of the seas, free trade, or disarmament. On the other hand, the new map of Europe left fewer people on “foreign” soil than in any earlier period of history. Except for the war guilt clause and heavy reparations, Wilson had achieved a moderate peace. He expected the new League of Nations to make up for all the inadequacies of the treaty.

**The Senate Rejects the League of Nations**

A majority of the public and senators favored the treaty and the League of Nations, but 37 Republicans signed a manifesto devised by Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, opposing the League as part of the treaty with Germany. Wilson refused to compromise despite the Republican Senate majority.

Led by Lodge, the reservationist senators agreed to ratify the treaty if 14 modifications were met. Reservationists feared that Article 10 of the League Covenant, which committed signatories to protect the political independence and territorial integrity of all member nations, could lead to American troop commitments to resolve European disputes. Meanwhile, the irreconcilables, led by William Borah of Idaho, refused to support an international organization under any circumstances.

Influenced by the view that he knew more about the issue than any of his opponents, his hatred of Lodge, and his deteriorating health, Wilson rejected Lodge’s reservations outright. Rather than making concessions to ensure passage, Wilson embarked on a national speaking tour by train. The mighty effort failed to sway the wavering senators; instead, it drained Wilson physically. In September, while speaking in Pueblo, Colorado, he collapsed. A few days later in Washington, he suffered a severe stroke.

While Wilson was incapacitated, Lodge steered his reservations through the Senate. Popular sentiment swung Lodge’s way, and although a bipartisan coalition of moderates could have passed the amended treaty, Wilson urged Democrats to reject it. When Lodge allowed the original draft to come up for a vote, reservationists and irreconcilables joined to block it. In a subsequent vote, enough Democrats joined the irreconcilables to defeat the treaty with the Lodge reservations. Wilson’s refusal to accept compromise, together with Lodge’s intense partisanship, doomed the treaty and American participation in the League.
Demobilization

With the end of the war, the army and the economy were quickly demobilized. Business boomed in 1919, but only briefly. Temporary shortages caused inflation, and the cost of living by 1920 doubled that of 1913. Inflation in turn produced labor trouble, as over four million workers went on strike during 1919. Between July 1920 and March 1922, farm prices dropped sharply, and unemployment soared.

The Red Scare

Radical labor activities led millions of Americans to associate unions and strikes with the threat of communist world revolution. Though there were few communists in the United States, the Russian experience convinced many that even a small cadre of revolutionaries could seize power.

Organized labor in America had seldom been radical, but some labor leaders were attracted to socialism. Americans failed to distinguish between the common ends sought by communists and socialists and the entirely different methods by which they sought to achieve those ends. A general strike paralyzed Seattle in 1919. About the same time, steelworkers walked off their jobs, and the Boston police called a strike. The police strike led to looting and fighting that ended only when Governor Calvin Coolidge called out the National Guard. Anarchists meanwhile attempted to murder several prominent citizens.

Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, a progressive who feared the communist menace, launched raids on the meeting places of anarchist and communist groups. Six thousand people were taken into custody, but only a few hundred were liable for deportation for unlawful activity. When a May Day 1920 demonstration supposedly planned by communists did not materialize, Palmer’s raids were discredited, and the Red Scare subsided.

The Election of 1920

When Wilson’s health prevented his seeking a third term, the Democrats nominated Ohio Governor James M. Cox for president. Though Cox favored joining the League of Nations, the question was not seriously debated because the Republican nominee, Ohio Senator Warren G. Harding, equivocated on the issue. The election instead turned on other issues, largely emotional. Harding, who pledged a return to what he called “normalcy” in an a postwar era in which many were weary of Wilsonian idealism, defeated Cox handily. In July 1921, Congress formally ended the war with the Central Powers by passing a joint resolution.

PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

“moral” diplomacy
U-boat

“strict accountability”

doughboys

reservationists

“irreconcilables”

war-guilt clause

reparations

demobilization

Describe the following:

Bryan-Chamorro Treaty

Sussex Pledge

Adamson Act
Zimmermann telegram

Committee on Public Information

American Expeditionary Force

Fourteen Points

Article 10 of the League Covenant

Palmer raids

Identify the following:

Victoriano Huerta

Venustiano Carranza

Pancho Villa

Edward M. House

Louis D. Brandeis

Herbert Hoover
MAP EXERCISE

Refer to the European map below. Place the correct letter beside each country that corresponds with its location.

1. Austria-Hungary  2. Belgium  3. Czechoslovakia
4. France  5. Germany  6. Great Britain
7. Italy  8. Lithuania  9. Latvia
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. When he used the phrase, “I will not recognize a government of butchers,” President Wilson was referring to
   A. Germany’s government, whose troops had just invaded neutral Belgium.
   B. the Mexican government of strong-man Victoriano Huerta.
   C. Japan’s government when it issued the 21 Demands to China.
   D. the Russian government that had just been taken over by Bolsheviks.

2. On the eve of the Great War (World War I), the Allied powers included all of the following EXCEPT
   A. Great Britain.
   B. France.
   C. Russia.
   D. Austria-Hungary.

3. When war began in Europe in 1914, the United States sought to remain neutral because of all of the following reasons EXCEPT
   A. most Americans did not understand the significance of the struggle.
   B. most Americans were impartial toward the two warring sides.
   C. U.S. involvement would create new internal stress in a nation of immigrants.
   D. the war was an affront to the prevailing progressive spirit of optimism.

4. As the Great War progressed in Europe, the United States became more sympathetic to the Allies for all of the following reasons EXCEPT
   A. President Wilson personally admired British institutions and culture.
   B. American trade with the Allies grew immensely, but very little with the Central Powers.
   C. unlike the Allies, the Central Powers were guilty of violating international laws of war.
   D. the Allies borrowed billions of dollars from the United States.

5. President Wilson warned that he would hold the Germans to “strict accountability”
   A. after the sinking of the Lusitania.
   B. in the Sussex Pledge.
   C. for its bloody surprise invasion of a neutral country—Belgium.
   D. for any loss of American lives resulting from violations of neutral rights.

6. President Wilson’s support for a flurry of progressive reform measures included all of the following EXCEPT
   A. low-cost loans to farmers.
   B. banning goods manufactured by child labor from interstate trade.
   C. support for a federal health insurance program.
   D. an eight-hour day for railroad workers.
7. The March 1917 publication of the Zimmermann telegram revealed a proposed
   A. German decision to abandon the Sussex Pledge.
   B. German invasion of Russia.
   C. German break of diplomatic relations with the United States.
   D. German alliance with Mexico.

8. On the eve of U.S. entry into the Great War, President Wilson denounced “a little group of willful men” for
   A. blocking legislation to arm American merchantmen.
   B. opposing his reelection.
   C. voting against the League of Nations.
   D. their decision in Schenck v. United States.

9. All the following resulted from U.S. involvement in the Great War EXCEPT
   A. farmers’ real income soared.
   B. wages rose.
   C. union membership declined.
   D. unemployment disappeared.

10. To mobilize the economy for war, the Wilson administration
    A. suspended the antitrust laws.
    B. abandoned laissez-faire.
    C. encouraged close cooperation between business and the military.
    D. performed all the above.

11. To finance World War I, the United States relied primarily on
    A. higher income taxes.
    B. a temporary national sales taxes.
    C. excess profits and inheritance taxes.
    D. the sale of war bonds.

12. A person in which one of the following groups would be LEAST likely to oppose American involvement in the Great War?
    A. progressives
    B. Irish-Americans
    C. German-Americans
    D. socialists

13. Which one of the following was NOT used to suppress wartime dissent?
    A. Sedition Act
    B. General Intelligence Division
    C. Committee on Public Information
    D. Espionage Act
14. All of the following progressive reform efforts gained from U.S. participation in the Great War EXCEPT the
   A. prohibitionist campaign.
   B. women’s suffrage movement.
   C. feminist campaign for equal pay.
   D. campaign against prostitution.

15. The “great migration” of 1917-1918 refers to
   A. antiwar dissidents voluntarily moving to Canada.
   B. displaced immigrants arriving from war-torn Europe.
   C. southern blacks moving to northern cities seeking wartime employment.
   D. housewives leaving home to take jobs in defense industries.

16. President Wilson’s Fourteen Points peace program proposed all of the following EXCEPT
   A. removal of barriers to international trade.
   B. general arms reduction.
   C. decolonization of European empires.
   D. a general association of nations to keep the peace.

17. The “Big Four” at the Paris Peace Conference included all of the following EXCEPT
   A. Georges Clemenceau.
   B. Woodrow Wilson.
   C. Vladimir Lenin.
   D. David Lloyd George.

18. The Versailles Treaty said nothing of
   A. war guilt.
   B. reparations.
   C. disarmament.
   D. self-determination.

19. President Wilson’s intransigent unwillingness to compromise with the Senate on the League of Nations was due to all of the following EXCEPT his
   A. hatred of Henry Cabot Lodge.
   B. lack of support among Democratic senators.
   C. ill health.
   D. blind faith in the League’s potential as a peacemaker.

20. The 1919 Red Scare was originally provoked by
   A. labor strikes.
   B. anarchist bombings.
   C. communist espionage.
   D. immigrant deportations.

Essay Questions

1. Explain how the idealism of Wilson’s “moral” diplomacy was often at odds with the reality the president faced in dealing with Mexico between 1913 and 1916.
2. Compare and contrast the elections of 1916, 1918, and 1920 in reference to parties, nominees, issues, outcome, and long-range significance.

3. Explain how the United States mobilized for war in Europe, with emphasis on preparedness, control over the economy, and the political impact fueled by the progressive movement.

4. Discuss the American mission to Paris in 1919 in reference to goals, diplomatic achievement, and ultimate outcome.

5. Explain why the United States did not join the League of Nations.

Critical Thinking Exercise

The following statements refer to the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations. List each statement as fact (F), inference (I), or opinion (O). An inference is a conclusion that can reasonably be drawn from the facts, though the evidence may not be overwhelming.

___1. Wilson was convinced that his Fourteen Points would make the world “fit and safe to live in.”

___2. The Fourteen Points, if fully implemented, would have made the world “fit and safe to live in.”

___3. Wilson found that self-determination for European nationalities was difficult to achieve because there were too many regions of mixed population for every group to be satisfied.

___4. Self-determination for nationality groups after World War I would have prevented Adolf Hitler from later taking the Sudetenland portion of Czechoslovakia.

___5. Wilson once told a colleague that there are two sides to every question—a right side and a wrong side.

___6. Wilson’s decision to attend the Paris peace conference was a precedent-shattering step.

___7. Germany should not have been forced to sign the “war guilt” clause at the Paris peace conference because Austria technically started the war.

___8. The new European map that was drawn at Versailles in 1919 left fewer people on “foreign” soil than in any earlier period of history.

___9. The imposition of reparations on Germany was at odds with Wilson’s “peace without victory” speech.

___10. Wilson’s partisanship and vanity played decisive roles in keeping the United States from joining the League of Nations.
CHAPTER 25

Postwar Society and Culture: Change and Adjustment

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

1. _____ The immigration quotas of the 1920s were based on _____ 1. the national origins of potential immigrants.
2. _____ Before the 1920s, it was illegal to use artificial _____ 2. contraceptive devices in the United States.
3. _____ The earliest radio stations in the United States were _____ 3. licensed by the federal government, which also placed controls on their programming and advertising practices.
4. _____ The Tennessee court in the famous Scopes Monkey _____ 4. Trial in 1925 declared that that state’s anti-evolution law was unconstitutional.
5. _____ The Eighteenth (Prohibition) Amendment forbade _____ 5. the consumption of alcoholic beverages.
6. _____ The Lost Generation of American writers in the _____ 6. 1920s wrote of their distaste for materialism, conformity, and other middle-class values.
7. _____ Henry Ford was not only a leading business figure _____ 7. of the 1920s, he was also notable as a friend to organized labor, an anti-Semite, and a patron of the arts.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 25 you should be able to:

1. Explain how and why America “closed the gates” to immigration in the 1920s. Show how that is related to the success of the prohibition campaign for a constitutional amendment, and the popularity of fundamentalism and a renewed Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s.
2. Summarize the changing social patterns of families and young people in the 1920s, and explain why women’s issues assumed greater importance in the 1920s.
3. Explain the popularity of movies, radio, and spectator sports in the 1920s.
4. Identify literary trends of the 1920s among the “lost generation” and Paris expatriates, black nationalists, and the Harlem Renaissance.
5. Explain how the automobile and airplane revolutionized American life.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Closing the Gates to New Immigrants

After the Great War, many Europeans sought to escape the desperate postwar economic conditions in Europe by immigrating to the United States. In 1921 Congress reflected widespread prejudice against southern and eastern Europeans by establishing a quota system. In 1924, the National Origins Act set the quota at two percent of the number of foreign-born residents that were in the United States in 1890, thereby decreasing even more the proportion of southern and eastern Europeans that could be admitted. A 1929 law further reduced immigration to fewer than 150,000 a year.

Ultimately, the foreign-born percentage of the United States population fell, and the quota system committed the United States to preserving a homogeneous “Anglo-Saxon” population. Western European nations failed to meet their quotas, while a backlog of southern and eastern Europeans awaited admission. Moreover, Jews, whether foreign-born or native, faced increasing discrimination as they encountered anti-Semitism when they sought admission to colleges and medical schools, or employment in banks and law firms.

New Urban Social Patterns

The 1920 census revealed that for the first time a majority of Americans lived in urban rather than rural areas. Still, about a third of these lived in small towns and held the same ideas and values as rural citizens. Nevertheless, urbanization led to changes in family structure, as couples married more out of love and physical attraction than for social or economic advantage, and in successive decades, married later and had fewer children. Fewer than 10 percent of married women worked outside the home, because most male skilled workers earned enough to support a family in modest comfort. Working women tended to be either childless or highly-paid professionals who could employ servants.

Outlooks on marriage were changing too. Advocates of companionate family relationships downplayed male authority and rigid discipline, and they believed divorce should be made easier. A debate brewed over the socialization and psychological development of children. One view stressed rigid training that fostered independence; the other, a permissive approach in which parents heeded their children’s expressed needs. In The Companionate Marriage, Benjamin Lindsey suggested “trial marriage” for young couples who practiced contraception. The personal freedom derived from anonymity in large cities further loosened social constraints on sexuality, including homosexuality.
The Younger Generation

Because they faced profound changes in the world they entered, young people of the 1920s were more expressive and unconventional than their grandparents. For 1920s youth, relations between the sexes were becoming more relaxed and uninhibited. Young men began to “pick up” their dates in cars, rather than paying calls at their dates’ homes where they remained under parental supervision. Young women wore makeup, shortened their hair and skirts, smoked in public, and soaked up the liberating theories of “sexologists.” Some observers bemoaned what they saw as the breakdown of moral standards, the fragmentation of the family, and the decline of parental authority. But the rebelliousness was a youthful conformity shaped by peer pressure, particularly at the college level.

The “New” Woman

Young people in the 1920s were more open about sex than their counterparts of earlier generations, but relatively few engaged in premarital sex. Margaret Sanger, a political radical, prewar bohemian, and former nurse, promoted birth control, largely a concern of married women in the 1920s. Her efforts focused on poor women who knew nothing of birth control methods.

Although divorce laws were liberalized and more women entered the work force, the double standard remained. Women took jobs that were menial, low-paying, or unwanted by men: clerks, receptionists, elementary school teachers, and telephone operators. Another blow was dealt to working women in 1923, when the Supreme Court in Adkins v. Children’s Hospital struck down a federal law that limited the hours of working women in the District of Columbia.

Feminists such as Alice Paul, founder of the Women’s party and proponent of an equal rights amendment, were disillusioned when the suffrage did not bring women to the point of equality with men. The Women’s party was not successful because younger feminists, like prewar bohemians, focused on personal freedom, not politics, and because feminists failed to see that gender discrimination was learned behavior that stood in the way of sexual equality.

Popular Culture: Movies and Radio

The first motion pictures were brief, action-packed, unpretentious, and inexpensive; thus, they were popular among immigrants and workers. Technical and artistic breakthroughs, however, moved films into theaters and to more cultured audiences. The Jazz Singer (1927) was the first major motion picture with sound. Color film soon followed. Sex, crime, war, romance, comedy, and luxurious living were the main themes. Films were criticized for corrupting youth and glorifying materialism, yet filmmakers created an entirely new theatrical art and eventually produced many dramatic works of high quality.

Charlie Chaplin, who portrayed a sad-eyed little tramp, was the dominant star of the silent screen. His work proved to be universally popular and enduring. Meanwhile, Walt Disney’s animated cartoons gave endless delight to millions of children.

Radio was developed before the Great War, and the first commercial station, KDKA, opened in Pittsburgh in 1920. Within two years over 500 stations were in operation. Advertisers seized
upon radio with mixed results: They financed elaborate entertainment, but preferred non-
controversial programming aimed at the lowest tastes. Radio proved to be as effective a way to
sell soap as to transmit the news. Congress limited the number of stations and the Federal
Communications Commission was empowered to revoke the licenses of stations that failed to
operate in the public interest—but placed no controls on programming and advertising practices.

The Golden Age of Sports

More leisure time and spending money in the 1920s allowed many people to attend athletic
events. Baseball was the single most popular sport, as Babe Ruth and the live ball changed the
nature of the game from one ruled by pitchers and low scores to one where hitting was more
greatly admired.

The 1920s produced a number of superstars in several sports. Leading figures included Bill
Tilden (tennis), Bobby Jones (golf), Jack Dempsey (boxing), and Harold “Red” Grange (college
football). Gertrude Ederle was not only the first woman to swim the English Channel but she did
so faster than the four men who had previously made it across. And perhaps the greatest all-
around athlete of the century was Jim Thorpe, who had won the pentathlon and decathlon in the
1912 Olympics and enjoyed enormous popularity as professional baseball and football player in
the twenties.

Urban-Rural Conflicts: Fundamentalism

A resurgence of religious fundamentalism swept through American rural areas in the 1920s.
Concentrated among Baptists and Methodists, fundamentalists held a powerfully conservative
outlook, rejected Darwin’s theory of evolution, and resented modern urban culture and its
temptations. William Jennings Bryan, who devoted his later life to moral and religious causes,
was perhaps the most prominent fundamentalist figure. He and other fundamentalists rejected
Darwin’s theory of evolution and believed it should not be taught in the public schools.

In 1925, Tennessee passed a law that forbade teachers in state schools and colleges to teach
Darwin’s theory of evolution. The American Civil Liberties Union financed a test case to
challenge the constitutionality of the statute. John T. Scopes, a biology teacher in Dayton,
agreed to break the law, and his arrest led to the sensational Monkey Trial. Clarence Darrow,
Scopes’ defense attorney, declared that civilization, not Scopes, was on trial. Such reporters as
Henry L. Mencken flocked to Dayton to ridicule Bryan, who affirmed the biblical account of
creation. Scopes, who was convicted and fined $100, subsequently left Dayton, the trial judge
was defeated for reelection, and Bryan collapsed and died a few days after the trial ended.

Urban-Rural Conflicts: Prohibition

The Eighteenth Amendment, ratified in 1919, forbade the manufacture, transportation, and sale
of alcoholic beverages. At the outset of U.S. involvement in the Great War, the Lever Act, as a
conservation endeavor, had outlawed the use of grain in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages;
state and local laws had already made much of the country “dry” by 1917. The lingering distrust
of foreigners also played into the hands of prohibitionists because beer drinking was associated with the Germans.

Prohibition significantly reduced the national consumption of alcohol. Arrests for drunkenness and deaths from alcoholism fell off sharply. Had the “drys” been willing to legalize wine and beer, the “noble experiment” might have worked, but secret bars or clubs known as speakeasies, which usually operated with the sanction of the local police, replaced saloons. Smuggling (bootlegging) liquor became a major business. Prohibition enhanced but did not originate the criminal empires of such gangsters as Chicago’s Al Capone. Prohibition also shook the Democratic party by creating a split between southern drys and northern urban wets. Nearly all prominent leaders equivocated shamelessly on the liquor question; politicians denounced the evils of drinking but did not adequately fund the Prohibition Bureau to enforce the law. In fact, they helped undermine public morality by encouraging hypocrisy.

The Ku Klux Klan

Former preacher William J. Simmons organized a new Ku Klux Klan in 1915 amid the distrust some felt toward foreigners, blacks, Catholics, and Jews. By 1923, two publicity agents had gained control of the Klan and claimed a total of five million members. The Klan vowed to return to an older, supposedly finer America and to stamp out nonconformity. It encouraged frustrated people to intimidate minorities and nonconformists from behind the anonymity of their masks. The Klan’s membership declined when rival factions squabbled over money collected from dues, and when the Indiana Klansman David C. Stephenson was convicted of assaulting and causing the death of a young woman, the rank and file began to desert the organization in droves.

Sacco and Vanzetti

In 1920, two men in South Braintree, Massachusetts, killed a paymaster and a guard in a daylight robbery of a shoe factory. Two Italian immigrants and anarchists, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were convicted of the murders. Their trial was a travesty of justice—the judge, for example, called the defendants “those anarchist bastards.” The case became an international cause célèbre, but the pair was eventually electrocuted, to the disillusionment of many intellectuals. Some historians, impressed by ballistic studies of Sacco’s gun, now suspect that he may have been guilty.

Literary Trends

Most literature of the 1920s reflected the disillusionment of intellectuals, who were made bitter critics of society by the horrors of war, the antics of fundamentalists, and the cruelty of the Klan and red-baiters. These young men and women crushed by the repressive spirit of the age dubbed themselves the “lost generation,” yet their negativism produced a literary flowering. F. Scott Fitzgerald epitomized the new breed of authors in This Side of Paradise, The Great Gatsby, and Tender is the Night. Fitzgerald’s own life descended into the despair of alcoholism. To protect their individualism, several literary expatriates left the United States to live in Paris. Ernest
Hemingway graphically portrayed the rootless desperation of their world in *The Sun Also Rises*. In *A Farewell to Arms*, Hemingway’s sparse style evoked the confusion and horror of war. Edith Wharton’s *The Age of Innocence* offered a penetrating portrait of the vanished world of the nineteenth century.

Iconoclastic journalist H. L. Mencken founded the *American Mercury*, a magazine critical of middle-class interests and values. Mencken was a cynic, but quite impartial as to those he skewered. Sinclair Lewis, in the novels *Main Street* and *Babbitt* assailed middle-class provinciality and bigotry, and portrayed businessmen as blindly orthodox in their political and social opinions. Lewis, the most popular novelist of the 1920s, in other works challenged the medical profession, organized religion, and fascism. He was the first American author to win a Nobel Prize for literature.

**The “New Negro”**

Southern blacks continued to move north after the Great War, concentrating in urban ghettos amid de facto segregated conditions. Sociologists Robert and Helen Lynd in their classic analysis of “Middletown” concluded that, despite integrated schools, blacks and whites in the North were segregated in churches, theaters, and other public accommodations.

The disappointments of the 1920s produced a new militancy among African Americans. W. E. B. Du Bois, who vacillated between support for integration and black separatism, tried but failed to create an international black movement. Marcus Garvey, founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, who despised whites, proposed that African Americans return to the African homeland of their ancestors. Garvey’s Black Star steamship line went into bankruptcy, and he later was imprisoned for defrauding investors in his various enterprises. But Garvey’s promotion of a “New Negro” sparked pride among African Americans and made them willing to resist mistreatment.

Living in ghettos increased African Americans’ political power, stimulated their confidence, and offered them economic opportunities. Harlem became the largest black “city” in the world in the 1920s. The Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s gave new hope for the demise of racial prejudice to African-American intellectuals such as the poet Langston Hughes.

**Economic Expansion**

The 1920s were exceptionally prosperous, as business boomed, real wages rose, and unemployment declined. Perhaps 40 percent of the total wealth of the world lay in American hands. Prosperity rested on the confidence of the business community, low interest rates, pent-up wartime demand, an increase in industrial output, and the efficiency of manufacturing.

The assembly line, perfected by Henry Ford, speeded production and reduced costs to make it possible for average citizens to own many consumer products. Frederick W. Taylor’s time-and-motion studies, applied to hundreds of factories after the war, further streamlined the manufacturing process.
The Age of the Consumer

To create new consumer demand for these goods, advertisers worked to make them more attractive and producers changed models frequently to entice buyers into the market. The introduction of the installment plan helped place big, expensive items within reach of the masses. Technological advances created new, improved—and more appealing—products.

The automobile had the single most important impact on the economy. By 1929, some 23 million private cars were on the highways, nearly one per family. The industry gave Americans a freedom not previously imagined and spurred the development of related businesses, triggered road-building, and fostered tourism. The automobile also changed recreational patterns and family life, and it gave Americans a feeling of freedom, power, and status that altered the way they thought. At the same time, though, the automobile resulted in cluttered roadsides, air pollution, traffic accidents, and the neglect of public transportation.

Henry Ford

Henry Ford was the man most responsible for the growth of the automobile industry. His genius lay in reducing prices to match consumer buying power. By 1925 his designers and the assembly line had cut costs and increased efficiency so Ford could reduce the price of the Model T to under $300. He also grasped the importance of high wages in stimulating output: In 1914 he established the $5 day, an increase of about $2 over prevailing wages. His assembly line and high wages increased the pace of work and made each worker more productive, as well as a potential Ford buyer.

In time Ford became a billionaire who refused to deal with unions, spied on his employees, and fired any worker who drove any car but a Ford. When Ford failed to modernize, General Motors became a major competitor by offering better vehicles at slightly higher prices. Though uninformed on many topics, Ford spoke out on controversial issues. He denounced alcohol and tobacco consumption, once said that he would not give a nickel for all the art in the world, and defined history as “more or less the bunk.” Despite his virulent anti-Semitism, his homespun style and intense individualism still led many to regard him as a folk hero.

The Airplane

The internal combustion engine, with its high ratio of power to weight, made the airplane possible; hence early experiments with planes occurred at about the same time that the prototypes of the modern automobile were being manufactured. Wilbur and Orville Wright launched the first flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, in 1903, five years before Ford produced the Model T. Another pair of brothers, Malcolm and Haimes Lockheed, built one of the first commercial planes. The Great War accelerated advances in airplane technology.

In 1927, Charles Lindbergh flew his single-engine Spirit of St. Louis nonstop from New York to Paris in 33 hours, a formidable achievement. “Lucky Lindy” became an international hero, but one who shunned exploitation of his fame. Lindbergh’s flight enormously increased public interest in flying. Another pioneer of aviation was William E. Boeing, who began flying passengers and mail between San Francisco and Chicago in 1927.
PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

immigration quota system ____________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

_E Pluribus Unum_ ____________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

Greenwich Village bohemian ____________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

nickelodeon ____________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

fundamentalism ____________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

speakeasy ____________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

“lost generation” ____________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

assembly line ____________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

cause célèbre ____________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

Describe the following:

_Birth of a Nation_ ____________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

_The Jazz Singer_ ____________________________

__________________________________________________________________________
Federal Communications Commission ____________________________

Scopes trial ____________________________

Comstock Act ____________________________

Lever Act ____________________________

Ku Klux Klan ____________________________

Universal Negro Improvement Association ____________________________

Harlem Renaissance ____________________________

Identify the following:

John B. Watson ____________________________

Margaret Sanger ____________________________

Bobby Jones ____________________________

Jack Dempsey ____________________________

Gertrude Ederle ____________________________
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. By 1930, the latest immigration law allowed into the country _____ new immigrants each year; each country’s quota was based on _____.
   A. the number equal to two percent of the number of foreign-born residents in the United States in 1890; the number of its nationals in the United States in 1890
   B. the number equal to three percent of the number of foreign-born residents in the United States in 1910; the number of its nationals in the United States in 1910
   C. 150,000; the national origin of the white population of the United States in 1920
   D. 350,000; the national origin of the total population of the United States in 1900
2. The immigration laws enacted in the 1920s resulted in all of the following EXCEPT
   A. an increase in the annual immigration from Britain.
   B. a decline in the total number of immigrants entering the United States.
   C. a decline in the number of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe.
   D. a decline in percentage of foreign born in the population.

3. Proponents of “companionate relationships” favored all of the following EXCEPT
   A. marriage decisions based on social position and economic advantage.
   B. trial marriages.
   C. equality of husband and wives.
   D. easier divorce laws for childless couples.

4. Most single young people in the 1920s were all the following EXCEPT
   A. rarely engaging in premarital sex.
   B. sexually precocious.
   C. open about sex.
   D. marrying at a young age.

5. The leading proponent of birth control in the 1920s was
   A. Havelock Ellis.
   B. Margaret Sanger.
   C. Helen Wills.
   D. John B. Watson.

6. A breakdown of sex-based restrictions and limitations in the 1920s is illustrated in all of the following EXCEPT
   A. the double standard was eliminated.
   B. more women were employed.
   C. divorce laws were modified.
   D. a growing number of women graduated from college.

7. The Nineteenth Amendment did NOT drastically alter the political landscape because of all of the following reasons EXCEPT
   A. women did not vote as a bloc.
   B. most married women voted for candidates favored by their husbands.
   C. many feminists lost interest in continuing to agitate for social change.
   D. the equal rights amendment failed.

8. Which of these statements regarding the motion picture industry is FALSE?
   A. Probably the most popular star of the silent screen was “the little tramp” Charlie Chaplin.
   B. The Jazz Singer was the first motion picture filmed in color.
   C. By 1920, all cities and most towns had at least one motion picture theater.
   D. The Birth of a Nation, which depicted the Ku Klux Klan in a favorable light, marked a technological and artistic breakthrough.
9. Match the superstar of the 1920s with his or her sport.
   A. “Red” Grange  1.  golf
   B. Jack Dempsey  2.  football
   C. Bobby Jones  3.  boxing
   D. Gertrude Ederle  4.  swimming
   
   A.  A2, B3, C1, D4  
   B. A4, B2, C3, D1  
   C. A2, B1, C3, D4  
   D. A3, B2, C4, D1

10. The prohibition movement was aided by all of the following EXCEPT
   A. the Great War.  
   B. anti-immigrant attitudes.  
   C. united urban-rural support.  
   D. progressive reform views.

11. Which of these statements does NOT apply to fundamentalism in the 1920s?
   A. Fundamentalists were mostly found among Protestants in the South.  
   B. Urban sophisticates dismissed fundamentalists as boors and hayseeds.  
   C. Fundamentalists were devoted to truths of the King James version of the Bible.  
   D. Fundamentalists opposed laws to prohibit the teaching of the theory of evolution in textbooks and classrooms.

12. Prohibition might have been successful had
   A. the issue been left to the states.  
   B. its supporters been willing to legalize beer and wine.  
   C. police more effectively enforced the ban on liquor sales.  
   D. illegal liquor imports been halted.

13. The Ku Klux Klan declined by the late 1920s because
   A. Americans grew more tolerant of immigrants.  
   B. factionalism sprang up, and rival leaders squabbled over dues.  
   C. church leaders denounced the Klan.  
   D. the Klan failed to influence politics at any level.

14. Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted and sentenced to death for
   A. murder.  
   B. terrorism.  
   C. rape.  
   D. conspiracy.
15. Match the literary figure of the 1920s with his or her work.
A. F. Scott Fitzgerald  1.  *Main Street*
B. Ernest Hemingway  2.  *The Great Gatsby*
C. Edith Wharton  3.  *The Age of Innocence*
D. Sinclair Lewis  4.  *The Sun Also Rises*

A. A1, B2, C3, D4  
B. A4, B3, C2, D1  
C. A3, B1, C4, D2  
D. A2, B4, C3, D1

16. The “black pride” leader of an African American “Back to Africa” movement in the 1920s was
A. Marcus Garvey.  
B. W.E.B. Du Bois.  
C. Langston Hughes.  
D. Frederick W. Tayler.

17. Economic expansion and prosperity in the 1920s rested on many bases, including all of the following EXCEPT
A. pent-up wartime demand for consumer goods.  
B. government planning.  
C. mechanization of industry.  
D. greater efficiency in manufacturing.

18. The new technology with the single most important impact on the U.S. economy in the 1920s was the
A. automobile.  
B. radio.  
C. airplane.  
D. motion picture.

19. Henry Ford was so successful because he
A. was a great inventor.  
B. was the first person to manufacture a good low-priced car.  
C. paid high wages to help achieve lower costs of production.  
D. worked closely with the unions to guarantee worker satisfaction.

20. Which of these is *mispaired*?
A. Wright Brothers—Kitty Hawk  
B. Charles Lindburgh—*Spirit of St. Louis*  
C. Al Capone—Comstock Act of 1873  
D. Babe Ruth—Yankee Stadium

**Essay Questions**

1. Describe American immigration policy in the decade after the Great War. Explain how and why Congress decided to “close the gates.”
2. Explain how the role of women changed in the 1920s in reference to family life, sexual relationships, occupations, and attitudes.

3. Compare and contrast the clash of rural and urban interests in the Scopes trial of 1925. Refer particularly to John T. Scopes, William Jennings Bryan, and Clarence Darrow.

4. Analyze prohibition as a “noble experiment” of the 1920s. List the advantages and disadvantages to the drive to ban the sale, manufacture, and transportation of alcoholic beverages.


CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Study beyond the textbook to list the American literary or intellectual figures to whom the following analytical statements refer:

___________1. Though he did not moralize against adultery, one of his greatest works depicted a tragedy resulting from an adulterous tryst.

___________2. In an age of prohibition and traditional values, this literary genius fell prey to alcoholism and hedonism.

___________3. This writer abhorred traditional values of his parents to embrace “individual expression.” Yet he followed his physician father in taking his own life.

___________4. A diary that surfaced in 1990 disclosed that this late social critic himself exhibited many of the prejudices he had denounced during the twenties, particularly hostile attitudes toward blacks and Jews.

___________5. His novel about one unscrupulous minister was critical of organized religion.

___________6. Their scholarly analysis uncovered a phenomenon later called *de facto* segregation in the North.

___________7. Before finally leaving the United States in disillusionment, he seemed at times to endorse black nationalism, integration into the white community, and an international black movement. He ultimately joined the Communist party.

___________8. This optimistic poet saw an unbounded future for the artistic and intellectual culture of blacks in the 1920s.
CHAPTER 26

The New Era: 1921-1933

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

Anticipation                                      Reaction

1. _____ The progressive movement surged forward in the 1920s to continue to meet the popular demand for government reform, economic regulation, and social justice.  _____ 1.

2. _____ In the 1920s the United States retreated to its traditional isolationist foreign policy.  _____ 2.

3. _____ Al Smith, the governor of New York, was the first Roman Catholic to be nominated for president by a major political party (1928).  _____ 3.

4. _____ The 1920s was the Prosperity Decade when all the major sectors of the national economy prospered.  _____ 4.

5. _____ The stock market crash of 1929 caused the Great Depression.  _____ 5.

6. _____ The Depression would have been shorter and less severe had President Hoover tried to balance the federal budget, raise the tariffs, and provide government aid to businesses.  _____ 6.

7. _____ Franklin Roosevelt won the presidency in 1932 by promising to spend the federal government into debt in order to prime the pump of economic recovery from depression.  _____ 7

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 26 you should be able to:

1. Assess the key accomplishments and failures of the Harding and Coolidge administrations. What features did they have in common?

2. Identify the major foreign policy problems of the United States in the 1920s. Explain if and how those problems were solved.
4. Explain what economic problems of the 1920s led to the stock market crash of 1929 and the depression of 1930.
5. Evaluate Hoover’s policies to curb the Great Depression. What were the effects of the Great Depression on the American people?

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Harding and “Normalcy”

Party regular Warren Harding secured the 1920 Republican nomination as the result of a deadlock among Republican delegates. Harding’s coining of the vulgarism normalcy as a substitute for normality exasperated those who insisted on proper erudition. Nevertheless, Henry Cabot Lodge declared Harding a vast improvement over Wilson, and voters agreed—at least for a time. Though characterized as lazy and incompetent, Harding was hardworking and politically shrewd, but he was also indecisive and unwilling to offend, two liabilities that doomed his administration. Though he named men of impeccable reputation to some departments, Harding was also committed to the unsavory “Ohio Gang” of his political and personal friends headed by Harry M. Daugherty, whom he made attorney general.

“The Business of the United States is Business”

Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon, a multimillionaire banker and aluminum magnate, set out to lower taxes on the wealthy, raise tariffs, cut government expenses to reduce the national debt, and return to a laissez-faire policy. He proposed to eliminate inheritance taxes and reduce taxes on the wealthy, but he opposed lower rates for other taxpayers. Mellon claimed that freeing the rich from taxation would encourage investment in productive enterprises, the success of which would create jobs.

Midwestern Republicans and southern Democrats loosely organized as the farm bloc opposed Mellon’s extremely conservative program. The revival of European agriculture after the war cut the demand for American farm produce just as the increased use of fertilizers and machinery enlarged output. Therefore, the heavily indebted farmers’ income languished during the 1920s.

Mellon’s policies balanced the budget and reduced the national debt each year. Harding and Coolidge were so committed to Mellon’s policies that, in the name of economy, they vetoed “bonus” bills aimed to compensate veterans for their World War I service, a program pushed by the American Legion. Harding and Coolidge both used their powers of appointment to make regulatory agencies like the ICC, FTC, and Federal Reserve Board more probusiness.

The Harding Scandals

Harding’s Ohio Gang used its influence in corrupt ways. Veterans Bureau Director Charles R. Forbes was convicted of siphoning into his own pockets millions of dollars earmarked for the
construction of veterans’ hospitals. Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty was implicated in a fraud case but escaped imprisonment by taking the Fifth Amendment.

The worst scandal involved Interior Secretary Albert B. Fall, who arranged for the transfer of naval oil reserves to his jurisdiction, then leased the properties to private oil companies. A probe conducted by Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana disclosed that Fall had received cash and securities from the two lessees. The three escaped conviction for defrauding the government, but Harry F. Sinclair was later given nine months in jail for contempt of the Senate and tampering with a jury, and Fall was fined $100,000 and given a year in prison for accepting a bribe. In 1927, the Supreme Court revoked the leases. The public learned of these scandals only after Harding’s death in June 1923. Harding was deeply mourned at the time of his death, but later revelations about his administration caused Americans to view him with contempt.

Coolidge Prosperity

Vice-President Coolidge succeeded Harding to the presidency and moved swiftly to clean up the Harding scandals in time to run for the office in his own right in 1924. He appointed Harlan Fiske Stone to replace Daugherty as attorney general, retained Mellon as treasury secretary, defended business interests, uttered folksy witticisms, and was highly admired among conservatives. The Democrats, deadlocked between “wet” and “dry” wings of the party, finally nominated John W. Davis, a conservative corporation lawyer identified with Morgan banking interests.

Dismayed by the Coolidge/Davis choice, Robert M. La Follette entered the race as the nominee of a new Progressive party, which carried the support of the farm bloc, Socialists, the American Federation of Labor, and a number of intellectuals. Coolidge handily defeated Davis, whose strength was confined to the South, and La Follette carried only his native Wisconsin. Conservatism was clearly the dominant mood of the country.

Peace Without a Sword

Harding and Coolidge permitted Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes to exercise broad powers over foreign policy. Though many Americans became resurgent isolationists after World War I, American economic interests in finding sources of raw materials and markets for American products meant national leaders found international involvement increasingly unavoidable.

In an attempt to maintain the Open Door in China and check Japanese expansionism in the Pacific, Hughes convened the Washington Conference in 1921. The United States, Britain, France, Japan, and Italy agreed to stop building battleships for 10 years and to reduce their fleets of capital ships to a fixed ratio. Conferees also agreed to respect one another’s interests in the Pacific, to maintain the Open Door in China, and to respect China’s independence. However, no provisions were made to enforce the terms of the agreements.

The Japanese felt a sense of injury when they were given no immigration quota under the National Origins Act of 1924. Japan did not abandon its territorial ambitions in China and the
Washington Conference treaties enabled it to dominate the western Pacific. Military leaders in Japan came to view war with the United States as inevitable.

**The Peace Movement**

Peace societies such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Woodrow Wilson Foundation flourished after World War I. Yet, despite interest in the peace movement, the United States did not join the World Court. In 1928, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, initially signed by 15 nations, condemned war “as an instrument of national policy” amid optimism that merely by condemning war, another world war might be averted.

**The Good Neighbor Policy**

In the face of radicalism and instability in Mexico, which caused Americans with land and oil rights to suffer losses, Coolidge acted with restraint. He dispatched a patient and sympathetic ambassador, Dwight Morrow, to improve relations with Mexico.

Under Herbert Hoover, the United States began to treat the Latin American nations as equals. The Clark Memorandum set aside the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, meaning the United States would no longer be so quick to intervention in the hemisphere. By 1934, the marines that occupied Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic had been withdrawn, and the United States abrogated the Platt Amendment and renounced its right to intervene in Cuba.

**The Totalitarian Challenge**

In 1931, Japan conquered Chinese Manchuria and established the puppet state of Manchukuo, a violation of the Kellogg-Briand and Nine-Power pacts. Secretary of State Henry Stimson announced that the United States would not recognize the legality of seizures made in violation of such treaty rights. A few months later Japan attacked Shanghai and withdrew from the League of Nations after that organization condemned Japanese aggression. Meanwhile, the meek response of Western democracies to Japanese aggression in Manchuria was not lost on Adolf Hitler, who became chancellor of Germany in January 1933.

**War Debts and Reparations**

Devastated from World War I, Germany could not pay the reparations she had been forced to accept at the peace conference in 1919. Therefore, the Allies could not repay the United States for loans made prior to American entry into the world war because they had expected to get that money from the Germans. The Allies, moreover, explained that the loaned money had been spent in the United States and had stimulated the American economy, and ought to be considered part of America’s contribution to the war effort. The Europeans also claimed that they could not repay the loans because high American tariff rates made it difficult for them to earn American dollars in trade.
Two attempts were made to scale down the reparations, the Dawes Plan of 1924 and the Young Plan of 1929, but neither could remedy a defective international financial situation. Germany defaulted on the reparations, and the Allies abandoned all pretense of meeting their obligations to the United States. In practice, the Allies paid the United States about what they collected from Germany. The whole issue merely heightened mistrust and hostility among nations.

**The Election of 1928**

When Coolidge declined to seek reelection, the Republicans nominated Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, an advocate of voluntary trade associations who believed capitalists had learned to curb their selfish instincts. He thought businessmen should cooperate with each other and with their workers too. The Democrats nominated Governor Al Smith, who, like Hoover, was an adept administrator and avid capitalist. Smith combined his basic conservatism with humanitarian concern for the underprivileged. A product of New York’s Lower East Side slums, Smith became the first Roman Catholic nominated for president by a major party. Smith’s religion, machine connections, brashness, and opposition to prohibition combined to hurt him in rural areas, especially the South, but it was prosperity that cost him the election.

Hoover won a smashing victory and carried five southern states where Smith’s Catholicism aroused resentment. The 1928 election also began a political realignment that was taking shape in the cities, as Smith carried the nation’s 12 largest cities, all of which had previously been Republican. In agricultural states Smith surpassed Davis’ showing of four years earlier. A new coalition of urban workers and dissatisfied farmers would emerge by 1932.

**Economic Problems**

Not all industries shared in the prosperity of the 1920s: Coal and textiles, for instance, faced competition from oil and new synthetics. The movement toward business consolidation resumed: Two hundred corporations came to control nearly half the nation’s corporate assets. General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler turned out nearly all of the nation’s vehicles; four tobacco companies produced most of the nation’s cigarettes. Retail merchandising was revolutionized by the growth of chain stores, epitomized by F. W. Woolworth and A&P, which took business from small shopkeepers.

Trade associations flourished in the 1920s, as producers formed voluntary organizations to regulate competition, exchange information, discuss policies toward government and the public, and control prices in their industries. Defenders argued that the associations stabilized prices and made business more efficient, though they may well have been in violation of antitrust laws.

The weakest element in the economy was agriculture. Farm prices slumped and farmers’ costs mounted, yet the government did little to improve the situation and nothing to increase agricultural income. Thus the boom times of the 1920s rested on unstable foundations. The problem was mainly one of maldistribution of resources: High earnings and low taxes permitted too large a share of the profits to go into the pockets of too few people who did not invest the money productively.
The Stock Market Crash of 1929

Stock prices, already at a historic high, began to surge even higher in the spring of 1928. Some conservative brokers warned that most stocks were overpriced, but the majority scoffed at pessimistic talk. The bull market continued through the first half of 1929, as many small investors put their savings into common stock. In September, the market wavered, and a month later, in a state of panic selling, prices plummeted. The boom was over.

Hoover and the Depression

The collapse of the stock market did not cause the Great Depression; stocks rallied late in the year, and business activity did not decline until the spring of 1930. The depression was a worldwide phenomenon caused by economic imbalances resulting from the Great War.

In the United States, too much wealth had fallen into too few hands and consumers were unable to buy all the goods produced. The problem of underconsumption worked to speed the downward economic spiral. Due to their mounting inventories, manufacturers closed plants and laid off workers. In 1930 more than 1,300 banks closed; each failure deprived people of savings that they might have used to buy goods. Demand for farm goods fell, new investments declined, and unemployment increased. Politicians did not know what to do about it.

President Hoover proposed a tax cut to increase consumers’ spendable income, endorsed public-works programs administered at the state level to create jobs for the unemployed, and urged lower interest rates to make it easier for businesses and farmers to borrow money. But the program failed to check the economic slide; Hoover relied too heavily on his powers of persuasion and the willingness of businessmen and farmers to act in the public interest. In addition, he refused on constitutional grounds to allow federal funds to be used for the relief of individuals, placing the responsibility on overburdened states, cities, and private charities.

Hoover believed that federal loans to businesses were constitutional and approved the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to lend money to banks, railroads, and insurance companies. As time passed and the depression worsened, Hoover put more stress on balancing the federal budget, a counterproductive move that by reducing the government’s expenditures may have actually prolonged the depression. Yet, nearly all informed opinion supported the president’s balanced budget views.

In 1930 Hoover signed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff, which raised duties on most manufactured goods to prohibitive levels, and helped to bring on a financial collapse in Europe. He then proposed a one-year moratorium on all international obligations. Britain and other nations in response devalued their currencies to encourage foreigners to buy their goods, leading Hoover to blame them for the depression in the United States. As the economic situation deteriorated, Hoover, inflexible and unwilling to experiment, lost the support of the American people.

The Economy Hits Bottom

By the spring of 1932 thousands faced starvation; only about a quarter of the unemployed received any public aid. Some who were evicted from their houses gathered in “Hoovervilles,”
ramshackle communities made of packing boxes and rusty sheet metal. Tramps roamed the countryside, farmers blocked roads and railroads, and federal agents deported Mexican American workers.

Some 20,000 World War I veterans marched on Washington, demanding immediate payment of their “adjusted compensation” bonuses. Hoover, fearing that this “Bonus Army” was composed of criminals and radicals, sent troops to disperse the veterans. No one was killed, but the spectacle of tanks and tear gas being used against the veterans appalled the nation.

The severity of the depression caused some to demand radical economic and political changes. Some intellectuals even embraced communism because of its emphasis on economic planning and total mobilization of the state to achieve social goals.

The Depression and Its Victims

The depression had profound psychological, as well as obvious economic, effects on its victims. Those who lost jobs and could not find work fell into a state of apathy, often forfeiting their ambition and pride. Others declined to apply for public assistance out of shame. But despite difficulties, most workers did not become radical and held out hope for better times. The depression led to a sharp drop in the birth rate, and changes in family life resulted when “breadwinners” came home with empty hands. Parental authority declined when there was less money available to supply children’s needs. Some adolescents found part-time jobs to help out. Generally, where family ties were already close and loving, they became stronger during the depression. Where they were not, families broke up.

The Election of 1932

Certain of victory in 1932, the Democrats nominated Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York to challenge President Hoover. Under Roosevelt’s leadership, New York had led the nation in providing relief for the needy, old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and conservation and public power projects. Roosevelt’s sunny, magnetic personality contrasted with that of the glum, colorless Hoover, who seemed more pessimistic with each passing day.

Born to wealth and social status, Roosevelt graduated from Harvard and embarked on a political career. Even an attack of polio in 1921 did not cause him to abandon his hopes for high office; despite his physical handicap, Roosevelt proved to be a marvelous campaigner. He radiated confidence and humor when attacking the Republicans and criticized Hoover for presiding over the “greatest spending administration in peacetime in our history.” In a contradictory stance, Roosevelt called for a balanced budget while also vowing to increase government spending to alleviate the dire need of the citizenry. Roosevelt promised to experiment with numerous possible solutions to the depression and test the conventional limits on the extent of federal power.

Roosevelt easily defeated Hoover in 1932. During the interval between the election and the inauguration, the depression worsened, as Roosevelt, Hoover, and the last “lame duck” session of Congress prior to the Twentieth Amendment failed to act on any interim economic policy.
PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Define the following:

totalitarian ________________________________________________________________

oligopoly ________________________________________________________________

underconsumption _________________________________________________________

Describe the following:

Teapot Dome _____________________________________________________________

Washington Conference _________________________________________________

Stimson Doctrine _________________________________________________________

Kellogg-Briand Pact _______________________________________________________

Good Neighbor Policy _____________________________________________________

Manchukuo ______________________________________________________________

Reconstruction Finance Corporation _________________________________________

Hawley-Smoot Tariff _______________________________________________________

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Bonus Army ________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

“Hoovervilles” ______________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

New Deal ________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

*Identify the following:*

Andrew Mellon________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Albert Fall__________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

“Ohio Gang” _________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Harry Daugherty _____________________

______________________________________________________________________________

John W. Davis ________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Alfred E. Smith ________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

John Nance “Cactus Jack” Garner _____________
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. In the 1920s, U.S. foreign policy was based on all of the following EXCEPT
   A. isolationist sentiments.
   B. the Open Door concept.
   C. support for democratic elements in underdeveloped countries.
   D. the need for new sources of raw materials and new markets for U.S. goods.

2. The major treaties at the Washington Conference in 1921 resulted in some major nations agreeing to all of the following EXCEPT
   A. fix capital ship ratios at 5:5:3 to balance naval forces in the Pacific.
   B. halt naval construction for 10 years.
   C. respect one another’s interests in islands in the Pacific.
   D. respect China’s independence and the Open Door policy.

3. Match the following international agreements with the terms of the agreement.
   A. Kellogg-Briand Pact  1. The U.S. backs away from claiming the right to intervene in the affairs of Latin American nations.
   B. Stimson Doctrine  2. The U.S. condemns recourse to war for solution of international controversies.
   C. Clark Memorandum  3. The U.S. pledges to improve social and economic conditions in the Caribbean region.
   4. The U.S. refuses to recognize the legality of territorial seizures made in violation of U.S. treaty rights.
   A. A3, B4, C2
   B. A2, B3, C1
   C. A1, B2, C3
   D. A2, B4, C1

4. The Dawes and Young plans
   A. were efforts to limit naval arms after the Great War.
   B. provided financial assistance in rebuilding Europe after the Great War.
   C. sought to assist the Germans in making reparations payments to the Allies.
   D. called for a moratorium on war debts.

5. Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon’s economic plan included all of the following EXCEPT
   A. lowering taxes.
   B. laissez-faire.
   C. reducing the national debt.
   D. lowering tariffs.

6. The “worst scandal” among the many involving Harding’s “Ohio Gang” was related to
   A. oil leases.
   B. veterans’ hospitals.
   C. Indian reservations.
   D. liquor permits.
7. Robert La Follette’s Progressive party presidential campaign in 1924 was supported by all of the following EXCEPT
   A. the American Federation of Labor (AFL).
   B. the farm bloc.
   C. Socialists.
   D. trade associations.

8. U. S. foreign policy in the Harding and Coolidge administrations was made by Secretary of State
   A. Harlan Fiske Stone.
   B. John W. Davis.
   C. Charles Evans Hughes.
   D. William G. McAdoo.

9. In the 1928 presidential campaign, BOTH Al Smith and Herbert Hoover were all the following EXCEPT
   A. uncritical of the American capitalist system.
   B. prohibitionists.
   C. conservatives.
   D. adept administrators.

10. Al Smith lost the presidential election in 1928 because of all of the following reasons EXCEPT
    A. he was connected to New York machine politics.
    B. he supported prohibition.
    C. he was Catholic.
    D. the national economy was prosperous in 1928.

11. Some industries that did not share in the prosperity of the 1920s included all of the following EXCEPT
    A. coal mining.
    B. cotton textiles.
    C. farming.
    D. home appliances.

12. In trade associations
    A. “adjusted compensation” was offered to bankrupt businesses.
    B. the courts later uncovered wholesale violations of antitrust laws.
    C. the nation moved toward national economic planning.
    D. businessmen discussed common problems of production and marketing and reached accommodations that decreased competition.

13. Which one of the following is NOT true of the Great Depression?
    A. The Great Depression was a world-wide event.
    B. The collapse of the stock market caused the Great Depression.
    C. The Great Depression was so profound and prolonged because politicians did not know what to do about it.
    D. The underlying problem of the Great Depression was one of underconsumption.
14. President Hoover’s gradually developing plan for ending the depression included all of the following EXCEPT
   A. tax cuts.
   B. direct relief.
   C. public works.
   D. lower interest rates.

15. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was created to lend money to all of the following EXCEPT
   A. individuals.
   B. banks.
   C. railroads.
   D. insurance corporations.

16. As the depression worsened, President Hoover put more stress on
   A. lowering tariffs.
   B. balancing the federal budget.
   C. shifting state and local relief responsibilities to the federal government.
   D. laissez-faire.

17. Why did President Hoover break up the veterans’ Bonus Army in 1932?
   A. He had earlier vetoed “adjusted compensation” bonuses.
   B. He believed that criminals and communists had infiltrated the ranks of the demonstrating veterans.
   C. He opposed direct government aid to individuals.
   D. He believed that the right of free speech and assembly did not permit harassment of the national government.

18. The psychological effect of the depression on families was
   A. to have no effect on family ties.
   B. to strengthen some families’ ties and weaken others.
   C. to strengthen family ties only.
   D. to weaken family ties only.

19. The social effects of the depression included all of the following EXCEPT
   A. decrease the birth rate.
   B. increase the influence of wives in families.
   C. increase the consumption of protein foods.
   D. increase parental authority in families.

20. When he campaigned for the presidency in 1932, Franklin Roosevelt
   A. set forth a well-defined plan to guide his administration’s solution to the depression.
   B. pledged that his would become “the greatest spending administration in peace time in our history.”
   C. promised bold, persistent experimentation to solve the depression.
   D. committed to preserving the conventional limits on the extent of federal power.
Essay Questions

1. Show how corruption marred the Harding administration even though Harding himself was not involved in scandals.

2. Explain how the Mellon financial program led to a balancing of the budget and a reduction in the national debt.

3. Explain how Charles Evans Hughes led the United States into an activist foreign policy during the 1920s despite the decision not to join the League of Nations.

4. Compare and contrast the Coolidge and Hoover administrations in reference to the economic conditions each president faced.

5. Why was the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 one of the least surprising political events in history? Evaluate Roosevelt’s campaign style and national goals.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Economics has been referred to as the “dismal science” because economists can examine the same statistics and circumstances and reach opposite conclusions. Examine these statements regarding President Hoover and the Great Depression. Label the true statements with “T,” the opinion statements with “O,” and false statements with “F.” In some cases you, like economists, may disagree as to whether the statement is truth, opinion, or falsehood.

____1. Hoover rejected laissez-faire because he refused to follow Mellon’s suggestion that the economic disaster be permitted to run its course, as the government had allowed in earlier panics.

____2. Because many factories could not sell their goods during the 1930s, they often closed plants and laid off workers and hence caused demand to decrease even more.

____3. Had the depression been allowed to run its course, the American public would have worked harder and lived more moral, spiritual lives.

____4. Hoover’s program would likely have succeeded had he been reelected and freed of political pressures.

____5. In postponing calls for a balanced budget during the depression, Hoover may have inadvertently prolonged and deepened the impact of the collapse.

____6. Only the national government possessed the power and the credit to deal adequately with the Great Depression.

____7. As the Hoover administration spent $500 million a year on public works, construction outlay rose by 1932.
8. Federal loans to businesses were constitutional because the money could be put to productive use and repaid.

9. Hoover’s signing of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff was later criticized by supply-side economists.

10. Prosperity cannot be restored by raids on the public treasury.

11. Hoover was too rigidly wedded to a particular theory of government to cope with the depression.

12. High American tariffs could have prevented depression because they would have enabled Europeans to buy American goods more easily.
CHAPTER 27

The New Deal: 1933-1941

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

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During the 1932 presidential campaign, Franklin Roosevelt perfected a plan to solve the Depression, then spent the next nine years implementing that plan.

To stimulate economic recovery, FDR turned to deficit spending and abandoned efforts to balance the federal budget.

The New Deal’s many work relief programs (WPA, CWA, CCC, etc.) barely kept the unemployment rate below 10 percent during the 1930s.

Contrary to expectations because he was a political moderate, FDR quickly resorted to extreme measures to combat the Depression.

As is usually the case in hard times, union membership declined dramatically during the Great Depression.

On the eve of U.S. entry into World War II, the New Deal had effectively ended the Great Depression.

Having learned from their Great War experience, Americans were less isolationist and more committed to going to war in 1939 when the Allies declared war on Germany and World War II began.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 27 you should be able to:

1. Explain how Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal sought to revive the economy amid the Great Depression.
2. Explain the political views of those who opposed Franklin Roosevelt.
3. Evaluate Roosevelt’s attempt to alter the Supreme Court.
4. Show the impact of the New Deal on women, African Americans, and Native Americans.
5. Explain how the United States tried to remain isolated from events leading to the Second World War.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The Hundred Days

The special 1933 session of Congress known as the Hundred Days adopted dozens of New Deal measures without serious opposition. The day after his inauguration, President Roosevelt, who had no comprehensive plan of action, declared a nationwide bank holiday and forbade the exportation of gold. In the first of his “fireside chats” over radio, Roosevelt outlined a plan to reopen sound banks under Treasury licenses. A few weeks later, he took the country off the gold standard, hoping to induce prices to rise.

Congress established the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation to guarantee bank deposits and to separate investment and commercial banking. Lawmakers also created the Home Owners Loan Corporation to refinance mortgages and prevent foreclosures.

The National Recovery Administration (NRA)

Congress addressed the problems of unemployment and industrial stagnation by creating the Civilian Conservation Corps, which provided jobs for young men in reforestation projects, and the National Industrial Recovery Act, which allowed manufacturers to draft codes of “fair business practices.” The law enabled producers to raise prices and limit production without violating antitrust laws. For workers, the NIRA allowed collective bargaining (Section 7a), established federally regulated minimum wages and maximum hours, and abolished child labor. However, the NIRA did not end the depression or revive industry because the dominant producers raised prices and limited production instead of hiring more workers and increasing output.

Organized labor used the NIRA to persuade workers that Roosevelt wanted them to join unions. When the American Federation of Labor showed little enthusiasm for enrolling mass-production workers, John L. Lewis and garment-trade unionists formed the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), which in time grew to rival the AFL in size and influence.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA)

The Agricultural Adjustment Act combined compulsory restrictions on production with subsidies to producers of staple goods such as wheat, cotton, tobacco, and pork. The money for these payments was raised by levying processing taxes on middlemen, such as flour millers, who passed the costs on to consumers. The AAA sought to raise prices to a “parity” level with industrial prices. Farmers could also qualify for “rental” payments by withdrawing acreage from cultivation. To reduce 1933 output, Agriculture Secretary Henry A. Wallace ordered the destruction of crops in the field and the slaughter of millions of hogs at a time when some people went hungry. Thereafter, acreage limits proved sufficient to raise some agricultural prices. But dairy farmers, cattlemen, the railroads (who had less to haul), tenant farmers, and sharecroppers
(when owners took land out of production) were all hurt by the AAA, and consumers paid higher prices for food.

**The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)**

Roosevelt wanted to expand a government-owned hydroelectric plant at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, into the centerpiece of a broad experiment in social planning aimed at improving the lives of people in the region. Over the objections of private power companies, the Tennessee Valley Authority Act authorized a board to build dams, power plants, and transmission lines and to sell fertilizers and electricity to individuals and communities in the Tennessee Valley. The TVA also promoted industrialization, soil conservation, reforestation, flood control, navigation, and recreation. The authority provided a “yardstick” by which private power-company rates could be tested. It improved the standard of living of millions of inhabitants of the valley.

**The New Deal Spirit**

A majority of Americans in the 1930s considered the New Deal successful because some actual recovery had occurred and President Roosevelt had infused his administration with the spirit of optimism. The New Deal lacked any consistent ideological base; Roosevelt did what he thought would work, borrowing ideas from the populist tradition on inflating currency, from Theodore Roosevelt’s New Nationalism on de-emphasizing competition and relaxing antitrust laws, from the Progressive social workers helping the downtrodden, and from Wilson’s wartime agencies on establishing bureaucratic procedures. Rival officials within the administration and special interest groups battled to implement their own views, while Roosevelt mediated between them.

**The Unemployed**

Millions remained jobless in 1934, but their loyalty to Roosevelt remained firm. Breaking with tradition, the Democrats increased their already-large majorities in Congress in the mid-term elections. In May 1933, Congress had established the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), headed by Harry Hopkins, which dispensed its funds through state relief organizations. Hopkins also persuaded Roosevelt to create the Civil Works Administration (CWA) to provide work for the unemployed. When costs of the agency reached $1 billion in five months, however, Roosevelt abolished the CWA. Despite charges that Hopkins’ projects were wasteful, roads, bridges, schools, and other structures were built or refurbished.

In 1935, Hopkins was named to direct the Works Progress Administration, which spent $11 billion over eight years and employed 8.5 million people. Besides public works, the WPA made numerous cultural contributions: Those with theatrical skills, as well as writers and artists were kept at work in WPA projects. The National Youth Administration created part-time jobs for high school and college students. Despite the public-works programs, national unemployment during the New Deal era never dropped below 10 percent, and in many places it was much higher. The WPA did not do more because Roosevelt feared drastically unbalancing the federal budget and hesitated to undertake public projects that might compete with private enterprise.
Literature in the Depression

Depression-era writers often wrote from anger and pessimism and were critical of many aspects of American life. John Dos Passos’ trilogy, *U.S.A.*, anticapitalist and deeply pessimistic, was a monument to the despair and anger of liberals in the 1930s. John Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath* captured the bewilderment of the downtrodden and the brutality of their fear-driven exploiters. In his depression-era novels, Thomas Wolfe caught the frantic pace and confusion of the great cities, the despair of the depression, and the fears and hopes of Americans.

Novelist William Faulkner depicted southern aristocrats and impoverished whites and blacks unable to escape from their surroundings; he pictured the South’s poverty and pride, and its dreadful racial problem. Further, he was unexcelled as a commentator on the multiple dilemmas of modern life and was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1949.

The Extremists: Long, Coughlin, and Townsend

Roosevelt’s moderation and the desperation of the poor provoked several extremist critics, including Louisiana Senator Huey “Kingfish” Long, a demagogue who professed a concern for the poor. Long thought Roosevelt was too conservative. Declaring “Every Man a King,” Long’s “Share the Wealth” movement attracted several million members. He proposed the confiscation of large family fortunes and a tax of 100 percent on all incomes exceeding $1 million a year. The money would be used to buy every family a “homestead” and provide an annual family income plus old-age and veterans’ pensions and educational benefits.

Father Charles Coughlin, the Detroit-based “Radio Priest,” claimed that inflating the currency would end the depression. Through his National Union for Social Justice, Coughlin attacked bankers, New Deal planners, and Roosevelt’s farm program. A virulent anti-Semite and red-baiter, Coughlin alleged that Roosevelt was beholden to communists and Jews.

Dr. Francis Townsend’s “old-age revolving pensions” proposed paying every person 60 and over a pension of $200 per month, provided that the pensioners not hold jobs and would spend the checks within 30 days. Their purchases, he argued, would stimulate production and revitalize the economy. Left unsaid though, and perhaps unrealized, was that the scheme would have cost roughly half the national income at the time. Like Long’s Share Our Wealth scheme, Townsend’s plan would have revolutionized the distribution of wealth in the United States. Townsend’s movement also marked the emergence of a new force in American society; the percentage of elderly people in the population was rising.

Influenced by the strength of the Long, Coughlin, and Townsend forces as well as a skeptical, even hostile Supreme Court, Roosevelt shifted economic gears in preparation for the 1936 election. Reversing his effort to court businessmen, he called for new taxes on corporations and restoring competition.

The Second New Deal

In 1935, the New Deal Congress introduced two landmark pieces of legislation. The National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act restored labor protections wiped out by the Supreme Court in
Schecter v. United States (1935), the case that struck down the NRA. It gave workers the right to bargain collectively and prohibited employers from interfering with union activities. The National Labor Relations Board was established to supervise plant elections.

The Social Security Act authorized old-age insurance, to be financed jointly by a tax on wages and payrolls. It also created a federal-state unemployment-insurance program. Social Security did not initially cover agricultural workers, domestics, and the self-employed, and it did not include health insurance, but over the years pension payments were increased and the classes of covered workers were enlarged.

The Rural Electrification Administration, created by executive order, lent money at low rates to utility companies and farm cooperatives in order to bring electrical power to rural areas. Through the Wealth Tax Act, the Second New Deal imposed high taxes on large incomes and on estates, gifts, and corporate profits. New Deal critics expressed alarm at the costs of government programs and their fear it was undermining of the foundations of American freedom and liberty. Nevertheless, the imperatives of the depression forced Roosevelt to adopt deficit spending, a practice extolled by the British economist John Maynard Keynes to stimulate consumption.

The Election of 1936

Governor Alfred M. Landon of Kansas, the 1936 Republican presidential nominee, made little headway in his contention that he could administer the New Deal more efficiently than Franklin Roosevelt. The radical fringe’s candidate, Congressman William Lenke of North Dakota, polled few votes on a Union party banner.

Roosevelt campaigned for the support of workers and the underprivileged, virtually writing off business as “economic royalists.” Labor unions and blacks, farmers and the elderly all swung heavily to Roosevelt and the president carried every state but Maine and Vermont. Republican Congressional ranks were reduced to 89 in the House and 16 in the Senate.

Roosevelt Tries to Undermine the Supreme Court

FDR interpreted his reelection in 1936 as a mandate for further reforms; only the Supreme Court stood in the way. Prior to 1937, the Supreme Court viewed the New Deal with apprehension. Four justices were anti-New Deal and opposed to expanding the scope of government authority; two others, including Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, often sided with the conservatives. When the Court threatened to undo major measures of the Second Hundred Days, including Social Security, Roosevelt asked Congress to shift the balance in the Court by increasing the number of justices. Roosevelt badly underestimated opposition to the plan from within his own party and from the public, the press, and Congress, and he was forced to back down. Yet, in time, the persistent president was able to appoint a New Deal-majority to the Court, and the legislation of the Second New Deal was saved. The Court fight, however, was a major blow to Roosevelt’s prestige.
The New Deal Winds Down

The Congress of Industrial Organizations’ unionizing of big industries changed the power structure within the national economy. It gained workers higher wages, shorter hours, paid vacations, insurance, and a measure of job security. It recruited blacks and other minorities into the labor movement and it increased the influence of labor in politics. CIO-sponsored “sit-down strikes” began in 1937, and fearful that efforts to clear the plant of striking workers would lead to the sabotage of expensive machinery, most employers capitulated to the strikers. The major steel companies recognized the CIO and granted higher wages and a 40-hour work week. But the aggressive way the unions pursued their objectives cooled middle-class enthusiasm for all reform.

Though business conditions had improved since 1933, a “Roosevelt recession” developed in 1937 when FDR cut back relief spending. Roosevelt thereafter committed himself to heavy deficit spending. Another public-works bill was passed, while a second AAA established marketing quotas and acreage limits for growers of staple crops. The Commodity Credit Corporation was empowered to lend money to farmers on their surplus crops. The Fair Labor Standards Act abolished child labor and established a national minimum wage and a 40-hour work week.

When conservative Democrats raised objections to further extensions of the New Deal, Roosevelt tried to purge them from the party. Voters in Democratic primary elections flatly rebuffed his intervention, especially in the South. Anti-New Deal Democrats increasingly joined with Republicans, strengthened by the 1938 midterm elections, into a “conservative coalition.” The coalition failed to do away with completed reforms but succeeded in blocking additional legislation.

Significance of the New Deal

The Great Depression finally ended in 1939 when the massive war that broke out in Europe mobilized the world economy. Throughout the 1930s, FDR was willing to experiment, but, because of that, the New Deal was often contradictory and counterproductive. At times Roosevelt favored deficit spending to check the depression; on other occasions, he proposed balanced budgets. The New Deal sometimes viewed the major economic problem as overproduction and at other times suggested that the answer lay in more production. Roosevelt’s activist role in the New Deal also inured the nation to the idea that the federal government should accept responsibility for the national welfare and act to address problems.

New Deal programs, which vastly enlarged the federal bureaucracy and enhanced the power and prestige of the presidency, were increasingly accepted by both parties and may have prevented later economic declines from becoming catastrophes. Among other things, the New Deal encouraged the growth of unions, made farm life more civilized and old age more secure, developed natural resources, made employers more socially conscious, and heightened the American people’s sense of community.
Women as New Dealers: The Network

Women played an active role in the Roosevelt administration due to the influence of Molly Dewson, head of the Women’s Division of the Democratic National Committee, and Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, the first woman to serve in the Cabinet. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt was a force in her own right through her newspaper column, “My Day,” and as a speaker on public issues. She was particularly identified with efforts to obtain better treatment for African Americans.

Blacks During the New Deal

Although African Americans had supported Hoover’s reelection, they voted overwhelmingly for Roosevelt in 1936. New Deal programs benefited many blacks, though they were often paid at lower rates than whites under NRA codes. Blacks in the CCC were assigned to segregated units, and Social Security excluded from coverage agricultural laborers and domestic servants, many of whom were minorities. In 1936, Roosevelt named Mary McLeod Bethune to head the Division of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration, a position from which she developed educational and occupational programs for disadvantaged black youths. African American workers benefited when the CIO unions accepted black members.

A New Deal for Indians

In 1924, Congress granted citizenship to all Indians, although they continued to be treated as wards of the state. Assimilation, it was assumed, had failed. A new Indian Affairs Commissioner, John Collier, tried to preserve Indian culture, yet help them utilize modern medical advances and soil conservation techniques. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 abolished the Dawes Act allotment system and encouraged Indians to return individually-owned land to their tribes. Some Indians opposed the return of their lands to communal holdings, particularly those whose lands held oil and mineral rights. Some critics charged Collier with segregating the Indians, whereas others accused him of promoting “pagan” practices and even trying to convert the Indians to “communism.” In the 1950s, Congress ended most government efforts aimed at preserving Indian cultures.

The Role of Roosevelt

Rexford Tugwell, a member of Roosevelt’s “Brains Trust,” found Roosevelt to be not “much at home with ideas” but always open to new facts and willing to take chances on imaginative solutions to problems. Roosevelt has been criticized for his lack of knowledge of economics, his vague political philosophy, and his weak administrative abilities. He encouraged rivalry among subordinates, assigned different agencies overlapping responsibilities, failed to discharge incompetents, and delayed making important decisions. Nevertheless, Roosevelt constructed the coalition that made the New Deal possible and was one of the most effective presidents in American history. Roosevelt’s fireside chats and biweekly press conferences convinced most Americans that he had their welfare at heart. Roosevelt personified the government to ordinary American citizens.
The Triumph of Isolationism

While most Americans embraced isolationism in the 1930s, Roosevelt was already an internationalist. Isolationism was reinforced by an investigation conducted by Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota into the role played by munitions makers and bankers from 1914 to 1917, which seemed to bear out a popular belief that a "conspiracy" among these "merchants of death" had dragged the United States into World War I.

In response to German, Italian, and Japanese resort to force to achieve their territorial aims, Congress passed the Neutrality Act of 1935, which forbade the sale of munitions to all belligerents whenever the president should proclaim that a state of war existed. In 1936, a second neutrality act forbade all loans to belligerents. Thereafter, Italy invaded Ethiopia, and civil war broke out in Spain with the major combatants the forces of General Francisco Franco, backed by Italy and Germany, and the leftist Spanish Republic, backed by communists. Congress therefore amended the Neutrality Act to cover civil wars. In 1937, a third neutrality act gave the president authority to make the sale of goods to belligerents on a cash-and-carry basis. In 1938, the House narrowly defeated the Ludlow Amendment, which would have prohibited Congress from declaring war without prior approval of the nation’s voters.

War Again in Europe

The world moved closer to war when Japan invaded China in 1937. Roosevelt concluded that resisting aggression was more important than maintaining neutrality, and in a 1937 speech, he had declared that the way to deal with "the epidemic of world lawlessness" was to "quarantine" it. Yet few Americas seemed interested in following the president’s leadership away from isolationism.

In 1938, Nazi Germany demanded that Czechoslovakia cede the German-speaking Sudetenland, then seized the rest of Czechoslovakia in early 1939. Germany was clearly not stopping there, but Roosevelt was unable to obtain repeal of the Neutrality Act so that the United States could sell arms to Britain and France in the event of war. In August 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union signed a nonaggression pact, a prelude to their joint assault on Poland.

Hitler’s troops invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, at last provoking Britain and France into a declaration of war. Congress then permitted short-term loans and the sale of arms on a cash-and-carry basis, but American vessels were forbidden to trade with the belligerents. Since the Allies controlled the seas, however, cash-and-carry gave them a clear advantage. Poland quickly fell to Hitler’s army, and after a winter lull that cynics called the “phony war,” the German “Blitzkrieg” swept through the Low Countries, Scandinavia, and France. The British army retreated from Dunkirk, and Hitler proceeded to try to bomb and starve the British into submission. Epic air battles over England during the summer of 1940 repelled the Nazis, but the Royal Navy could not halt German submarine attacks.

In response to these events, Roosevelt transferred 50 old navy destroyers to the British in exchange for naval bases in the Caribbean and Newfoundland, Congress enacted America’s first peacetime draft, and to strengthen national unity, Roosevelt committed federal funds to a top-secret atomic bomb program, and he brought two Republicans, Henry Stimson and Frank Knox, into his Cabinet as secretaries of war and navy, respectively.
A Third Term for FDR

Roosevelt, convinced that only he could rein in the isolationists, cast aside the two-term precedent set by George Washington to seek a third term. Vice-President Garner, disenchanted with Roosevelt and the New Deal, refused to run again. Roosevelt therefore dictated the selection of Agriculture Secretary Henry Wallace as Garner’s successor. The Republicans nominated a dark horse and former Democrat, Wendell Willkie, an Indiana-born utilities executive who had opposed the TVA. Roosevelt won rather handily despite Willkie’s claim that the president intended to take the nation to war.

Two competing groups quarreled over the proper U.S. policy. The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies favored all-out aid to Britain, while the America First Committee, which included aviator Charles A. Lindbergh, took an isolationist stance.

The Undeclared War

When Winston Churchill informed Roosevelt that the cash-and-carry system was insufficient for British security needs, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to pass the Lend-Lease Act. This measure called for spending $7 billion on war materials that the president could sell, lend, lease, exchange, or transfer to any country whose defense he deemed vital to that of the United States.

Most of the aid went to Britain, but by November 1941, $1 billion was put at the disposal of the Soviet Union, which had been invaded by the Nazis in defiance of the Hitler-Stalin nonaggression pact. After attacks on two American ships, the Greer and the Reuben James, Congress allowed the arming of merchant ships and permitted them to carry cargoes to Allied ports. For all practical purposes, though not officially, the United States was already at war.

PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS

Identify the following:

bank holiday

Hundred Days

fireside chats

parity
TVA “yardstick” _________________________________________________________

old-age revolving pensions _________________________________________________

payroll tax ______________________________________________________________

“economic royalists” ______________________________________________________

sit-down strikes __________________________________________________________

conservative coalition _____________________________________________________

Describe the following:

CCC ___________________________________________________________________

WPA __________________________________________________________________

“Share the Wealth” _______________________________________________________

Schecter v. United States _________________________________________________

NLRB __________________________________________________________________

CIO ________________________________________________________________

159
Fair Labor Standards Act

“Quarantine” speech

Sudetenland

Lend-Lease Act

*Identify the following:*

Henry A. Wallace

Wendell L. Willkie

Harry L. Hopkins

Charles Coughlin

Alfred M. Landon

Hugo L. Black

Eleanor Roosevelt

Frances Perkins
MAP EXERCISE

Refer to the map below. Match the country or region with its location as designated on the map.

___ 1. Austria          ___ 2. Belgium          ___ 3. Denmark
___ 4. France          ___ 5. Great Britain      ___ 6. Netherlands
___10. Spain           ___11. Sudetenland

![Map of Europe, 1939](image)
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The National Industrial Relations Act (NIRA) provided for all of the following EXCEPT
   A. federally-funded public works.
   B. suspension of the antitrust laws.
   C. collective bargaining rights for labor.
   D. elimination of child labor.

2. The first Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) included all of the following EXCEPT
   A. a guarantee of parity between farm and manufacturing prices.
   B. rental payments to farmers for removing land from production.
   C. a tax on “middlemen” processors of farm goods.
   D. subsidies to growers of wheat, cotton, tobacco, and pork and other staples.

3. A “yardstick” to test the efficiency and rates of private companies was provided by the
   A. Rural Electrification Administration (REA).
   B. National Recovery Administration (NRA).
   C. Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC).
   D. Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA).

4. President Roosevelt’s key contribution to the successes of the New Deal was his
   A. openness to suggestions.
   B. immense intellect.
   C. faithful adherence to a consistent ideological base.
   D. administrative efficiency.

5. All of the following were New Deal public works programs EXCEPT the
   A. Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).
   B. National Recovery Administration (NRA).
   C. Civil Works Administration (CWA).
   D. Works Progress Administration (WPA).

6. The author of “the novel that best portrayed the desperate plight of the millions
   impoverished by the depression,” The Grapes of Wrath, was
   A. John Steinbeck.
   B. John Dos Passos.
   C. Thomas Wolfe.
   D. William Faulkner.
7. Match these three political “extremists” of the 1930s with their program to end the depression.
   A. Huey Long                 1. inflating the currency
   B. Father Charles E. Coughlin 2. Share Our Wealth
   C. Dr. Francis E. Townsend   3. national health insurance
                                             4. old-age revolving pensions
   A. A2, B1, C4
   B. A4, B2, C3
   C. A2, B1, C3
   D. A3, B3, C2

8. What New Deal legislation did the Supreme Court rule unconstitutional in *Schechter v. United States* (1935)?
   A. National Industrial Recovery Act
   B. Wealth Act
   C. National Labor Relations Act
   D. Agricultural Adjustment Act

9. Match the legislation in the right column with the part of the New Deal in which it was enacted.
   A. First Hundred Days 1. Civilian Conservation Corps
   B. Second Hundred Days 2. Tennessee Valley Authority
                        3. Wagner Act
                        4. Social Security Act
   A. A1, 2 : B3, 4
   B. A1, 4 : B2, 3
   C. A2, 3 : B1, 4
   D. A2, 4 : B1, 3

10. The Wagner Act did all the of following EXCEPT
    A. guarantee organized labor the right to bargain collectively.
    B. create the National Labor Relations Board to supervise union elections.
    C. authorize “sit-down” strikes.
    D. prohibite employers from interfering with union organizing activities.

11. The Social Security Act originally provided for all of the following EXCEPT
    A. old-age insurance.
    B. national health insurance.
    C. unemployment insurance.
    D. a payroll tax.

12. British economist John Maynard Keynes advised attacking the Depression by all the following EXCEPT
    A. balancing the budget.
    B. lowering interest rates.
    C. reducing taxes.
    D. increasing government expenditures.
13. For the presidential election in 1936, the “radical fringe” of American politics nominated
   A. William Lemke.
   B. Gerald L. K. Smith.
   C. Huey Long.
   D. Alf Landon.

14. In 1936, President Roosevelt drew the majority of votes from all of the following interest
groups EXCEPT
   A. businessmen.
   B. African Americans.
   C. the elderly.
   D. workers.

15. The New Deal did NOT
   A. return the country to full employment.
   B. encourage the growth of unions.
   C. vastly increase the federal bureaucracy.
   D. commit the nation to the idea that the federal government had responsibility for the
      national welfare.

16. During the New Deal years, Roosevelt and/or the New Deal did all the following EXCEPT
   A. appoint the first woman member of the Cabinet.
   B. protect Mexican American workers from deportation by Southwestern states.
   C. treat African Americans as second-class citizens.
   D. encourage the revival of tribal government among Native Americans.

17. The neutrality acts in the 1930s forbade all the following EXCEPT
   A. the president to lend or lease war contraband to belligerents.
   B. sale of munitions to all belligerents.
   C. all loans to belligerents.
   D. Americans to travel on belligerent ships.

18. World War II began in Europe in 1939 when Germany invaded
   A. Austria.
   B. Poland.
   C. Czechoslovakia.
   D. Belgium.

19. Roosevelt’s pledge to defend the “Four Freedoms” did NOT include the freedom
   A. of speech.
   B. of the people to keep and bear arms.
   C. from fear.
   D. from want.

20. Which of these occurred before war began in Europe in September 1939?
   A. Congress authorized the sale of arms to belligerents on a cash-and-carry basis.
   B. Roosevelt condemned international lawlessness in a “quarantine speech.”
   C. Roosevelt traded Britain 50 old destroyers for British bases in the Caribbean.
   D. Congress enacted the first peacetime draft in U.S. history.
Essay Questions

1. Explain how the NRA, AAA, and TVA sought to revive the economy during the Great Depression. Evaluate each program.

2. Show how the “Second New Deal” promoted reforms that still affect workers and consumers.

3. Explain why many regard the New Deal as a success even though it did not end the Great Depression.

4. Evaluate the impact of the New Deal on women, African Americans, and Native Americans.

5. Discuss the elections of 1936 and 1940 regarding party nominees, issues, outcomes, and significance. Why did Franklin Roosevelt become unbeatable in national elections?

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Label each of the following statements that refer to the New Deal as “T” for true, “F” for false, or “O” for opinion.

____ 1. Roosevelt reversed the thrust of NIRA because he had increasing troubles with business and the Supreme Court.

____ 2. Roosevelt’s attempt to purge his party of conservatives in the 1938 campaign strengthened the hand of liberals.

____ 3. Roosevelt’s fireside chats convinced many that he had each citizen’s welfare in mind.

____ 4. Had he attempted to do so, Roosevelt was the one president who could have convinced Americans to abandon free enterprise and adopt socialism.

____ 5. “Roosevelt was not really very much at home with ideas.”

____ 6. The national government should work diligently to remedy specific social problems.

____ 7. Roosevelt’s practice of dividing authority among competing administrators gave the national government remarkable flexibility.

____ 8. Roosevelt’s handling of the Depression and World War II make him the single most outstanding president, eclipsing even Washington and Lincoln.

____ 9. New Deal programs succeeded in reducing national unemployment to historic low levels.

____ 10. One legacy of the New Deal was to strengthen the hold of interest groups over the government.
11. New Deal programs probably kept many intellectuals from falling into even deeper despair during the turbulent 1930s.

12. Roosevelt repudiated the Keynesian doctrine that deficit spending could stimulate a lagging economy.
CHAPTER 28

War and Peace

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

Anticipation                              Reaction

1. _____ Stunned by the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the following day Congress declared war on the Axis Powers.  _____ 1.
2. _____ Although taxes were increased several times after 1941, most of the expenses for World War II were paid by borrowing—through the sale of war bonds.  _____ 2.
3. _____ During World War II, the U.S. armed forces were integrated, civilian employment in defense industries was segregated, and many German, Italian, and Japanese Americans were incarcerated.  _____ 3.
4. _____ During World War II, the U.S. marriage, birth, and divorce rates all decreased.  _____ 4.
5. _____ When Allied forces overran Nazi defenses and discovered concentration camps in Germany and Poland, Allied leaders ordered the removal of Jewish refugees from the camps and the bombing of rail lines leading to and from them.  _____ 5.
6. _____ Before he became president when Roosevelt died, Harry Truman was not aware that the United States was building an atomic bomb.  _____ 6.
7. _____ The best explanation for the Soviet Union’s insistence on controlling Eastern Europe in 1945 is that it needed to protect itself from the possibility of future invasion.  _____ 7.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 28 you should be able to:

1. Explain how and why the attack on Pearl Harbor led the United States into World War II.
2. Show how World War II changed the economy on the American home front.
3. Discuss the impact of the war on American minorities: African Americans, Hispanics, Indians, Japanese Americans, and women.
4. Outline the European and Pacific war strategy and tactics.
5. Evaluate the decision to drop the atomic bomb at Hiroshima and explain how it and the decisions made at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences contributed to the postwar international order.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The Road to Pearl Harbor

The United States’ relations with Japan worsened steadily after Japan resumed its war on China in 1937 and declared the Open Door policy obsolete. Secretary of State Cordell Hull demanded that Japan withdraw from China and refrain from advancing into Southeast Asia. Japan might have limited its annexations in return for the removal of American trade restrictions imposed by Roosevelt. However, Hitler’s invasion of the Soviet Union in mid-1941 removed the threat of Soviet intervention in East Asia, so Japan felt free to occupy Indochina despite the risk of war with the United States.

Roosevelt retaliated by freezing Japanese assets in the United States and placing an embargo on oil. Japan countered that it would refrain from renewed expansion into Indochina if the United States and Britain would lift their economic blockade and halt aid to China. When the United States rejected these demands, Japan prepared to attack the Dutch East Indies, British Malaya, and the Philippines.

In a preemptive strike to immobilize the United States Pacific fleet, Japan launched a surprise aerial raid on the naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The American commanders there had taken precautions against sabotage but were unprepared for such an attack. On the morning of December 7, 1941, Japanese planes reduced the Pacific fleet to a smoking ruin and killed over 2,300 American servicemen. The next day, Congress declared war on Japan. Then, the Axis powers, Germany and Italy, honored their treaty obligations to Japan and declared war on the United States.

Mobilizing the Home Front

War placed immense strains on the nation’s economy, in part because the roughly 15 million men and women who entered the armed services had to be fed, clothed, housed, and supplied. Congress granted President Roosevelt wide emergency powers and did not meddle in military strategy or administrative problems, but it exercised close control over expenditures.

Roosevelt attempted to pay a large part of the costs of the war by collecting taxes rather than by borrowing. He moved to base taxation on the ability to pay, to ration scarce raw materials and consumer goods, and to regulate wages and prices. The war stimulated economic growth, especially in the South and Southwest; wartime spending proved that government spending would spark economic growth. Though eight million were unemployed in June 1940, unemployment disappeared after Pearl Harbor.
The War Economy

Supreme Court Justice James F. Byrnes resigned from the Court and assumed the role of an “economic czar” as manager of the Office of War Mobilization, which set priorities and prices. Rents, food prices, and wages were strictly regulated; items in short supply were rationed. Wages and prices soared during 1942 but stabilized in 1943.

Increased factory output and conscription caused a labor shortage, which augmented the bargaining power of organized labor. Union membership soared and strikes declined, but some work stoppages did occur. The National War Labor Board arbitrated disputes and stabilized wages.

The standard of living for most workers improved during the war, although gasoline rationing made pleasure driving nearly impossible. Plastics replaced metals in many items; rationed items were given in amounts adequate for the needs of most. Heavy borrowing was undertaken to underwrite government spending, which doubled between 1941 and 1945. More than 40 percent of the cost of the war, however, was met by taxation.

To ensure collection of taxes, Congress adopted the payroll-deduction system under which employers withheld the taxes owed by workers from paychecks and turned the money over to the government. Sharply-graduated tax rates combined with the increase in workers’ and farmers’ incomes to produce a substantial shift in the distribution of wealth in the United States—the rich collected a smaller portion of the national income.

War and Social Change

The war vastly increased the mobility of the American people. Not only were service personnel transported around the country and the world, but also new defense plants drew workers from east to west and from the rural South to northern cities. The populations of some western states grew by more than 50 percent in the 1940s, and, owing to a backlog from the thirties and wartime anxieties, marriage and birth rates rose sharply during World War II.

Minorities in Time of War: Blacks, Hispanics, and Indians

African American leaders stressed the inconsistency of minorities fighting for democracy abroad while being denied civil rights at home. The treatment of African Americans in the military improved compared to the situation in World War I, and the first African-American general was commissioned during the war. However, segregation was maintained in the armed forces and African-American soldiers, especially in the South, were often given inferior facilities in army camps.

More than five million African Americans moved from rural areas to cities between 1940 and 1945 and, though often discriminated against, found work in defense industries. African-American leadership became more militant and A. Philip Randolph organized a march on Washington in 1941 to demand equal opportunity for African Americans. Roosevelt responded with an order prohibiting discrimination in plants with defense contracts. Prejudice,
discrimination, and mistreatment of minorities did not cease, however. In 1943, a bloody race riot broke out in Detroit. In Los Angeles whites attacked Hispanic “zoot suiters.”

African-American attitudes toward the war hardened, leading some conservatives to go so far as to demand that African-American editors critical of Roosevelt be indicted for sedition. Roosevelt misjudged the depth of African-American anger and urged African-American leaders to hold their demands in abeyance until after the war.

The war encouraged assimilation of Native Americans, more than 24,000 of whom served in the armed forces. Thousands more left their reservations to work in defense plants in cities all over the country.

**The Treatment of German and Italian Americans**

Americans of German and Italian ancestry opposed the Hitler and Mussolini governments and were sufficiently assimilated into the population and were well enough organized to protect themselves from intolerance and repression during the war. Because they held fewer illusions than the generation of 1917, Americans found it easier to tolerate dissent and avoid scapegoating in World War II.

**Internment of the Japanese**

Japanese Americans were not so fortunate. Intolerance and racism resulted in the relocation of West Coast Japanese to internment camps in Wyoming, Arizona, and other interior states. About 112,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry were sent into such camps against their will and despite the fact that they had committed no crime nor expressed any disloyalty to the United States. The internment camps were established in a climate of racism and fear stemming from the attack on Pearl Harbor. The Supreme Court upheld the relocation order in 1943, but near the end of the war, in *Ex parte Endo*, it forbade the internment of loyal Japanese American citizens.

**Women’s Contribution to the War Effort**

The need for women workers mushroomed when servicemen went to war. By 1945, more than 19 million women were employed. Thousands more served in the Women’s Auxiliary Air Corps and in naval, marine, and air corps auxiliaries. Although some men objected to their wives taking jobs, labor needs and employers’ eagerness to hire women prevailed—women could be paid less and were not subject to the draft.

Women took wartime jobs for the money, out of patriotism, and for the excitement and independence employment offered them. Women worked as riveters, cab drivers, welders, machine-tool operators, and in other occupations formerly the domain of men. They also faced the prejudices of many of the men they worked with.

The war also affected the lives of women who did not take jobs. Families moved to cites with war plants where housing was in short supply and crime and juvenile delinquency were problems. “War brides” also faced the problems of limited housing and day-care facilities, and
the loneliness created by their husbands being away. Hasty marriages helped increase the
divorce rate during the war.

**Allied Strategy: Europe First**

1942 was a good year for the Axis powers. Hitler’s armies, which had reached Moscow,
prepared for an assault on Stalingrad in 1942. German divisions under General Erwin Rommel
began a drive across North Africa to the Suez Canal. U-boats were taking a toll in the North
Atlantic, and Japan was overrunning the Far East.

Allied military strategists chose to concentrate first on Europe because Japan’s conquests were in
remote regions and because if the Soviet Union surrendered, Hitler, without an eastern front,
might find manpower enough to invade Britain. American and Soviet leaders wanted to open a
second front in France, but Churchill’s plan to first bomb German industry and drive the
Germans from North Africa prevailed.

In late 1942, an Allied army commanded by General Dwight D. Eisenhower struck at French
North Africa. The French Vichy commandant, a Nazi collaborationist, Admiral Jean Darlan,
switched sides when Eisenhower landed. The Allies defeated Rommel’s Afrika Korps by early
1943. Air attacks on Germany continued, and the Russians pushed the Germans back from
Stalingrad.

Meanwhile, the Allies invaded Sicily from Africa and proceeded to the Italian mainland. Despite
Mussolini’s fall from power, the campaign in Italy required months of fighting German armies
across the rugged Italian peninsula. Rome did not fall until June 1944. Though it weakened the
enemy, the difficult Italian campaign was discouraging to the Allies.

**Germany Overwhelmed**

The Allies landed along the coast of Normandy, France, on June 6, 1944 (D-Day), thereby
opening the second European front of the war, though much later than Stalin had hoped. This
liberation of France was a striking success. The American Third Army under General George S.
Patton moved from Brittany and then veered eastward toward Paris. By September the Allies
were fighting on the edge of Germany.

On December 16, the Nazis launched a counterattack, hoping to break through to Antwerp,
Belgium, and split the Allied armies in two. The Germans drove about 50 miles into Belgium,
but once the element of surprise had been overcome, their advance collapsed. This Battle of the
Bulge delayed Eisenhower’s offensive, but it exhausted Germany’s last reserves.

The Allies pressed to the Rhine, and thereafter, German cities fell almost daily. Americans then
overran Nazi concentration camps where some six million Jews had been slaughtered. Roosevelt
had not ordered the removal of refugees and refused to bomb the death camps, such as
Auschwitz in Poland, on grounds that the destruction of German soldiers and military equipment
took priority over any other objective. With Soviet shells reducing Germany to ruins, Hitler took
his own life. On May 8, 1945 (V-E Day), Germany surrendered.
The Naval War in the Pacific

The navy’s aircraft carriers had escaped destruction at Pearl Harbor. Without them, the Pacific war would have been different. Commanders soon discovered that carrier-based airplanes were more effective against warships than the heaviest naval artillery because of their greater range and concentrated firepower.

In the Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942, Japan tried to cut off Australia from American aid, and though Japan damaged the American carrier *Lexington* and sank two other ships, her troop transports were forced to turn back. Japan then proceeded to Midway Island, where control of the central Pacific was decided entirely by airpower. Americans destroyed four Japanese carriers and some 300 planes, but lost only the carrier *Yorktown* and a destroyer. The tide had turned, and the initiative in the Pacific war shifted to the Americans.

General Douglas MacArthur, America’s egocentric commander in the Philippines, had fought the Japanese at Manila in 1941 until Roosevelt had him evacuated to escape capture. Thereafter, MacArthur led an American army from New Guinea back to the Philippines. A second drive under Admiral Chester Nimitz was undertaken across the central Pacific toward Tokyo.

Island Hopping

America proceeded to push the Japanese from the Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands to protect Australia from attack. In August 1942, a series of land, sea, and air battles raged around Guadalcanal Island, and once again American air power was decisive. Meanwhile, Nimitz led the campaign to liberate the Gilbert, Marshall, and Mariana islands, where Japanese soldiers fought fiercely for every foot of ground. Resisting surrender, the Japanese had to be blasted and burned from tunnels, but in every case Nimitz’s forces prevailed. From Guam, land-based bombers were within range of Tokyo.

Meanwhile, MacArthur leapfrogged along the New Guinea coast toward the Philippines and landed on Leyte in the Philippines. There, U.S. naval forces destroyed Japan’s sea power and reduced its air force to a band of suicidal *kamikazes*. MacArthur liberated Manila in February 1945. Iwo Jima and Okinawa fell to the Americans in the summer of 1945, but Japan still showed no willingness to surrender.

Building the Atom Bomb

In 1944, Roosevelt was elected to a fourth term, easily defeating New York Republican Governor Thomas E. Dewey. The Democrats nominated Missouri Senator Harry S Truman for vice-president, rejecting the controversial incumbent, Henry Wallace. Then, when Roosevelt died of a cerebral hemorrhage in April 1945, Truman was thrust into the presidency.

Government-sponsored atomic research under the direction of J. Robert Oppenheimer had been underway since 1939. Some $2 billion was spent before a successful bomb was exploded at Alamogordo, New Mexico, on July 16, 1945. Truman believed that using the bomb would bring the war to an end and in the long run save both American and Japanese lives. He was also
influenced by a desire to end the Pacific war before the Soviet Union could intervene effectively and thus claim a role in the peace process.

On August 6, the superfortress *Enola Gay* dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima. When Japan still hesitated to surrender, a second bomb blasted Nagasaki three days later. Thus ended the greatest war of history. Close to 20 million soldiers had been killed, including nearly 300,000 Americans. American resources, human and material, had made victory possible.

Despite the destruction, the postwar years seemed promising because fascism had been vanquished, the communists promised cooperation in rebuilding Europe, and isolationism had vanished in America. The war had produced new technologies and new medicines, and introduced the power of the atom, which might free humanity from poverty and toil. Moreover, the great powers signed the United Nations charter, drafted at San Francisco in June 1945, to theoretically accomplish what the League of Nations could not.

**Wartime Diplomacy**

The media had downplayed differences between the United States and its Soviet ally during the war. Former Ambassador Joseph E. Davies even claimed that Stalin was committed to Jesus’ teachings on the “brotherhood of man,” and Wendell Willkie’s “One World” hailed the Russian people and their “effective society.”

At a conference in Yalta in 1945, the Americans, British, and Soviets agreed to meet to draft a charter for the United Nations. The locus of authority in the new organization lay in the eleven-member Security Council, on which would sit the great powers, any one of whom could block UN action through the power of the veto. The UN, which America joined in 1945, paid lip-service to the Wilsonian ideal, but it ironically incorporated most of the same limitations that Henry Cabot Lodge had proposed in his 1919 reservations to Article 10 of the League of Nations covenant.

**Allied Suspicion of Stalin**

Much of our understanding of postwar history depends on how one views the postwar Soviet Union. In one view, Americans felt compelled to halt the spread of communism out of fear that the Soviets were intent on world domination. An alternative view maintains that the Soviets, who endured unprovoked assault by the Nazis and suffered the greatest human and material losses of the war, sought to protect themselves against another possible invasion. Stalin never concealed his determination to have friendly governments on his borders.

Roosevelt admitted privately during the war that the Soviet Union would annex territory and possess preponderant power in Eastern Europe, but publicly he held out hope that the Soviets would permit the formation of free governments there.
**Yalta and Potsdam**

At the Yalta Conference, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to Soviet annexation of large sections of eastern Poland in exchange for the unfulfilled promise of free Polish elections. Roosevelt feared that Polish Americans would be furious if the Soviets took over their homeland. Shortly before his death, Roosevelt conceded that he could not “do business” with Stalin, who continued to hold Eastern Europe in his grasp.

In July 1945, President Truman met at Potsdam, Germany, with Stalin and Clement Attlee, who had succeeded Churchill. The Allies agreed to try the Nazi leaders as war criminals and approved the division of Germany and Berlin into four occupation zones held by the Americans, the French, the British, and the Soviets.

It took time for the American public to realize that the war had caused a fundamental change in international politics, relegating Britain and France to the status of second-class powers, while setting the Americans and Soviets at center stage. As “superpowers,” these two nations were destined to compete for power and influence in the coming decades.

**PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS**

*Identify the following:*

- “economic czar”
- payroll-deduction
- collaborationist
- “zoot suit”
- kamikazes
- island hopping

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Describe the following:

Ex parte Endo ________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
Afrika Korps _______________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
D-Day _________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
Battle of the Bulge _____________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
Iwo Jima _________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
Enola Gay _________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
Hiroshima _________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
Potsdam/Yalta Conferences _________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________

Identify the following:

James F. Byrnes _____________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
A. Philip Randolph __________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
Charles de Gaulle ___________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
Map Exercise

Refer to the Pacific map on the next page. Place the correct letter beside the choice that represents the location of the following:

1. Borneo  2. Celebes  3. Dutch East Indies
Refer to the European map below. Place the correct letter beside the choice that corresponds with the location of the following:

1. Belgium  
2. Berlin  
3. El Alamein  
4. Naples  
5. Netherlands  
6. Normandy  
7. Poland  
8. Rome  
9. Sicily  
10. Stalingrad  
11. Switzerland  
12. Vichy
Self-Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. When the commanders at Pearl Harbor were alerted against possible action by Japan, they
   A. prepared for a surprise aggressive move in any direction.
   B. failed to take action of any kind.
   C. attempted to move the Pacific fleet out of the harbor.
   D. took precautions against Japanese sabotage.

2. Roosevelt is most notable as a wartime leader for his
   A. careful protection of civil liberties during the wartime emergency.
   B. effective design of military strategy.
   C. skilled administration of the wartime economy.
   D. ability to inspire people for the war effort.

3. At the outset of World War II, President Roosevelt decided to do all of the following EXCEPT
   A. pay a large part of the cost of the war by collecting taxes.
   B. centralize authority in order to speed economic mobilization.
   C. regulate prices and wages.
   D. ration scarce raw materials and consumer goods.

4. Economic expansion associated with wartime mobilization was most evident in the
   A. Northeast.
   B. South.
   C. Northwest.
   D. Midwest.

5. Under President Roosevelt’s leadership, economic mobilization for World War II did all of the following EXCEPT
   A. keep wages and prices in a fair balance.
   B. add significantly to the strength of organized labor.
   C. adversely affect the standard of living of the average citizen.
   D. fail to affect a substantial shift in the distribution of wealth in the United States.

6. During World War II, 1941-1945, the _____ declined.
   A. marriage rate
   B. divorce rate
   C. unemployment rate
   D. birth rate

7. During World War II, all of the following were true of African Americans EXCEPT
   A. urban African Americans became more important politically.
   B. the armed services were desegregated.
   C. African American migration was from rural areas to cities.
   D. President Roosevelt prohibited discrimination against African Americans in industries with defense contracts.
8. The most glaring case of suppression of civil liberties during World War II was the
   A. imprisonment of alleged communist spies.
   B. internment of Japanese Americans.
   C. jailing of opponents of the draft law.
   D. deporting of Italian Americans.

9. A. Philip Randolph planned a march on Washington, D.C. to demand
   A. U.S. entry into World War II.
   B. release of all those interned in wartime work camps.
   C. equal opportunities for African American workers in defense plants.
   D. desegregation of public schools in the South.

10. Women who worked in wartime industry most often met prejudicial male attitudes from all
    the following EXCEPT
    A. unions.
    B. their husbands.
    C. the men they worked with.
    D. employers.

11. In planning war strategy, Winston Churchill differed with Roosevelt and Stalin over _____, but ultimately had his way.
    A. dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima
    B. opening a second front through Sicily and Italy before invading France
    C. “island hopping” in the Pacific
    D. adopting the “Europe first” strategy

12. In 1942, the major Allied offensive was
    A. on the Normandy coast.
    B. in North Africa.
    C. on the Italian peninsula.
    D. in the central Pacific.

13. When news of the Nazi death camps reached Roosevelt, he decided
    A. to bomb only the Auschwitz camp.
    B. to make no decision regarding the camps.
    C. to bomb the camps and the rail lines leading to them.
    D. not to bomb the camps or the rail lines leading to them.

14. The destruction of Japanese sea power in the Pacific was completed at the Battle of
    A. Leyte Gulf.
    B. the Coral Sea.
    C. the Bulge.
    D. Midway.
15. The capture of ____ Island was significant because from there, land-based bombers were within range of Tokyo.
   A. Wake
   B. Guam
   C. Midway
   D. Guadalcanal

16. The code name for the building of the atom bomb was
   A. Bhagavad Gita.
   B. D-Day.
   C. Blitzkreig.
   D. Manhattan Project.

17. President Truman’s decision to use the atomic bomb at Hiroshima was motivated by all of the following EXCEPT
   A. ending the war more quickly.
   B. strong public demand for using the bomb.
   C. keeping the Soviets from intervening in the Pacific war.
   D. hatred of the Japanese.

18. New technologies produced by World War II included all of the following EXCEPT
   A. penicillin.
   B. television.
   C. radar.
   D. atomic power.

19. As a member of the wartime Allies, Stalin resented
   A. the British-American delay in opening a second front in France.
   B. the British-American refusal to allow the Soviets to annex sections of eastern Poland.
   C. the American army’s decision to occupy Warsaw.
   D. President Truman’s decision to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima without first informing the Soviets.

20. At the postwar conference at Potsdam, the three leaders of the Allies agreed to all of the following EXCEPT to
   A. try the Nazi leaders as war criminals.
   B. monitor free elections in Poland.
   C. demand reparations from Germany.
   D. divide Germany into four zones occupied by the Allies.

**Essay Questions**

1. Show how the breakdown of diplomacy between the United States and Japan culminated in the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Explain why the United States was unprepared for this disaster.

2. Explain how World War II finally pulled America out of the depths of the Great Depression. Describe how the home front was mobilized.
3. Give specific examples of problems faced by minority groups during World War II.

4. Explain the importance of the Normandy invasion to the outcome of World War II.

5. Evaluate the strategic role of the atomic bomb in bringing a conclusion to World War II.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Students sometimes confuse the two world wars. Place a Roman numeral “I” beside each statement that refers to the Great War (World War I) and a “II” beside each statement that refers to World War II. Place the letter “B” beside each statement that refers to both wars. Place the letter “N” beside each statement that refers to neither war.

_____1. American battle losses were more severe numerically than those of the European allies.

_____2. Germany wound up on the losing side of the war.

_____3. Poison gas was used.

_____4. An international organization was proposed to establish permanent peace after the war.

_____5. The American president spoke of “peace without victory.”

_____6. America declared war only after an attack on her territory.

_____7. Italy switched sides during the war.

_____8. Mexico maintained neutrality in the war.

_____9. Switzerland maintained neutrality.

_____10. Japan switched sides during the war.

_____11. Spain remained neutral.

_____12. The French government at Vichy failed to obtain American and British recognition.


_____14. Japan was an enemy of China.

_____15. Enemy armies overran Sweden.
CHAPTER 29

The American Century

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. _____ Nearly all postwar leaders were worried by the possibility that the nation might return to economic depression at the end of World War II.</td>
<td>_____ 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. _____ The postwar Truman administration adopted a foreign policy committed to liberating peoples in Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe.</td>
<td>_____ 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. _____ In the Truman Doctrine, the United States, Canada, and several European nations agreed that an armed attack against any of them would be considered an attack against them all.</td>
<td>_____ 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. _____ President Truman fired General MacArthur from his command because MacArthur publicly insisted that the war in Korea was “the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy.”</td>
<td>_____ 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. _____ Former state department official Alger Hiss was exposed in the McCarthy hearings of using “the big lie” to protect himself against accusations of espionage.</td>
<td>_____ 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. _____ Dwight Eisenhower, the first Republican president in 20 years, used his office to repeal much of the New Deal’s social and economic legislation.</td>
<td>_____ 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. _____ President Eisenhower initiated desegregation of the armed forces and public schools, and he appointed a pro-civil rights majority to the Supreme Court.</td>
<td>_____ 7.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LEARNINGOBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 29 you should be able to:

1. Identify the impact of postwar economic conversion on government management of the economy, labor organizations, and the fortunes of the Democratic party.
2. Identify the major tenets of the containment doctrine and associate it with the conduct of United States foreign policy in the postwar years with Japan, China, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, Germany, the Middle East, and Cuba.

3. Explain the ramifications of the Korean War to American foreign and military policy.

4. Evaluate the anticommunist crusade of Senator Joseph McCarthy and its impact on civil liberties.

5. Explain how civil rights emerged in the political arena of the 1950s and 1960s.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The Postwar Economy

Nearly all American postwar leaders accepted the necessity of using federal authority and monetary and fiscal manipulations to stabilize the economy. Thus, President Truman slowly demobilized the armed forces in an attempt to prevent sudden economic dislocation. Most returning veterans found jobs because the war induced savings, and pent-up demand for consumer goods kept factories operating at capacity. Meanwhile, the GI Bill of Rights offered subsidies to veterans wishing to continue their education, start businesses, or purchase homes.

Cutting taxes and the removal of rationing and price controls caused a period of rapid inflation and labor unrest. The economic turmoil enabled the Republicans to gain control of Congress in 1946 for the first time in 16 years.

Over Truman’s veto, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act, outlawing the closed shop. More importantly, the law authorized the president to seek injunctions of up to 80 days to halt strikes that endangered the national interest. Taft-Hartley made it more difficult to unionize unorganized industries but did not hamper existing unions because it permitted union shop contracts.

The Containment Policy

The Soviet Union dominated Eastern Europe and seemed intent on extending its power into central Europe and the Far East. It was also fomenting trouble in oil-rich Iran. For many Americans, Stalin now evoked the image of Hitler—a cruel dictator who championed an ideology of world conquest. To halt naked Soviet aggression, state department analyst George F. Kennan proposed a policy of “containment” by which the United States would prevent communism from spreading beyond its 1947 boundaries. Just how and where containment should be applied, Kennan did not say.

The Atom Bomb: A “Winning” Weapon?

Stalin refused to be intimidated by America’s possession of the world’s only atom bombs. Espionage informants told him that the Red Army could survive the small arsenal of U.S. atomic weapons. Besides, the American people were uneasy about ever using the atom bomb again. American and Soviet attitudes contrasted on the question of nuclear weapons. The United Nations proposed outlawing such weapons under its supervision, but the Soviets refused to
permit UN inspectors into the Soviet Union and insisted that the United States immediately destroy its stockpile of bombs.

A Turning Point in Greece

Containment was tested in 1947 when communist guerrillas tried to overthrow the Greek monarchy. When Truman told Congress that if Greece and Turkey were lost to communists, all the Middle East might be lost, Congress appropriated $400 million under the Truman Doctrine to support anti-communists in Greece and Turkey with military and economic aid. The result was the establishment of a right-wing, military-dominated government in Greece.

The Marshall Plan and the Lesson of History

In 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall outlined a broad program to finance European economic recovery, which came to be known as the Marshall Plan. After communists staged a coup in Czechoslovakia in 1948, drawing another country behind the “Iron Curtain,” Congress appropriated over $13 billion to help restore the confidence of Europeans in their economic future. The results exceeded expectations; by 1951, Western Europe’s economy was booming. Meanwhile, a crisis over Berlin threatened the fragile peace. When the Western allies announced plans for creating an autonomous West German Republic, the Soviets shut off ground access to West Berlin. President Truman ordered the airlifting of food, fuel, and other goods to maintain West Berliners. After a year the Soviets lifted their blockade.

Dealing with Japan and China

Containment worked well in Europe, but in Asia it was more expensive, less effective, and harder to justify. As World War II ended, President Truman decided not to allow the Soviet Union any significant role in the occupation of Japan. The Japanese, under American guidance, showed remarkable adaptability amid military defeat, and accepted political and social changes that involved universal suffrage, parliamentary government, and deemphasized the emperor. Though Japan lost its empire, the nation emerged economically strong, politically stable, and firmly allied with the United States.

China, however, was the scene of a prolonged conflict between communist forces loyal to Mao Zedong and the anticommunist nationalists led by Chiang Kai-shek. Truman sent General Marshall to China to seek a settlement, but neither Mao nor Chiang would make concessions. After Marshall became secretary of state, civil war resumed in China.

The Election of 1948

The Republican congressional victory in 1946, coupled with defections within the Democratic party, gave the Republicans considerable hope of unseating Truman in 1948. When the Democratic party adopted a strong civil-rights plank, Senator Strom Thurmond led a walkout of southern conservatives and ran for president as the States’ Rights party nominee. Former Vice-President Henry Wallace, who claimed the containment policy was a threat to world peace, ran
as the nominee of a new Progressive party. The Republicans again nominated the overconfident New York Governor Thomas Dewey.

Truman’s campaign stirred millions of voters who supported the New Deal and admired the president’s underdog image. The success of the ongoing Berlin airlift also aided Truman in the election. Dewey’s lackluster campaign failed, and to the surprise of the pollsters and nearly everyone except himself, Truman prevailed. As Truman took office, he proposed the Fair Deal, an extension of New Deal programs. However, Congress merely extended social security benefits, increased the minimum wage, and approved a federal housing program.

**Containing Communism Abroad**

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was organized in 1949 in order to strengthen U.S. ties with the European democracies and to guarantee the collective security of its members. Disturbed by news that the Soviets had produced an atomic bomb, Truman called for development of a hydrogen bomb, whose mere existence would intimidate the nation’s enemies.

In Asia, communist armies of Mao Zedong drove the remnants of Chiang Kai-shek’s forces to the island of Taiwan. American conservatives cried that Truman had not backed the nationalists with enough vigor and had underestimated Mao’s commitment to world revolution. Truman ordered a thorough review of the containment policy that resulted in NSC-68, a secret document that called for a massive expansion of U.S. armed forces—sufficient to stop the spread of communism anywhere in the world—costing a 350-percent increase in the military budget.

**Hot War in Korea**

In early 1950, Secretary of State Dean Acheson failed to include Korea in what he described as the “defensive perimeter” of the United States in Asia. This encouraged the communist North Korean army to cross the thirty-eighth parallel and overrun South Korea.

With United Nations support but without a congressional declaration of war, Truman dispatched American troops to defend South Korea. Under the command of General MacArthur, UN forces fought successfully on two fronts near Pusan and Inchon. By October, MacArthur’s forces had driven the communists out of South Korea. The general then gained Truman’s permission to occupy North Korean as far north as the Yalu River, thereby risking Chinese intervention.

In November 1950, Chinese divisions smashed through MacArthur’s line, and his once-triumphant advance became a disorganized retreat. The UN army rallied south of the thirty-eighth parallel, and by the spring of 1951 the front had been stabilized. MacArthur then asked that he be allowed to bomb Chinese installations north of the Yalu, blockade the coast of China, and employ Chinese Nationalist troops in the war. When Truman rejected these proposals for fear that they might lead to a third world war, MacArthur appealed to the public and Congress. Truman dismissed MacArthur for insubordination.

The Korean War had exposed a basic psychological disadvantage of the containment policy: Its objective was not victory but balance, a monumentally frustrating aim. General Omar N. Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, however, explained that the showdown
MacArthur proposed “would involve us in the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy.” Armistice talks began in 1951 and dragged on for two years as thousands more died along the static battlefront. The war was unresolved when Truman left office.

The Communist Issue at Home

The Korean War highlighted the paradox that at the pinnacle of its power, the influence of the United States in world affairs was declining. Despite billions spent on armaments and foreign aid, national security seemed far from assured.

Furthermore, recurrent communist espionage convinced many that conspirators were undermining American security from within. Reacting to charges of being “soft on communism,” in 1947 Truman established the Loyalty Review Board. The Board discharged 2,700 government workers over a 10-year period for their alleged association with “totalitarian” or “subversive” organizations. Thousands more resigned.

In 1948, former *Time* magazine editor Whittaker Chambers, a former communist, charged that Alger Hiss, a former State Department official, had been a communist in the 1930s. Hiss denied the charge and sued Chambers for libel. Chambers produced microfilm that revealed that Hiss had copied classified documents for dispatch to Moscow. Hiss could not be indicted for espionage due to the statute of limitations; instead he was indicted for perjury, convicted, and given a five-year jail term. In another equally sensational incident, it was disclosed that three scientists, Klaus Fuchs of Britain and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg of the United States, had betrayed atomic secrets to the Soviets. The Rosenbergs were executed for treason in the summer of 1953.

McCarthyism

In 1950, Wisconsin Senator Joseph R. McCarthy pressed the communists-in-government issue to an extreme. McCarthy charged that the State Department was “infested” with Communists. The accusations, which were never proved, fed the worries of Americans who were fearful over Soviet power, the Korean War, the loss of the nuclear monopoly, and stories about spies.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

In 1952, the Republican party nominated Dwight Eisenhower for president. Eisenhower’s war record, his genial personality, and desire to avoid controversy proved appealing to voters. His campaign promise to “go to Korea” to end the war was a political masterstroke. The Democrats nominated the urbane, yet unpretentious Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois. Following a spirited “I Like Ike” campaign, Eisenhower scored an electoral landslide.

As president, Eisenhower scorned “creeping socialism,” called for more local control of government affairs, and promised to cut federal spending to balance the budget and reduce taxes. Despite his avowed fiscal beliefs, however, he was unwilling to repeal existing social and economic legislation or to reduce military expenditures, and he embraced a Keynesian approach
to economic problems by trying to halt downturns in the business cycle through government stimulation of the economy. He approved extension of social security benefits; creation of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and construction of an interstate highway system. He proved to be an excellent politician.

**The Eisenhower-Dulles Foreign Policy**

Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles embraced a “new look” in foreign affairs designed to steer clear of future involvement in such “local” conflicts as the Korean War. To Dulles, instead of waiting for communist powers to make a move and then reacting to contain them, a better United States policy would put more emphasis on nuclear bombs and less on conventional weapons.

Korea offered the first test of these views. Eisenhower kept his promise to go to Korea, but was not immediately successful. But within a few months, the Communists agreed to an armistice, perhaps influenced by a hint that the United States might use atomic weapons. Korea remained divided. A potential threat against Nationalist China’s islands of Quemoy and Matsu was averted when Eisenhower announced his willingness to use nuclear weapons in their defense. This threat that America’s enemies would face “massive retaliation” should they become aggressors helped shrink the military budget, but it made little sense when the Soviet Union possessed nuclear weapons as powerful as those of the United States.

**McCarthy Self-Destructs**

Senator McCarthy, meanwhile, continued to investigate communist infiltration and influence in the State Department’s overseas information programs. In 1954, McCarthy accused the army of trying to blackmail his committee, but the televised Army-McCarthy hearings disclosed no subversion and public opinion quickly turned against McCarthy. With President Eisenhower applying pressure behind the scenes, the Senate censured McCarthy in December 1954; his influence waned, and he died in 1957.

**Asian Policy After Korea**

In 1954, forces of the Vietnamese communist Ho Chi Minh besieged a French garrison at Dien Bien Phu in northern Vietnam. Facing heavy losses, France asked the United States to commit air power to the battle, but Eisenhower refused on grounds that a limited air strike in these circumstances would fail. France surrendered and joined Britain, Russia, and China in signing an agreement dividing Vietnam along the seventeenth parallel.

The northern sector became communist North Vietnam; the southern zone remained in the hands of the emperor, Bao Dai. Thereafter, the anticommunist Ngo Dinh Diem overthrew the emperor and became president of South Vietnam. The United States supplied his government liberally with aid. An election to settle the future of Vietnam scheduled for 1956 never occurred, and Vietnam remained divided.
Israel and the Middle East

American policy in the Middle East was influenced by that region’s huge oil resources and by the conflict between the newly created Jewish state (Israel) and its Arab neighbors. Arab countries vowed to destroy Israel, yet the outnumbered, but better organized and better armed Israelis easily drove out their foes, including one million Palestinian Arabs, and thereby created a refugee problem in nearby countries and incited renewed calls for a Palestinian state. President Truman immediately and consistently supported Israel.

President Eisenhower tried to ease Arab resentment against the United States by supporting the new Egyptian government of Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1956. America planned to lend Nasser money to build the Aswan High Dam on the Nile, but would not sell him arms. When Khrushchev agreed to an arms sale, Nasser allied Egypt with the Soviets, and Eisenhower withdrew the offer to finance the dam. In retaliation, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, an action that outraged the British and French, who tried to reclaim the canal by force. Israel also attacked Egypt. Khrushchev threatened to launch atomic missiles against France and Britain if they did not withdraw. Eisenhower also called upon Britain and France to pull out of Egypt. British Prime Minister Anthony Eden announced a cease-fire, Israel withdrew its troops, and the crisis subsided with Egypt keeping control of the canal.

The Soviets used the Suez crisis to recover the prestige they had lost as a result of their brutal suppression of the Hungarian revolt, which broke out a week before the Suez crisis. The Eisenhower Doctrine issued in 1957 declared that the United States was “prepared to use force” anywhere in the Middle East against “aggression from any country controlled by international communism”—a restatement of the containment policy.

Eisenhower and Khrushchev

After the death of Stalin in 1953, Nikita Khrushchev emerged as the new master of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev appealed to the anti-Western prejudices of new nations emerging from colonialism by offering them economic aid and pointing to Soviet achievements in science and technology. He claimed that the successful launch of the space satellite Sputnik in 1957 was proof that communism would “bury” the capitalist system. Eisenhower was alarmed by the success of the Soviet space program because it portended the obsolescence of America’s bomber defenses and the massive retaliation military strategy. Secretary of State Dulles resigned in April 1959, and Eisenhower assumed much of the responsibility for conducting diplomacy. The key to his approach was restraint; he avoided making new commitments.

In the summer of 1959, Vice-President Richard M. Nixon visited the Soviet Union. Later that year the Soviet premier toured the United States, and he and Eisenhower agreed to convene a summit conference. Days before the scheduled conference, an American U-2 reconnaissance plane was shot down by antiaircraft fire over the Soviet Union and its pilot was captured. When Eisenhower assumed responsibility for the espionage mission, Khrushchev accused the United States of “cowardly” aggression, and the summit conference was abruptly cancelled.
Latin America Aroused

The United States tended to neglect Latin America during the Cold War years and supported reactionary military regimes in the region. Resentment grew against the United States. In the spring of 1958, Vice-President Nixon made what was supposed to be a goodwill tour of Latin America, but in Lima, Peru, Nixon was mobbed and in Caracas, Venezuela, radical students pelted his limousine with eggs and stones.

A year later, a revolutionary movement headed by Fidel Castro overthrew the Cuban dictator, Fulgencio Batista, and Eisenhower recognized the new government. Castro soon proved to be a communist, however, and confiscated American property without providing compensation, suppressed civil liberties, and allied with the Soviet Union. Khrushchev vowed to defend the Castro regime with atomic weapons should the United States intervene. Shortly before he left office, Eisenhower broke diplomatic relations with Cuba.

The Politics of Civil Rights

African Americans, resentful of their continuing status as second-class citizens, grew more militant. Eisenhower completed the integration of the armed forces begun by Truman, but it was the Supreme Court that moved against school segregation. In the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka case the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren decreed “separate-but-equal” to be “inherently unequal.” The next year the Court ordered the states to proceed with school desegregation “with all deliberate speed.”

White citizens’ councils opposed to integration sprang up throughout the South, and President Eisenhower did little to discourage southern resistance to desegregation. However, in 1957, Eisenhower was compelled to dispatch paratroopers and summon National Guardsmen to federal duty in Little Rock, Arkansas, to enforce the desegregation of Central High School. Nine black students thereafter began to attend class, and soldiers were stationed at the school to protect them.

The Eisenhower Administration introduced, and Congress passed, the Civil Rights Act of 1957, authorizing the attorney general to stop election officials from interfering with blacks’ efforts to register to vote. The law also established a Civil Rights Commission with broad investigative powers and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.

The Election of 1960

Vice-President Nixon, the Republican presidential nominee in 1960, had skyrocketed to prominence by exploiting the public’s fear of communist subversion of the government. He sought the presidency on the strengths of the Eisenhower record. The Democrats nominated Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, with his convention rival, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, as his running mate. Kennedy had not been a particularly liberal congressman and had not been involved in the civil rights movement, but he had been an enthusiastic Cold Warrior and said he liked Joseph McCarthy. The son of a wealthy businessman, Kennedy was only the second Catholic to gain a major-party nomination for president. While a strength in eastern cities, Kennedy’s Catholicism weakened him in farm districts and in the West.
Kennedy exuded youth and vigor and promised to open a “New Frontier” for the country. A series of televised debates between the candidates helped turn the tide for Kennedy. Kennedy’s victory was a victory for minority groups (Jews, blacks, blue-collar “ethnics,” and Catholics) over the traditional white Protestant majority, which heavily preferred Nixon.

**PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS**

*Identify the following:*

- closed shop

- “cooling-off period”

- “massive retaliation”

- Iron Curtain

- “defensive perimeter”

- “big lie”

- “creeping socialism”

- summit conference

*Describe the following:*

- GI Bill of Rights
Truman Doctrine ____________________________

Marshall Plan ____________________________

NATO ____________________________

Sputnik ____________________________

17th Parallel ____________________________

38th Parallel ____________________________

SEATO ____________________________

Eisenhower Doctrine ____________________________

*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* ____________________________

*Identify the following:*

Chiang Kai-shek ____________________________

Mao Zedong ____________________________

J. Strom Thurmond ____________________________
Whittaker Chambers _______________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg __________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Adlai Stevenson, II ________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Francis Gary Powers _______________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

J. Robert Oppenheimer _____________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Earl Warren ______________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

MAP EXERCISE

Refer to the Middle Eastern map on the following page. Place the correct letter that corresponds with the location of the following:

_____ 19. Yemen  _____ 20. Turkey
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. As World War II ended, American leaders believed all of the following EXCEPT
   A. monetary and fiscal policies could minimize unemployment.
   B. government spending was not a proven way to stimulate the economy.
   C. federal authority was needed to stabilize the economy.
   D. the economy may slip back into depression.

2. The Taft-Hartley Act outlawed the
   A. open shop.
   B. closed shop.
   C. union shop.
   D. court injunction to break strikes.

3. At the end of World War II, nearly everyone wanted all of the following EXCEPT
   A. rapid demobilization of U.S. armed forces.
   B. immediate removal of wartime wage and price controls.
   C. cessation of federally funded farm subsidies.
   D. tax reduction.

4. The G.I. Bill of Rights
   A. paid a cash bonus to veterans upon their arrival from overseas.
   B. was generally ignored or underused by returning veterans.
   C. made federal subsidies available to veterans to continue their education.
   D. guaranteed each veteran a civilian job upon his leaving military service.
5. In his article, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” diplomat George Kennan
   A. explained his plan for how the United States could contain Soviet aggression.
   B. emphasized that the ideology of communism was the source of Soviet aggressiveness.
   C. argued in favor of firm and vigilant containment of Soviet aggression.
   D. identified the parts of the world where Soviet aggression needed to be contained.

6. Soon after World War II, the United States proposed all of the following EXCEPT
   A. UN supervision of all nuclear energy production.
   B. a plan for eventually outlawing all atomic weapons.
   C. inspection of any country to prevent it from making atomic weapons.
   D. U.S. unilateral reduction of its stockpile of atomic weapons.

7. The Truman Doctrine committed the United States to all of the following EXCEPT
   A. military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey.
   B. supporting free peoples who are resisting subjugation by internal armed minorities.
   C. financing the reconstruction of the West European economy.
   D. supporting free peoples who are resisting subjugation by outside pressures.

8. In 1948, the Soviet Union closed all rail, river, and highway access to Berlin from the west
   in retaliation against the Western nations’
   A. endorsement of the Truman Doctrine.
   B. organizing NATO.
   C. signing on to the Marshall Plan.
   D. plan to create a near autonomous West German Republic.

9. In the 1948 presidential election, President Truman ran against all of the following
   EXCEPT
   A. J. Strom Thurmond and the States’ Rights party.
   B. Adelai Stevenson and the National Union party.
   C. George Dewey and the Republican party.
   D. Henry A. Wallace and the Progressive party.

10. Congress enacted all the following parts of President Truman’s Fair Deal program
    EXCEPT
    A. a higher minimum wage.
    B. national health insurance.
    C. a federal housing program.
    D. increased social security benefits.

11. In 1950, a National Security Council secret report (NSC-68) argued in favor of all of the
    following EXCEPT
    A. a U.S. military alliance with South Korea.
    B. a massive expansion of the nation’s armed forces.
    C. a many-fold increase in military spending.
    D. making the containment policy applicable anywhere in the world.
12. France withdrew from Indochina after a military defeat at
   A. Ho Chi Minh.
   B. Dien Bien Phu.
   C. Ngo Dinh Diem.
   D. Vietminh.

13. When President Truman received news of North Korea’s invasion of South Korea, he did all of the following EXCEPT
   B. asked Congress for a declaration of war.
   C. sent planes to battle in Korea.
   D. ordered the adoption of NSC-68 when feasible.

14. During the Korean War, General MacArthur affected a brilliant amphibious maneuver at
   A. Pusan.
   B. the Yalu River.
   C. the 38th parallel.
   D. Inchon.

15. In 1950, former State Department official Alger Hiss was convicted of
   A. perjury.
   B. slander.
   C. espionage.
   D. libel.

16. Senator Joseph McCarthy
   A. never exposed a single spy or traitor.
   B. held hearings that revealed that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were communist spies.
   C. provided the information that convicted Alger Hiss.
   D. was censured by the Supreme Court.

17. As president, Dwight Eisenhower supported all of the following EXCEPT
   A. extension of Social Security to cover more people.
   B. creating the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
   C. federal aid to education.
   D. abolishing existing social and economic legislation of the New Deal.

18. President Eisenhower’s “new look” military policy was based on
   A. guerrilla warfare experts called “special forces.”
   B. massive new military spending.
   C. nuclear weapons and “massive retaliation.”
   D. replacing bomber defenses with rockets.

19. The Soviet Union’s launch of Sputnik into orbit in 1957 caused alarm in the Eisenhower Administration because
   A. it exposed the United States to nuclear blackmail by the Soviet Union.
   B. the successful launch demonstrated the technological superiority of the Soviets.
   C. it exposed a “missile gap” between the United States and the Soviet Union.
D. U.S. bomber defenses and the massive retaliation strategy were made obsolete.

20. All of the following are true of the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka EXCEPT
   A. it undermined the “separate but equal” doctrine.
   B. it ordered out the National Guard to enforce school desegregation in the South.
   C. it reversed Plessy v. Ferguson.
   D. it was based on a mass of sociological data.

Essay Questions

1. Explain how the Korean War became a key confrontation of the postwar period. Evaluate the military strategies of General MacArthur and Commander-in-chief Truman. Could the results concluded in the summer of 1953 have been obtained as early as the fall of 1950?

2. Evaluate the rise and fall of Senator Joseph McCarthy as a factor in domestic politics of the Cold War.

3. Compare and contrast the successes and shortcomings of Eisenhower’s foreign and domestic policies.

4. Explain how and why civil rights became a political issue by the middle 1950s.

5. Evaluate the election of 1960 in reference to parties, nominees, issues, political traditions, and long-range significance.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Though instructors rarely require students to recite dates of key events, time and sequence are important concepts in the effective learning of history. Arrange the events in each of these three sets in chronological order.

Set I.

_____1. Election of Truman
_____2. Truman fires MacArthur
_____3. McCarthy censure
_____4. Hiss conviction
_____5. Korean War settlement
Set II.

6. Eisenhower reelection
7. “Kitchen Debate”
8. Little Rock desegregation crisis
9. Launching of Sputnik
10. Hungarian crisis

Set III.

11. Election of Kennedy
12. U-2 spy incident
13. Johnson joins the Kennedy ticket
14. Fulgencio Batista toppled
15. Nixon’s goodwill tour of Latin America
CHAPTER 30

From Camelot to Watergate

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. _____ The American CIA trained the Cuban military forces which, with President Kennedy's approval, invaded the Bay of Pigs in 1961.</td>
<td>____ 1. The Cuban missile crisis ended when Premier Khrushchev was forced to back down and remove Soviet missiles from Cuba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. _____ The Cuban missile crisis ended when Premier Khrushchev was forced to back down and remove Soviet missiles from Cuba.</td>
<td>____ 2. President Kennedy, who had campaigned as a champion of civil rights for African Americans, aggressively pressured a reluctant Congress to pass a new Civil Rights bill.</td>
</tr>
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<td>3. _____ President Kennedy, who had campaigned as a champion of civil rights for African Americans, aggressively pressured a reluctant Congress to pass a new Civil Rights bill.</td>
<td>____ 3. As a result of the Tonkin Gulf incident, President Johnson asked for, and Congress passed, a declaration of war against North Vietnam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. _____ As a result of the Tonkin Gulf incident, President Johnson asked for, and Congress passed, a declaration of war against North Vietnam.</td>
<td>____ 4. The 1968 Tet offensive was a military victory for the United States, and a propaganda victory for the North Vietnamese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. _____ The 1968 Tet offensive was a military victory for the United States, and a propaganda victory for the North Vietnamese.</td>
<td>____ 5. In 1972, twenty-three years after their victory in a civil war, President Nixon finally extended formal U.S. diplomatic recognition to the Communist government in China.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. _____ In 1972, twenty-three years after their victory in a civil war, President Nixon finally extended formal U.S. diplomatic recognition to the Communist government in China.</td>
<td>____ 6. President Nixon was forced to resign when he refused to surrender White House tapes to the House Judiciary Committee that was investigating his presidency.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 30 you should be able to:

1. Show how the civil rights movement changed American life.
2. Discuss the American role in the Vietnam War and how the war contributed to domestic divisions.
3. Evaluate the successes and shortcomings of President Johnson’s Great Society social programs.
5. Explain how a “third-rate burglary” led to President Nixon’s resignation.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The Cuban Crises

As much a cold warrior as his predecessors, Kennedy proposed to challenge communist aggression whenever and wherever required. Anti-Castro exiles were eager to organize an invasion of their homeland, reasoning that the Cuban people would rise up against Castro and communism as soon as “democratic” forces provided the leadership. Under Eisenhower, the Central Intelligence Agency had begun training Cuban exiles in Nicaragua. In April 1961, Kennedy approved their invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. The expected popular support did not materialize, the exiles surrendered, and the chaotic failure exposed Kennedy and the United States to withering criticism.

Two months later, Kennedy met with Soviet Premier Khrushchev in Vienna. Furious over the attempted invasion of his Cuban ally, Khrushchev threatened to grab West Berlin. In August, he closed the border between East and West Berlin and erected a wall of concrete across the city to prevent East Germans from fleeing to the West. Meanwhile, the Soviets resumed nuclear testing, and Kennedy announced plans to build thousands of nuclear missiles capable of hitting targets anywhere in the world. The United States also expanded its space program, as Kennedy vowed to land a man on the moon within 10 years.

In secret, Kennedy ordered military leaders to plan for a full-scale invasion of Cuba and instructed the CIA to undertake Operation Mongoose, a failed effort to assassinate Castro. Then, Khrushchev precipitated the most dangerous confrontation of the Cold War when he moved tanks, bombers, Soviet troops and technicians, and guided nuclear missiles to Cuba. When American spy planes discovered the missile sites, Kennedy faced a dreadful decision. In the wake of the Bay of Pigs he could not appear to back down, and if he invaded Cuba or bombed Soviet bases and missile sites, Khrushchev might seize West Berlin or bomb the United States missile site in Turkey.

Kennedy declared the Soviet’s buildup “deliberately provocative” and ordered the Navy to turn back any vessel heading for Cuba that contained “offensive” weapons. He called on Khrushchev to dismantle the missile sites in Cuba, and threatened to use nuclear bombs on the Soviet Union if Cuban-based nuclear weapons attacked the United States. An impasse developed for days until Khrushchev agreed to withdraw the missiles in return for Kennedy’s lifting of the naval blockade. Kennedy also promised not to invade Cuba and to withdraw U.S. missiles from Turkey. To many, Kennedy’s handling of the crisis seemed to repair the damage done to his reputation at the Bay of Pigs.

The missile crisis sobered Kennedy and Khrushchev. They agreed to install a telephone “hot line” between the White House and the Kremlin, so that in future crises, leaders of the two nations could communicate instantly. They also signed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty that outlawed testing in the atmosphere. The failure of Khrushchev’s bluff proved so humiliating
within the Soviet Union that hardliners eventually forced him out of office. Leonid Brezhnev, his successor, embarked on an intensive program of long-range missile development.

**The Vietnam War**

After the French withdrew from Vietnam in 1954, South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem canceled the unification elections planned for 1956, and the Eisenhower administration dispatched weapons and military advisors to help Diem build a new nation. Ho Chi Minh, the nationalist leader of the communist Viet Minh, decided to ignore Diem and consolidate his rule in North Vietnam. The Viet Minh units that remained in the South—called the Vietcong—formed secret cells and bided their time. In May 1959, Ho attempted to topple Diem; Vietcong guerrillas infiltrated thousands of villages and assassinated government officials. By the time Kennedy took office, Diem’s government was tottering, so the new president sharply increased military and economic commitments to South Vietnam.

Diem’s government soon aroused the ire of the United States. Diem, a Catholic, cracked down on the Buddhists and had thousands arrested and shot. In protest, some Buddhist monks were martyred by setting themselves on fire in public. Unable to convince Diem to moderate his policies, Kennedy sent word to dissident Vietnamese generals of his willingness to support them if they ousted Diem. On November 1, 1963, several generals surrounded the presidential palace with troops and tanks, seized Diem and killed him. Kennedy immediately recognized the generals’ new government.

**“We Shall Overcome”: The Civil Rights Movement**

Since World War II, demand for change had developed in the South. Its roots lay in southern industrialization, the impact of massive wartime expenditures and the GI Bill in that region, and the gradual development of a southern middle class.

The change first came to national attention in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955 when an African-American seamstress, Rosa Parks, refused to yield her bus seat to a white passenger. Parks was arrested, and protesting African Americans successfully boycotted the city bus lines. At the forefront of the movement was African-American minister Martin Luther King, Jr., whose oratorical skills helped raise national attention and funds for the cause. In 1956, the Supreme Court ruled Montgomery’s bus segregation law unconstitutional. King formed the anti-segregationist Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Other organizations joined the struggle, notably the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Meanwhile in 1960, African-American students in Greensboro, North Carolina, staged a “sit-in” by refusing to leave the lunch counter of a Woolworth’s chain store until they were served. The students sparked a national movement of sit-ins. In May 1961, integrated civil rights foes of segregation organized a “freedom ride” across the South to test federal regulations prohibiting discrimination in interstate transportation. Other “freedom rides” followed, and the court cases they provoked eventually broke down legal racial barriers throughout the South. Some African Americans were less patient and followed the more militant message of black Muslim leaders
Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X. They stressed “black nationalism,” and called upon African Americans to be thrifty and industrious but to view whites with suspicion and hatred.

When he was jailed for leading demonstrations in Alabama, King outlined his policy of nonviolent protest in his “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” which explained why civil rights advocates could no longer wait for justice. At first, a cautious President Kennedy urged state officials to take the lead in enforcing desegregation. But the Birmingham encounter, which involved the use of police dogs, water hoses, and electric-prod sticks against demonstrators, prompted Kennedy to support a modest civil rights bill. To support the bill, civil rights forces organized a march on Washington, attended by some 200,000 in August 1963. There King delivered his “I Have a Dream” speech, which looked forward to a time when racial prejudice no longer existed.

**Tragedy in Dallas: JFK Assassinated**

In the fall of 1963, most observers believed that Kennedy could easily win a second term. Then, while on a political tour in Dallas on November 22, he was shot in the head by an assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, and died almost instantly. Before he could be tried, Oswald was himself murdered, in full view of television cameras. The fact that Oswald had defected to Russia in 1959 and had formed a pro-Castro movement when he returned to the United States convinced some that a conspiracy lay at the root of the assassination. An investigation headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren concluded that Oswald acted alone, but doubts persisted.

**Lyndon Baines Johnson**

Vice-President Lyndon Johnson succeeded Kennedy to the presidency. He could be heavy-handed or subtle, and also devious, domineering, persistent, or obliging, whatever might advance his political interest. Johnson modeled his political career after Franklin Roosevelt, and he considered social welfare legislation his specialty. Johnson sought to enact Kennedy’s unfinished domestic agenda that had been largely blocked in Congress by a loose coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats. In 1964, Congress passed Kennedy’s tax cut proposal and an expanded version of his civil rights proposal became the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

**The Great Society**

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination by employers against African Americans and women, broke down certain legal barriers to African Americans voting in the South, and outlawed most forms of segregation. Unlike his predecessors, Johnson also made sure that the government enforced civil rights legislation.

Noting the number of poor people in an otherwise affluent society, Johnson proposed a war on poverty to give poor people direct economic assistance and the opportunity to improve themselves. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 created the Job Corps and training programs for the unskilled. The programs combined the concept of government aid for the needy with the idea of individual accountability.
In 1964, Johnson won a term of his own by handily defeating conservative Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater. Goldwater had opposed expanded social programs and advocated a tough stance in foreign affairs. Johnson won a sweeping victory with the support of African Americans, business interests, labor, and other traditional Democratic groups. Soon Great Society measures were enacted on a scale reminiscent of the New Deal. The Medicare Act provided hospitalization insurance and doctor’s coverage for the retired. Medicaid provided for grants to the states to pay the medical expenses of poor people.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act supplied federal funds to school districts. Head Start, a program for poor preschoolers, was designed to prepare them for elementary school and became an unqualified success. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 authorized federal intervention to protect African-American registration and voting in local, state, and federal elections. Other laws passed at Johnson’s urging in 1965 and 1966 included the establishment of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities and measures supporting highway safety and beautification, crime control, clean air, slum clearance, and the preservation of historic sites. The Immigration Act of 1965 did away with most provisions of the national-origin system of admitting newcomers. Instead, 290,000 persons per year were to be admitted on the basis of such factors as job skills and the need for political asylum.

Results of the Great Society programs were mixed. Because local districts misused the funds, ESEA did not improve academic performance. Medicare and Medicaid provided good medical treatment, but led to large increases in healthcare costs. The Job Corps had little measurable effect on the unemployment rate.

Johnson Escalates the War

President Johnson greatly expanded the United States’ role in Vietnam. He decided to punish North Vietnam directly for prosecuting the war in the South. In early 1964, he secretly ordered American warships to escort the South Vietnamese navy on missions far into the Gulf of Tonkin. During one of these spy missions, North Vietnamese gunboats allegedly fired upon American destroyers. Using this “incident” as pretext, Johnson obtained a Gulf of Tonkin Resolution from Congress authorizing him to repel any future attacks. Under the same resolution, Johnson subsequently dispatched combat troops to South Vietnam, and directed air attacks against targets in North Vietnam.

President Johnson committed himself to pursuing the war to a military conclusion and believed that he was defending freedom and democracy. The new American strategy was not to seize any particular battlefield, but to kill as many of the enemy as possible through “search and destroy” operations. The United States was engaged in a full-scale war never declared by Congress.

Opposition to the War

The war sharply divided the American public. Some critics of the war, such as Arkansas Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, viewed the struggle as a civil war between the Vietcong and the South Vietnamese government, which they considered repressive and undemocratic. Opponents of the war also objected to massive aerial bombings, the
use of napalm and defoliants, the killing of Vietnamese civilians by American troops, and, above all, to the heavy loss of life—both American and Vietnamese.

The cost of the war came to exceed $20 billion a year. Because so many objected to the war, Johnson did not ask Congress to raise taxes to underwrite the costs. Resulting deficits forced the government to borrow huge sums, caused interest rates to soar, and pushed prices higher. As human and financial costs mounted, the United States seemed a captive of the “superpower mentality,” the arrogant belief that it was destined as a great power to act at any cost as a world policeman.

The Election of 1968

Opposition to Johnson’s war policies grew steadily, particularly on college campuses. Some students thought that the United States had no business intervening in an Asian civil war, others objected to being drafted, and still others opposed the use of education deferments for college students while non-students were subject to the draft.

In November 1967, Minnesota Senator Eugene J. McCarthy announced that he would challenge President Johnson’s renomination to put the Vietnam question before voters. Early in 1968, North Vietnam and the Vietcong launched the Tet offensive. Though the Communists suffered huge losses, the offensive had a devastating psychological impact in the United States, creating an enormous shift of opinion against further escalation of the fighting. When it was learned that Johnson planned to send more troops to South Vietnam, McCarthy polled a stunning 42 percent of the Democratic vote in the New Hampshire primary.

McCarthy’s strength prompted New York Senator Robert Kennedy, brother of the slain president, to enter the race. When Johnson removed himself from the race on March 31, Vice-President Humphrey, with the support of most party regulars, announced his candidacy. In the closely-watched California primary, Kennedy emerged with a small margin of victory, but he was assassinated by an Arab nationalist immediately after his victory speech. Kennedy’s death ensured Humphrey’s nomination.

The Republicans gave Richard Nixon a second presidential nomination. To appeal to the South, Nixon chose as his running mate Maryland Governor Spiro Theodore Agnew, who had criticized the activities of African-American radicals in Baltimore during rioting, which occurred in the aftermath of the King assassination. Many southerners, however, flocked to the candidacy of Alabama’s conservative Democratic Governor George C. Wallace on the American Independent party ticket. Wallace was anti-black and anti-intellectual, opposed forced desegregation of schools, and denounced the “coddling” of criminals.

Humphrey’s nomination came amid rioting by police and antiwar activists at the Democratic convention in Chicago. The violence played into the hands of Nixon, who, in making relatively few public appearances, relied on television interviews and taped commercials prepared by an advertising agency. Nixon pledged national unity, firm enforcement of the laws, and indicated without offering specifics that he would “end the war and win the peace” in Vietnam. Nixon won the election, but Democrats easily retained control of Congress.
**Nixon as President: “Vietnamizing” the War**

President Nixon proposed a phased withdrawal from Vietnam of all non-South Vietnamese troops, with internationally supervised elections to follow. North Vietnam rejected the plan and called on the United States to withdraw unconditionally. As the war dragged on, Nixon tried to build up the South Vietnamese forces so that the Americans could leave, a strategy called “Vietnamization.” These withdrawals did not quiet protestors, who declared “Vietnam Moratorium Days.” Vice-President Agnew verbally assailed the demonstrators and Nixon ignored them and appealed to the “silent majority” to support Vietnamization. Troop withdrawals continued in an orderly fashion and casualties declined. A new lottery system for drafting men for military service eliminated some inequities in the selective service law.

Meanwhile, it was learned that during the Tet offensive an American unit had massacred civilians, including women and children, in the Vietnamese hamlet of My Lai, a tragedy that accentuated debate over the purposes of the war and its corrosive effects on the soldiers. My Lai and the war continued to divide the public, and Nixon seemed uncertain as to the proper course to pursue. Facing a dilemma, he tried to convince the public that he was firmly in control of events, unwilling to admit his own uncertainty.

**The Cambodian “Incursion”**

In April 1970, a week after he announced that Vietnamization was proceeding well, Nixon ordered thousands of troops to destroy communist “sanctuaries” in neutral Cambodia. He also resumed bombing targets in North Vietnam. Nixon’s critics charged that these decisions to resume escalation of the war were so unwise that they questioned if the president had become mentally unbalanced.

Thousands of students opposed the Cambodian incursion. At Kent State University, National Guardsmen, who were poorly trained in crowd control, suddenly opened fire on student protesters, and four students were killed. In Mississippi, state policemen killed two African-American students at Jackson State University. A wave of student strikes followed, and hundreds of colleges were shut down. The condemnation of the invasion led Nixon to remove ground forces from Cambodia, but he escalated the air attacks. In March 1972, Nixon ordered heavy bombing when North Vietnam mounted assaults throughout South Vietnam, and he authorized the mining of Haiphong and other northern ports to stop supplies from reaching the communists.

**Détente with Communism**

As the war continued, Nixon and National Security Advisor Henry A. Kissinger drafted new diplomatic strategies toward China and the Soviet Union. In February 1972, Nixon and Kissinger flew to Beijing, where the United States agreed to support the admission of China to the United Nations and to develop economic and cultural exchanges. The visit ended 20 years of American refusal to acknowledge the communist conquest of China.

In May 1972, Nixon and Kissinger flew to Moscow, where the United States agreed to the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, and Nixon also permitted massive grain sales to the Soviets. Nixon and Kissinger called the new policy détente, a French word meaning “relaxation of
tensions.” Shortly before the 1972 presidential election Kissinger announced peace to be “at hand” in Vietnam.

**Nixon in Triumph**

President Nixon defeated South Dakota Senator George McGovern in a landslide in the 1972 presidential election. The coalition that Franklin Roosevelt had assembled came unglued, as only African Americans voted solidly for McGovern. Nixon interpreted his reelection as a mandate because he secured the votes of millions of traditional Democrats. Moreover, his “southern strategy” shattered precedent by bringing the entire former Confederacy into the Republican column.

In January 1973, a settlement was signed in Vietnam, and the last troops and prisoners of war began returning to the United States. Still, the North Vietnamese retained control of large sections of the south. Nixon secretly pledged to South Vietnam President Nguyen Van Thieu that the United States would “respond with full force” if North Vietnam resumed its offensive. More than 57,000 Americans had died in the long war, which cost $150 billion. Nearly a million communists and 185,000 South Vietnamese soldiers were reported killed.

**Domestic Policy Under Nixon**

Nixon inherited an inflationary economy caused primarily by the military expenditures and easy-money policies of the Johnson administration. He balanced the 1969 budget and the Federal Reserve Board forced up interest rates to slow the expansion of the money supply. But prices continued to rise, and unions made large wage demands. In 1971, Nixon implemented a 90-day price and wage freeze. He then established a commission to limit wage and price increases when the freeze ended. These controls did not check inflation completely and angered unions, but they did slow the upward spiral.

In other domestic matters, Nixon proposed a “minimum income” for poor families, a plan which got nowhere among conservatives in Congress. He sought to shore up southern support for the Republican party with the appointment of conservative “strict constructionists” to the Supreme Court.

Nixon offered proposals to strengthen the presidency and reduce the interference of the federal government in the affairs of individuals. In 1973, he replaced wage and price controls with voluntary restraints. Prices thereafter soared. Nixon limited federal expenditures, halted social welfare programs, reduced grants, and impounded (refused to spend) money appropriated by Congress for purposes he opposed. Nixon’s staff claimed “executive privilege,” a doctrine never before applied so broadly, when challenged about administration actions.

**The Watergate Break-in**

On June 17, 1972, five men affiliated with the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP) broke into the Democratic headquarters in the Watergate complex of apartments and offices in Washington, D.C. The burglars were part of an unofficial surveillance group known as “the
plumbers,” which was established to halt leaks to the press. Nixon denied that he or his party was behind this incident and the matter had no impact on the 1972 election.

One burglar, James W. McCord, wrote Judge John Sirica that high officials had known about the burglary in advance and had paid the defendants “hush money” to keep their connection secret. The head of CREEP, Jeb Stuart Magruder, and Nixon’s counsel, John W. Dean III, confirmed McCord’s charges. Dean claimed in testimony before a special 1973 Senate Watergate committee that Nixon participated in efforts to cover up the break-in. The committee uncovered other damaging disclosures of illegalities and financial improprieties.

Many found it difficult to believe that a president could lie to the entire country, but the disclosure that Nixon’s office conversations and telephone calls had been taped prompted the Senate committee to demand access to the tapes to determine the extent of Nixon’s involvement. As Nixon’s poll standings declined, he named an independent special prosecutor to investigate Watergate. When the prosecutor, Archibald Cox, sought access to White House tapes, Nixon ordered his dismissal in what was called the “Saturday Night Massacre” of October 20, 1973. Cox’s dismissal caused an outburst of public indignation and prompted the House Judiciary Committee to consider impeachment of Nixon.

Nixon then named a new special prosecutor and promised him access to pertinent documents. Nixon surrendered tapes to Judge Sirica with the understanding that the evidence would be presented to the grand jury, not the public. Some tapes were missing, and an important section of one had been erased.

More Troubles for Nixon

Along with the Watergate affair, other morale-shattering crises developed. The nation faced a serious grain shortage, which caused wheat prices to more than triple. Then Vice-President Agnew resigned after pleading no contest to evading taxes on bribes received while he was the executive of Baltimore County and governor of Maryland. Acting under the six-year-old Twenty-fifth Amendment, Nixon nominated House Republican Leader Gerald Ford of Michigan to succeed Agnew.

After Agnew’s exodus, it was disclosed that Nixon had paid only about $1,600 in income taxes during two years in which his earnings had exceeded half a million dollars. Nixon claimed that his returns had been legal because he had taken a deduction for the gift of his vice-presidential papers to the National Archives. The tax dispute further eroded Nixon’s reputation.

The Judgment on Watergate: “Expletive Deleted”

Special prosecutor Leon Jaworski continued the investigation of Watergate. In March 1974, a grand jury indicted the highest ranking members of the president’s staff and named Nixon an “unindicted co-conspirator.” Meanwhile, the IRS announced that Nixon’s deductions on his income taxes had been unjustified, and he agreed to pay nearly half a million dollars in taxes and interest.
Transcripts of the Nixon tapes convinced the public that Nixon had abused his office. When Jaworski subpoenaed additional tapes in search of more decisive evidence, Nixon refused to obey the subpoena. In *United States v. Nixon* the Supreme Court forbade Nixon use of executive privilege for purposes of withholding evidence “demonstrably relevant in a criminal trial.” Faced with likely impeachment and conviction, Nixon complied with the subpoena.

In the summer of 1974, the House Judiciary Committee adopted three articles of impeachment against Nixon. They charged the president with obstructing justice, misusing the powers of his office, and failing to obey the committee’s subpoenas. Nixon at first refused to resign, for he expected to hold the support of at least 34 senators needed to escape any conviction of impeachment that might be voted on by the full House. On August 5, however, a “smoking gun” tape revealed that Nixon had tried to obstruct justice by engaging the CIA to persuade the FBI not to follow up leads about Watergate on grounds of national security. With that disclosure, Nixon’s remaining congressional support crumbled. Impeachment by the House and conviction by the Senate seemed certain.

**The Meaning of Watergate**

Nixon resigned on August 8, 1974; Vice-President Ford was sworn in as his successor at noon the next day. Within weeks of taking office, Ford pardoned Nixon for whatever crimes he may have committed in office. To many, the pardon seemed premature because Nixon had not been officially charged with any crime. In fact, he seemed without remorse and unaware of his transgressions. Some question whether Nixon could have permanently altered the political system had he weathered Watergate. His exaggerated view of executive privilege may have reflected his need for reassurance that he was an effective leader.

**PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS**

*Define the following:*

“sit-in” ____________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________

freedom rides ______________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________

“search and destroy” ________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________

impoundment _______________________________________________________
executive privilege ____________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

“the best and the brightest” ____________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

“expletive deleted” ____________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Describe the following:

Vietcong ____________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Warren Commission ____________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Montgomery bus boycott ____________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

“Letter from Birmingham Jail” ____________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Job Corps ____________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Head Start ____________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

SALT I ____________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

CREEP ____________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Medicare/Medicaid ____________________________

______________________________________________________________________________
Operation Mongoose ________________________________

Minutemen ________________________________

“I Have a Dream” ________________________________

Identify the following:

Robert S. McNamara ________________________________

Lee Harvey Oswald ________________________________

Malcolm X ________________________________

Barry M. Goldwater ________________________________

Eugene McCarthy ________________________________

Robert F. Kennedy ________________________________

Hubert H. Humphrey ________________________________

George C. Wallace ________________________________

George Ball ________________________________
MAP EXERCISE

Refer to the Southeast Asian map below. Place the correct letter that corresponds with the location of the following:

1. Bangkok
2. Burma
3. Cambodia
4. China
5. Haiphong
6. Hanoi
7. Hue
8. Laos
9. Mekong River
10. My Lai
11. North Vietnam
12. Phnom Penh
13. Saigon
14. South Vietnam
15. Thailand
16. Vientiane
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. President Kennedy was stung early in his administration by a failed U.S. foreign policy venture
   A. at My Lai.
   B. at the Bay of Pigs.
   C. in the Gulf of Tonkin.
   D. in Operation Mongoose.

2. In 1962, Premier Khrushchev precipitated the most dangerous confrontation of the Cold War when he
   A. erected a concrete wall between East and West Berlin.
   B. unilaterally ordered the resumption of the Soviet nuclear testing program.
   C. secretly placed guided nuclear missiles into Cuba.
   D. refused to allow Richard Nixon to visit the Soviet Union.

3. Pressure for change in the postwar South came from all of the following EXCEPT
   A. the vast wartime expenditures by the federal government for bases and defense industries in the South.
   B. presidential pressure on southern politicians to modernize the South.
   C. the development of an African-American middle class in southern cities.
   D. the impact of the GI Bill on southern colleges.

4. In the 1950s, southern civil rights activists used all the following tactics EXCEPT
   A. boycotts.
   B. sit-ins.
   C. riots.
   D. freedom rides.

5. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his famous “I Have a Dream” speech in Washington, D.C. in 1963 to support
   A. the Montgomery bus boycott.
   B. civil rights demonstrators jailed in Birmingham.
   C. the Supreme Court’s decision in Brown v. Board of Education.
   D. President Kennedy’s civil rights bill.

6. Which one of the following is NOT true of the 1964 Civil Rights Act?
   A. Like its many predecessors, it lacked enforcement authority.
   B. It outlawed discrimination by employers against African Americans.
   C. It outlawed discrimination by employers against women.
   D. It prohibited racial segregation in most places of public accommodation.

7. All of the following were social programs initiated by President Johnson EXCEPT
   A. the War on Poverty.
   B. the Job Corps.
   C. Head Start.
   D. the Peace Corps.
8. President Johnson’s Great Society programs included all of the following legislation EXCEPT the
   A. Clean Air Act.
   B. Medicare Act.
   C. Voting Rights Act.

9. President Johnson’s Great Society programs
   A. helped poor people get better-paying jobs.
   B. lowered the cost of medical care.
   C. significantly improved most secondary school students’ performance.
   D. better prepared preschool children for elementary school.

10. In July 1965, just before he escalated U.S. military involvement in Vietnam, one of President Johnson’s advisors told him that the U.S. could not win in Vietnam and that the U.S. should withdraw, even if that meant South Vietnam would fall to the communists. That advisor was
   A. Robert McNamara.
   B. McGeorge Bundy.
   C. George Ball.
   D. Henry Kissinger.

11. Match the president with the connection his administration had to Vietnam.
   A. Truman 1. aid to the French in postwar Indochina
   B. Kennedy 2. military advisors and support for the generals who overthrew Diem
   C. Johnson 3. military and economic aid to the Diem government
   D. Eisenhower 4. first to send combat troops to South Vietnam and bombers to North Vietnam
   A. A1, B2, C3, D4
   B. A2, B3, C4, D1
   C. A3, B4, C1, D2
   D. A1, B2, C4, D3

12. Vietnam war opponents opposed the war for all of the following reasons EXCEPT
   A. it was a civil war in which the United States should not be meddling.
   B. its expense was driving up taxes.
   C. it was producing an unconscionably heavy loss of life.
   D. the military draft was interfering in the plans of young men.

13. The Tet offensive was a
   A. military victory for the United States, and a psychological victory for the Vietcong.
   B. military victory for the Vietcong, and a psychological victory for the United States.
   C. military and psychological victory for the United States.
   D. military and psychological victory for the Vietcong.
14. In the political fallout after the Tet offensive, _____ announced he was a candidate for president.
   A. Robert F. Kennedy
   B. Eugene McCarthy
   C. Richard Nixon
   D. Barry Goldwater

15. In the 1968 election, Democrats won all of the following EXCEPT
   A. control of Congress.
   B. a majority of the popular vote, but not the electoral college.
   C. African-American voters.
   D. support from the urban poor.

16. Upon becoming president in 1969, Richard Nixon saw his chief task was to
   B. control inflation.
   C. reduce the authority of the federal government.
   D. restore dignity to the office of the president.

17. “Vietnamization” refers to
   A. calls for an American military victory in the war.
   B. encroachment of the communists into South Vietnam.
   C. what happened to U.S. troops during their tour of duty in Vietnam.
   D. Nixon’s plan for the gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

18. President Nixon’s policy of détente meant all of the following EXCEPT
   A. U.S. exports to China would increase dramatically.
   B. the Soviet Union and the United States would conclude a strategic arms agreement.
   C. the United States would support China’s admission into the United Nations.
   D. the Soviet Union and China would mediate an end to the Vietnam war.

19. The peace settlement between the United States and North Vietnam included all of the following EXCEPT
   A. withdrawal of all U.S. forces from South Vietnam.
   B. prompt return of all U.S. prisoners of war.
   C. withdrawal of all North Vietnamese forces from South Vietnam.
   D. an immediate ceasefire.

20. In the Watergate crisis, the House Judiciary Committee drew up three charges of impeachment against President Nixon. They included all of the following EXCEPT
   A. obstruction of justice.
   B. misuse of the powers of the office.
   C. income tax evasion.
   D. failure to obey the committee’s subpoenas.
Essay Questions

1. Discuss the key election of 1968 in reference to parties, primaries, nominees, strategies, tactics, issues, outcome, and long-range significance.

2. Evaluate President Johnson’s and Nixon’s Vietnam policies and show how they immersed the United States in the war in Vietnam and eventually led to the removal of American forces from Southeast Asia.

3. Explain how the reality of the Kennedy administration was often at odds with the image of Camelot.

4. Show how the Watergate affair forced Richard Nixon from office and diminished his standing in history.

5. Discuss the promises, shortcomings, and long-term significance of President Johnson’s Great Society.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

The terms “liberal” and “conservative” are used in history and political science to refer to opposite shades of opinion on the issues. Identify each of the following points of view, referring to issues between 1963 and 1974, as “L” for liberal, or “C” for conservative.

__1. Considered the limited use of atomic weapons in Vietnam but insisted such weapons would not be needed if the nation were fully committed to a military victory

__2. Placed faith in the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty

__3. Opposed Nixon’s wage and price guidelines on principle as well as practicality

__4. Stressed personal responsibility in formulating social programs to assist the poor

__5. Felt that many poor persons lacked motivation and had become alienated from society because of their own shortcomings, not the lack of opportunity

__6. Urged an emphasis on “butter” over “guns” in the allocation of national resources

__7. Considered a “minimum income” for the poor to be an unwise repudiation of supply and demand.

__8. Stressed desegregation of public schools more than integration

__9. Was partial to Nixon-Kissinger détente

__10. Endorsed George McGovern’s plan to funnel money directly to the poor

__11. Backed the appointment of “strict constructionists” to the Supreme Court
12. Believed that the United States was not exerting sufficient military might in Vietnam.

13. Felt that a nation as affluent as the United States could handily fund “Great Society” programs for the downtrodden.

14. Receptive to some arguments raised by Wallace though he may have voted for Nixon.

15. Repudiated suggestions that the Clean Air Act of 1965 would cost jobs in certain vital industries without bringing much improvement in the environment.

16. Believed that the Viet Cong were “nationalists” who wanted a better life and independence for South Vietnam.

17. Denounced the bombing of civilian targets in Vietnam.

18. Emphasized that Mao Zedong was responsible for the deaths of 30 to 60 million people.

19. Initially regarded Fidel Castro too undisciplined and too unpredictable to be a member of the Communist party.

20. Believed that the media misled the public about the military progress made by United States troops in Vietnam.
CHAPTER 31

*Society in Flux*

**ANTICIPATION/REACTION**

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from Anticipation to Reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. _____ In the United States in the 1950s, more people were well educated in religious doctrine than at any other time in the twentieth century.</td>
<td>_____ 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. _____ Norman Mailer was perhaps the most popular American writer in the 1950s, and the particular favorite of college students.</td>
<td>_____ 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. _____ Post-World War II technological advances created some problems for the United States, but the problems were trivial when compared to the great benefits technology produced.</td>
<td>_____ 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. _____ In the 1960s, African American militants used violence primarily to force a change in white racial attitudes and in U.S. government policies.</td>
<td>_____ 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. _____ Student protests in the 1960s emphasized local and campus problems and failed to focus attention on genuine social and political weaknesses in the United States.</td>
<td>_____ 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. _____ “Hippies” and student radicals shared political and social opinions, but they differed on what they proposed to do about them.</td>
<td>_____ 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. _____ The women’s rights movement that emerged in the 1960s stressed the supposed greater purity and higher moral character of women as compared to men.</td>
<td>_____ 7.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

*After reading Chapter 31 you should be able to:*

1. Evaluate the impact of religion on mid-twentieth century American life.
2. Analyze the racial turmoil of the 1950s-1970s and show how the ways African Americans pursued civil rights were similar to and different from other minorities who sought redress of their grievances.
3. Evaluate educational developments of the postwar years and explain the rationale of the student revolt.
4. What did the student revolt and the counterculture of the 1960s have in common? How were they different?
5. Explain the appearance of the sexual revolution in the 1960s and the identify the connection(s) between that revolution and the rise of a new women’s liberation movement.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

A Society on the Move

Advances in transportation and communication help explain postwar social change in the United States. Americans always appeared to be moving. Postwar Americans owned more powerful and more comfortable automobiles, and gasoline consumption set new records. The interstate highway system, begun in 1956, was a stimulus to mobility. It also shifted population away from the inner cities to the new suburbs, and, while safer than the old roads, the interstates often had an adverse environmental impact. Also, the increase in automobiles produced an upsurge in traffic fatalities. Another milestone in transportation was reached when commercial air service (which began in the 1930s) came of age in 1958 when the Seattle-built Boeing 707 jetliner launched service.

The Advent of Television

By 1961 some 55 million television sets were in operation. A few years later, government and commercial satellites were relaying instant pictures from one continent to another. Television became the prime medium for advertising and news broadcasts. Its coverage of the Kennedy assassination made history come alive for tens of millions. Though some excellent programs were aired, Newton Minow of the Federal Communications Commission called the programming offered by most stations “a vast wasteland.” In time, television became the chief means by which politicians communicate with voters. In the 1980s and 1990s, the growth of cable companies and the explosion of new specialized channels modified the importance of the three major television networks. The introduction of the video cassette recorder (VCR) further increased the utility of television sets.

At Home and Work

With the marriage and birth rate soaring and the divorce rate falling, the family again became the focus of a wholesome personal life in the postwar years. Child rearing experts insisted that raising healthy children called for professional skills and loving but not overly permissive parents.
The material progress of this era encouraged people to be conformists for the sake of their families and employers. Many college-educated women sacrificed plans for a professional career to concentrate instead on home management and child development. Men’s chief responsibility was to earn enough to support the family. Work was readily available, but the character of work was changing, becoming more clerical and more bureaucratic. The need to subordinate one’s personal interests to the requirements of corporate employers was described by contemporary sociologists and novelists. Blue-collar workers did not much differ from the middle class in their attitudes toward marriage, child rearing, and work.

Family life in the new suburbs functioned as havens for work-weary men. Federal income-tax deductions encouraged taxpayers to have children and to borrow money to purchase houses and furniture.

The Growing Middle Class

The percentage of American families with middle-class incomes grew rapidly during the postwar years, and the percentage of immigrants in the population declined to less than five percent. These trends contributed to social and cultural uniformity. The incomes of industrial workers rose, and they enjoyed more fringe benefits such as paid vacation time, medical insurance, and pensions. Blue-collar workers steadily climbed into the ranks of the middle class, moved to suburbs, and became more conservative.

Religion in Changing Times

Though traditionally concerned with eternal values, organized religion was influenced by the social, cultural, and economic developments of the postwar years. Immediately after World War II, the Catholic Church and Protestant churches built hundreds of new churches and schools for thousands of new members. Surveys showed that nearly all Americans believed in God, but many were ignorant of religious history and doctrine. The New Deal had placed upon government a large share of the burden for charity previously borne by churches. The expansion of higher education under the GI Bill introduced young adults to new ideas and made them more tolerant of the religious beliefs of others.

Some churches became involved in the civil rights movement and the antiwar demonstrations of the 1950s, 60s, and 70s. The sweeping social changes of those decades had religious ramifications, as feminists demanded ordination of female ministers and priests. Scientific and technological developments, especially television, also affected both religious values and the way people worshiped. In addition, “Creation theory” and medical advances had direct effects on organized religion.

Literature and Art

Leading books based on military experience in World War II included Norman Mailer’s *The Naked and the Dead* and James Jones’ *From Here to Eternity*. Jack Kerouac’s *On the Road*, typical of the new “beat” school of literature, was obsessed with violence, perversion, and madness. Popular novels among self-absorbed college students were J. D. Salinger’s *The
Catcher in the Rye and Joseph Heller’s Catch-22, an indignant denunciation of warfare. John Updike’s Rabbit tetralogy expressed the postwar’s idealization of adolescence and fear of the responsibilities of adulthood. Despite the appeal of television, sales of books increased, partly the result of the cheapness, portability, and availability of paperbacks.

Postwar artists like Jackson Pollock led the subjective school of abstract expressionism, which stressed the “unconscious” in art. Andy Warhol and Roy Lichtenstein created “op art” and “pop art,” often satirical portraits of mundane objects such as flags, comic strips, soup cans, and packing cases.

The Perils of Progress

By the 1960s the nation seemed to face two dilemmas. One was that progress was sometimes self-defeating. Products such as DDT, which killed insects, had an adverse impact on birds, fish, and people. Goods manufactured to make life happier produced waste that polluted the land, air, and water. Parents who tried to transmit the accumulated wisdom of the years to their offspring found that it had little application to their children’s problems. The second dilemma was that the modern industrial society placed a premium on social cooperation and undermined the individual’s sense of essence. Individuals had an increasingly difficult time feeling they could make a difference. These dilemmas produced a paradox. Though the United States was the world’s richest and most powerful nation, it seemed unable to mobilize its resources to confront challenges. No real consensus emerged as society remained fragmented and individuals remained uncertain and insecure.

The Costs of Prosperity

The gross national product surpassed $1 trillion in the postwar period, but inflation put workers under pressure to constantly demand raises, which further drove up prices. Technological improvements proved to be a mixed blessing. Such new industries as plastics increased the volume of trash. In the 1950s, scientists began manufacturing electricity from nuclear fuels, but that created the danger of radiation. Computers revolutionized the collection and storage of records, but displaced clerks and workers. Petroleum needed for fuel released pollutants into the air and made the nation vulnerable to shortages. Fertilizers increased food production, but washed into streams and destroyed aquatic life. Technology increased the capacity of the earth to support people, but as production and consumption increased, so did the exhaustion of raw materials. The material benefits of technology had troubling secondary effects.

New Racial Turmoil

To the disappointment of President Johnson and its supporters, Great Society programs did not produce the racial peace and social harmony that was expected. Malcolm X left the Black Muslims and stressed black self-help and militant defense of black rights, yet was making a speech for racial harmony when he was assassinated in 1965. Martin Luther King, Jr. became more aggressive. Some disenchanted blacks, such as Stokely Carmichael of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, adopted the slogan “Black Power” and refused to cooperate with whites in the civil rights movement. Groups like the Black Panthers collected
weapons to resist police. In 1965, black anger engulfed Watts, Los Angeles, in riot, and similar outbursts occurred in scores of other cities over the next two summers.

In April 1968, when King was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee, blacks in more than a hundred cities began burning and looting. A commission headed by Illinois Democratic Governor Otto Kerner, blamed “white racism” for having deprived blacks of jobs, crowded them into slums, and eroded their hopes of success. To escape urban tensions, millions of middle-class whites moved to the suburbs or called on police to “maintain law and order.” The riots tended to polarize society along racial lines. The Black Panther party called for the resegregation of schools and public compensation for past injustices to blacks. Middle-class whites were infuriated by the seeming favoritism of government affirmative action, and school busing programs. Black radicalism caused a “white backlash.”

Native-Born Ethnics

As blacks struggled for equality, so did millions of Mexican Americans in the Southwest. During and just after World War II, federal legislation encouraged the importation of braceros, temporary farm workers from Mexico. Moreover, other Mexicans and other Spanish-speaking peoples called mojados (“wetbacks”) entered the country illegally across the Rio Grande and settled with other Hispanics in urban slums called barrios. There, low-paying but steady work could be found and they remained apolitical. In the 1960s, Spanish-speaking “Chicanos” emerged to demand political, social, economic, and educational improvements. In 1965, Chicano leader Cesar Chavez, the organizer of migrant farm workers, launched a boycott of grapes, which attracted the estimated support of 17 million people.

Meanwhile, the American Indian Movement (AIM) sought self-determination, the return of lands taken from their ancestors, and the revival of tribal culture. In 1973, radicals occupied the town of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, site of an 1890 Sioux massacre, and held it at gunpoint for weeks. In 1975 Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination Act to give tribes more control over education, welfare, and law enforcement.

Despite the hurdles, many minorities made striking gains. In 1965, Robert Weaver became the first black to serve in the Cabinet as the first secretary of housing and urban development. Two years later, President Johnson appointed his solicitor general Thurgood Marshall, the attorney for the plaintiffs in the Brown decision, to become the first black to serve on the Supreme Court. In 1966, Edward Brooke, a Massachusetts Republican, was elected the first black senator since Reconstruction. A number of large cities elected black mayors. Blacks scored in sports as well. Jackie Robinson in baseball and Joe Louis and Muhammad Ali in boxing attracted fans of all races.

Rethinking Public Education

After decades of “child-centered” emphasis on “adjustment,” “self-esteem,” and emotional development of youngsters, it became clear that the educational system was producing poor work habits, fuzzy thinking, and ignorance of basic knowledge. Former Harvard president James B. Conant, in The American High School Today (1959), flayed the schools for neglecting foreign languages, ignoring the needs of the brightest and the dullest students, and for not effectively
teaching grammar and composition. He argued that teachers’ colleges should emphasize subject matter over educational methodology.

The success of the Soviet *Sputnik* dealt a heavy blow to American overconfidence and spurred a renewed interest in mathematics, sciences, and foreign languages. Congress reacted by passing the National Defense Education Act (1958), which authorized the first federal loans to college students. Population growth and demand for specialized skills contributed to an increase in college enrollment. To bridge the gap between high schools and universities, more than 1,300 two-year colleges were serving nearly seven million students by 1990.

**Students in Revolt**

By the 1960s many students, trained by teachers who were New Deal liberals, revolted against established trends in politics, economics, and education. These students felt guilty when they thought about the millions of Americans without the material comforts and advantages they had enjoyed. They regarded poverty, atomic weapons, and racial prejudice as intolerable. Students for a Democratic Society, organized in Port Huron, Michigan, in 1962, challenged the economic and military investments that the United States had made in the Cold War. The new organization grew with the escalation of the Vietnam War, and an ever-growing list of local campus issues.

In 1964, a student outburst known as the “Free Speech movement” convulsed the University of California at Berkeley, leading to the resignation of university president Clark Kerr. At Columbia University in 1968, SDS and black students occupied university buildings and made “non-negotiable” demands concerning military research and the needs of minority groups. When police came to clear the buildings, rioting caused injuries to dozens of students. The unrest compelled the resignation of university president Grayson Kirk.

Critics of radical students found them infantile because they refused to tolerate delay, unwise because their ideas had been refuted by earlier philosophers and scientists, and authoritarian because they would not hesitate to override majority rule. Some black students withdrew to themselves, rejected the “white” curriculum, and demanded “black studies” programs taught and administered by blacks.

**The Counterculture**

Young people known as “hippies” retreated from the modern world into a counterculture of communes, drugs, casual sex, and mystical religions. Allen Ginsberg, in his poem *Howl*, argued that the new generation’s “best minds” had been destroyed by the “madness” of society. The hippie counterculture stressed feelings over thought, natural things over anything manufactured, and rejected materialism and power. Hippies shared many of the beliefs of their radical peers, particularly opposition to the Vietnam War, but they rejected activism and embraced passivism as a philosophy.
The Sexual Revolution

Many young people in the 1960s challenged conventional ideas about premarital sex, contraception, abortion, homosexuality, and pornography. The causes of this revolution included the appearance of more efficient methods of birth control and antibiotics that cured or controlled venereal disease. At the same time, Alfred C. Kinsey, in *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, emphasized the diversity of sexual urges, and the foolishness of societal attempts to prescribe narrow standards of morality. Kinsey’s research encouraged “consenting adults” to view sex in physical terms, a prospect frightening to those holding to principles of traditional morality. The “sexual freedom” had profound psychological results and fueled rampant illegitimacy, an explosion of such venereal diseases as gonorrhea and syphilis, and the lethal Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS).

Women’s Liberation

The sexual revolution and the civil rights movement contributed to a revival of the women’s rights movement. The new feminists argued they were being dominated by a male-oriented society and must fight back. One of the leaders of the new movement was Betty Friedan, whose *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) argued that “the only way for a woman . . . to know herself as a person is by creative work of her own.” Her concern was that opinion-shaping forces were undermining the capacity of women to use their intelligence and talents creatively. In 1966, Friedan and other activists founded the National Organization for Women (NOW), which adopted the tactics of black activists in the political arena. NOW demanded expanded employment opportunities for women, an equal rights amendment to the Constitution, changes in divorce laws, and the legalization of abortion.

In 1970, Kate Millett’s *Sexual Politics* denounced male supremacy and argued that the real biological distinctions between the sexes need not perpetuate learned gender differences. The more radical feminists gathered in small consciousness-raising groups, advocated the rearing of children in communal centers, and proposed the abolition of marriage as “legalized rape,” and insisted on total equality.

PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

*Define the following:*

“vast wasteland”

“organization man”

“white racism”

---

222
black power

barrios

braceros

Chicanos

hippies

Describe the following:

SNCC

American Indian Movement

NDEA

Port Huron Statement

Sexual Behavior in the Human Male

Identify the following:

Dr. Benjamin Spock
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Initial legislation for the interstate highway system passed in the _____ Administration and was a major cause of increased population mobility in the postwar era.
   A. Truman
   B. Kennedy
   C. Eisenhower
   D. Johnson

2. In 1961, Newton Minow of the FCC referred to television as
   A. a mere “vehicle of political advertising.”
   B. “combining the strengths and weaknesses of radio and film.”
   C. a “vast wasteland” of barren programming.
   D. creating the “illusion of intimacy.”

3. Key postwar social trends continued wartime increases in all of the following EXCEPT
   A. early marriage.
   B. large families.
   C. the divorce rate.
   D. the birth rate.

4. From World War II to 1965, the percentage of _____ declined steadily.
   A. families with middle-class incomes
   B. immigrants in the total population
   C. the population living in the suburbs
   D. families attending church regularly

5. Sociologists and commentary on contemporary affairs observed that the weakest element of society in the 1950s was
   A. conservatism.
   B. consensus.
   C. conformity.
   D. individualism.

6. The most successful radio preachers in the postwar years were
   A. Roman Catholic.
   B. Mainline Protestants.
   C. Evangelical Protestants.
   D. Fundamentalists.

7. All of the following postwar novels had a wartime theme EXCEPT
   A. Norman Mailer’s The Naked and the Dead.
   B. Joseph Heller’s Catch-22.
   C. John Updike’s Rabbit, Run.
   D. James Jones’ From Here to Eternity.
8. The general expansion of interest in culture broadly defined in the postwar decades resulted from all the following EXCEPT
A. affluence.
B. the growth of higher education.
C. improvements in printing technology.
D. the victory of objectivity over subjectivity in art.

9. Match the following artistic style with its characteristic.
A. abstract expressionism 1. devoid of social connotations
B. op art 2. satirized many aspects of American culture
C. pop art 3. shaped by European influences
4. required considerable verbal explanation to communicate its meaning
A. A3, B1, C4
B. A2, B4, C3
C. A4, B1, C2
D. A4, B2, C1

10. Among the dilemmas that conveyed the “Perils of Progress” in the postwar years were all of the following EXCEPT
A. well-intentioned reforms often made things worse.
B. accumulated wisdom had little application to current problems.
C. specialized production techniques produced inferior goods.
D. industrial culture required social cooperation that undermined individual self-confidence.

11. Postwar technological advances included all of the following EXCEPT
A. electricity made from nuclear fuel.
B. the moving assembly line.
C. electronic computers.
D. plastic packaging material.

12. The Kerner Commission that investigated urban riots in the 1960s found that all of the following were true EXCEPT
A. rioters were expressing frustration and despair.
B. race riots were a new phenomenon in American history.
C. the basic cause of the riots was white racism.
D. black ghettos bred crime.

13. Match the policy toward Mexican immigration with its time period.
A. 1920s 1. imported temporary farm workers
B. 1930s 2. deported or persuaded to return to Mexico
C. 1940-1965 3. unlimited immigration
4. immigration based on skills and profession
A. A4, B4, C3
B. A3, B2, C1
C. A1, B4, C3
D. A3, B1, C2
14. In 1965, Cesar Chavez led the grape pickers on strike to gain
A. pride in Hispanic traditions and full civil rights.
B. higher wages and union recognition.
C. return of land taken from their Mexican ancestors.
D. self-determination and control over their own education.

15. The 1975 Indian Self-Determination Act provided Native Americans greater control over all of the following EXCEPT their
A. education.
B. ancestral land.
C. law enforcement.
D. welfare programs.

16. The leader of the movement for more intellectually rigorous school curriculums in the 1950s-1960s was
A. James Conant.
C. Robert Weaver
D. Edward Brooke.

17. A major stimulus to the enactment of the National Defense Education Act in 1958 was
A. the Soviet’s launch of Sputnik.
B. the need for more integrated schools created by the Brown decision.
C. John Dewey’s publication, School and Society.
D. the GI Bill had expired.

18. Main concerns of the Port Huron Statement included all of the following EXCEPT
A. escalation of the Vietnam War.
B. racial bigotry.
C. the atomic bomb.
D. government hypocrisy.

19. Unlike student radicals, hippies
A. were disgusted by dishonest politicians.
B. rejected political activism.
C. were appalled by racism.
D. were horrified by the brutality of the Vietnam War.

20. Causes of the sexual revolution of the 1960s included all of the following EXCEPT
A. renewal of the women’s rights movement.
B. availability of more efficient methods of birth control.
C. publication of Alfred Kinsey’s Sexual Behavior of the Human Male.
D. antibiotics that cured or controlled venereal disease.

**Essay Questions**

1. Evaluate the significance of James Conant’s study on education in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Explain how the status of education had changed by the 1990s.
2. Explain how television influenced American thought and culture in the postwar years.

3. Evaluate the success of organized religion in its attempt to meet the changing needs of Americans in the postwar era.

4. Explain how racial tensions marred the late 1960s despite the implementation of Great Society programs.

5. Assess the “two dilemmas” that America faced from a cultural standpoint in the postwar years.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Few issues have been the subject of more controversy since the 1960s than women’s liberation. Analyze these statements and place an “F” before those that represent a feminist viewpoint and a “T” before those that reflect the more traditional role of women.

_____1. One should not think of the adjectives “strong” and “efficient as” male characteristics and “passive” and “tender” as female traits.

_____2. “The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.”

_____3. Government childcare centers are essential to the preservation of family life into the next century.

_____4. “Help wanted” advertisements should be segregated by sex so that job seekers will know whether employers prefer men or women for open positions.

_____5. “I’m not saying that women leaders would eliminate violence. We are not more moral than men; we are only uncorrupted by power so far.”

_____6. Abortions should be funded at taxpayer expense because poor women might not otherwise have access to all their reproductive choices.

_____7. Reproductive freedom and the “right to privacy” are inherent in the Constitution.

_____8. The loosening of sexual mores in the 1960s and 1970s produced side effects its proponents did not expect: namely, rampant illegitimacy and abortion, venereal diseases, and grave psychological impact.

_____9. An ERA is superfluous; federal civil rights laws already guarantee “equal pay for equal work.”

_____10. A woman can best judge her success by maintaining a happy, peaceful home amid an uncertain world of tension and heartache.
11. Government should address recurring problems of “latchkey” and other neglected children because families have been unable to do so.

12. The institution of the patriarch is outmoded and is headed into the dustbin of history.
CHAPTER 32

Running on Empty: The Nation Transformed

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. _____ The OPEC oil crisis in 1973 had little impact on the U.S. automobile industry.</td>
<td>_____ 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. _____ Polls showed that a majority of voters actually supported the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), but it failed ratification anyway.</td>
<td>_____ 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. _____ President Carter claimed his foreign policy was based on realism—that he would put national interests above all other considerations.</td>
<td>_____ 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. _____ While Ronald Reagan was governor of California, that state’s government spending increased dramatically; while he was president, the national debt nearly tripled.</td>
<td>_____ 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. _____ President Reagan referred to Iran as an “evil empire.”</td>
<td>_____ 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. _____ President Reagan was directly responsible for the two great transformations of the late twentieth century—the collapse of the Soviet Union and the restructuring of American corporations.</td>
<td>_____ 7.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 32 you should be able to:

1. Evaluate the impact of the Yom Kippur War, the Arab oil embargos, and OPEC price manipulation in the 1970s.
2. Explain how economic problems, particularly inflation, unemployment, recession, and deficits, have persisted at one time or another since 1974.
3. Explain the origin and eventual resolution of the 1979-81 Iranian hostage crisis.
4. Explain how the “Reagan Revolution” changed America in reference to foreign and domestic policy and the emergence of a “bi-polar” economy and society.
5. Assess the Iran-Contra affair as it relates to U.S. foreign policy and the Reagan Administration.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The Oil Crisis

The Yom Kippur War broke out in the Middle East in October 1973. During the brief inconclusive conflict, the United States approved a massive supply of war matériel to Israel. In an attempt to force Western nations to compel Israeli withdrawal from the lands held since the Six Days War of 1967, the Arabs cut off oil shipments to the United States, Japan, and Western Europe. The price of oil quadrupled, and this sent prices soaring for nearly everything else.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger secured the withdrawal of Israel from some of the territory taken in 1967, and the Arab nations lifted the oil embargo. At the time the United States imported more than a third of its oil. In 1960, the principal oil exporters—Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, and Iran—had formed a cartel, OPEC, which now knew that by limiting production they could drive up the price of oil. The days of cheap gasoline had ended. By the end of the 1970s, the small, fuel-efficient Japanese automobiles had captured nearly a third of the entire American market.

Ford as President

Gerald Ford’s brief presidential tenure was untouched by the scandal that had been the undoing of his predecessor. An ordinary person, earnest but limited, Ford appeared unlikely to venture beyond conventional boundaries or to act rashly as had Richard Nixon. Ford identified inflation as the nation’s chief economic culprit and asked patriotic citizens to wear symbolic WIN (Whip Inflation Now) buttons. Almost immediately the economy entered a deep slump when production fell and unemployment rose above nine percent. Ford then asked for tax cuts to stimulate business activity.

The Fall of South Vietnam

When the Hanoi government launched a new offensive in Vietnam, months after the Americans had left, President Ford asked Congress to dispatch arms to help South Vietnam stem the advance. Congress refused to send such aid, and on April 30, 1975, Saigon fell to the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese army and was renamed Ho Chi Minh City.

Ford Versus Carter

Ford’s record on the economy and foreign policy did not inspire confidence. Former California Governor Ronald Reagan, who advocated a reduction in the size of the national government and a firm stance in foreign affairs, challenged him for the Republican nomination. After a protracted
struggle, Ford barely secured the nomination. Meanwhile, Democrats chose the previously unknown former Governor of Georgia, James Earl “Jimmy” Carter, Jr., to oppose Ford. Carter effectively utilized television, organized at the grassroots, and stressed his lack of connection with the Washington establishment. During the campaign, Carter called attention to his integrity and deep religious faith, but both candidates were vague with respect to the issues. Carter won 297 and Ford 241 electoral votes, with pivotal support from organized labor and a coalition of white southerners and African Americans.

The Carter Presidency

Carter set a tone of democratic simplicity and moral fervor, but his administration did not fare well. He put so many Georgians in important positions that the administration took on a parochial character. Carter also submitted complicated proposals to Congress but failed to follow up with the necessary consultation and lobbying.

A National Malaise

Carter tended to blame others, including the general public, for the nation’s economic woes. In the summer of 1979, he identified a “moral and spiritual crisis” that had sapped the nation’s energies and undermined civic pride. This “malaise speech” made the president appear weak and ineffective. The economic downturn, though triggered by the energy crisis, had more fundamental causes. Many companies had become too big and complacent. Workers’ boredom with “dull, repetitive, seemingly meaningless tasks” of the workplace lowered productivity. Union membership slipped from one-third of the workforce in the 1950s to one-fourth by 1978, and one-sixth by the 1990s.

Stagflation: The Weird Economy

Recessions are part of the business cycle: When economies overheat, they cool down. But the crisis after 1973 was unique because the rising tide of unemployment had failed to extinguish inflation. Millions lost jobs as wages and prices continued to rise. The term “stagflation” (a combination of stagnation and inflation) was coined to describe the anomaly. The 1971 inflation rate of five percent had so alarmed President Nixon that he had imposed a price freeze. By 1979 inflation had soared to 13 percent. Unemployment ranged from six to 10 percent, nearly twice the usual postwar level.

Such inflation had devastating effects on the retired, the poor, and others living on fixed incomes. Congress raised the minimum wage and approved a cost of living index in Social Security to protect the poor and retirees, an action that made balancing the budget politically difficult. When wages and salaries rose, taxes automatically increased because larger dollar incomes thrust people into “bracket creep.” There were state and local “taxpayer revolts” as many turned against long-accepted but expensive government programs for aiding the poor. Soaring mortgages made it difficult to sell homes. Double-digit interest rates hurt small businesses seeking to expand. Savings and loan institutions were especially hard hit because they were saddled with mortgages made when rates were as low as four percent.
Families Under Stress

In addition to the recurring inflation, the price of oil tripled in 1979. Gasoline prices surpassed $1 a gallon. Ford stock lost half its value, and Chrysler tottered near bankruptcy until it was saved by a $1.2 billion federal loan guarantee. When male workers in the automobile factories and steel mills lost their relatively high-paying jobs, their spouses took low-paying jobs in stores, offices, and restaurants. Texas Democratic Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr., observed that the McDonald’s fast-food chain employed more people than U.S. Steel. Overextended families had little time to shop for, prepare, and enjoy leisurely meals around the dinner table. Such families “deserved a break,” according to the McDonald’s jingle.

For women, the recession struck at the worst possible time. It divided women into two camps, the professional/intellectual elite and the underpaid underclass. The Equal Rights Amendment was a casualty of this division. Conservative lawyer Phyllis Schlafly spearheaded a successful nationwide campaign against the ERA. She argued that it would subject young women to the draft, deprive divorced women of alimony and child custody, and make married women legally responsible for providing 50 percent of household income. Her words struck a responsive chord among low-wage-earning women. The ERA fell three states short of ratification.

Cold War or Détente?

In foreign affairs Carter announced that “basic human rights” would receive highest priority. He cut off aid to Chile and Argentina because of human rights violations. He successfully negotiated treaties with Panama that provided for the transfer of the Panama Canal to that republic on December 31, 1999. He extended diplomatic ties to Communist China and abandoned the defense pact with Taiwan.

Carter’s Soviet policy fluctuated between the divergent approaches of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, a conciliator, and National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, a “Cold Warrior” native of Poland. He signed a new Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty with the Soviets in 1979. When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, Carter withdrew SALT II from Senate consideration, halted the shipment of American grain and technology to Moscow, and refused to allow American athletes to compete in the Olympic Games held in Moscow in the summer of 1980. Carter’s main diplomatic achievement was the Camp David Accords, by which Israel and Egypt ended the state of war that had existed between them since 1948.

The Iran Crisis: Origins

During World War II, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and later the United States occupied Iran and forced its pro-German shah into exile, replacing him with his 22-year-old son, Muhammad Reza Pahlavi. Liberal and nationalist elements thereafter gained power in Iran, led by premier Muhammad Musaddig. In 1953, a CIA coup known as Operation Ajax succeeded in overthrowing Musaddig. The action turned many Iranians against the United States and the shah, who purchased American arms. In 1977, riots and demonstrations convulsed Iran, as over 10,000 civilians were killed. In January 1979, the shah was forced to flee, and a revolutionary government headed by a religious leader, the Ayatollah Khomeini, assumed power. Khomeini denounced the United States as the “Great Satan,” whose support of the shah, he claimed, had
caused the Iranian people untold suffering. When President Carter allowed the shah to come to the United States for medical treatment, some 400 armed Muslim militants broke into the American Embassy compound in Teheran and took everyone captive.

**The Iran Crisis: Carter’s Dilemma**

The Iranian militants said they would hold the hostages until the United States returned the shah for trial as a traitor and surrendered the shah’s wealth to the Iranian government. Carter instead froze Iranian assets and banned trade with Iran until the hostages were freed. Months passed, and the shah, terminally ill, left the United States for Panama. In April 1980, Carter ordered a team of marine commandos flown into Iran by helicopters to try to free the hostages. The unsuccessful raid ended tragically, as several helicopters broke down, and eight commandos were killed in a crash.

**The Election of 1980**

Despite the failure of the hostage rescue attempt and continued stagflation, President Carter was renominated on the first ballot at the Democratic party convention. The Republicans turned to Ronald Reagan, who at 69 was the oldest person ever nominated for president by a major party. Another Reagan primary opponent, liberal Illinois Congressman John Anderson, bolted the GOP and ran in the general election as an independent.

Reagan had been a controversial governor, in part because, despite his professed conservatism, government spending in California increased dramatically during his two terms. Reagan’s defense of patriotism, religion, family life, and old-fashioned virtues won him considerable backing. He vowed to cut spending and taxes, balance the budget, and control inflation. Reagan benefited from the high interest rates and sluggish economy and won a popular majority and an electoral landslide. The Republicans gained a Senate majority for the first time since 1953 and reduced the Democratic majority in the House. Carter devoted his last weeks in office to the continuing hostage crisis. Just as Reagan was being inaugurated, the remaining 52 hostages were freed after 444 days in captivity.

**Reagan As President**

With his amiable style, Reagan tried to change the direction of the nation. He urged the return of some federal functions to the states and called for decreased government regulations. He proposed increasing military expenditures. Reagan acquired the wrath of organized labor by breaking an illegal strike of air traffic controllers.

Under Reagan’s urging, Congress reduced expenditures on some domestic programs, but not on Social Security and Medicare “entitlements.” Congress also adopted Reagan’s proposal to reduce income taxes over three years. Reagan reasoned that a tax cut would spur investment, increase production, create more jobs and prosperity, and therefore bring more income to government despite lower tax rates. Reagan eliminated many government regulations affecting businesses, but insisted that heavy expenditures for military buildup were necessary.
The continuing turmoil in the Middle East prompted Reagan to send troops to Lebanon as part of an international peacekeeping force. Tragedy resulted in October 1983, when a fanatical Muslim crashed a truck loaded with explosives into an airport building housing the American marines. The structure collapsed, and 239 marines were killed. Early in 1984 Reagan removed the remaining troops.

**Four More Years**

Reagan was nominated for a second term in 1984 without opposition, while the Democratic nomination went to Walter Mondale, Carter’s vice-president. Mondale selected New York Representative Geraldine Ferraro, a Catholic and Italian American from Queens, as his running mate, the first woman ever given such a nomination.

Reagan consolidated the support of social conservatives, the group that Nixon had termed the “silent majority.” A Reagan supporter, the Reverend Jerry Falwell, formed the Moral Majority in 1979 to lobby against drugs, communism, homosexuality, abortion, and “coddling” of criminals. Reagan secured the support of blue-collar workers and white southerners who had previously been Democratic. Reagan benefited from voter tendency to support a sitting president when the economy seemed strong and the nation was at peace. Mondale dampened his chances when he announced that he would raise taxes if elected.

Reagan lost only in Mondale’s Minnesota and in the District of Columbia. The Democratic tactic of nominating a woman for vice-president failed, as a majority of women supported Reagan. Reagan’s triumph was largely personal, for the GOP made only minimal gains in the House and lost two Senate seats.

**“The Reagan Revolution”**

When Mikhail S. Gorbachev became the Soviet premier and communist party general secretary in 1985, he seemed to encourage political debate in his country, a policy called glasnost. He also promoted perestroika, the stimulation of the Soviet economy by rewarding individual achievement. In 1986, Reagan, having abandoned his earlier comments about a Soviet “evil empire,” met in a summit with Gorbachev in Reykjavik, Iceland, to discuss arms control. The summit deadlocked when Reagan refused to abandon the strategic defense initiative, a proposal to prevent a nuclear first strike against the United States. At a subsequent summit in 1988, Reagan and Gorbachev signed a treaty eliminating medium-range nuclear missiles.

NASA’s Apollo program had sent six expeditions to the moon between 1969 and 1972. The agency then launched the Skylab orbiting space station in 1973. Next, shortly after the beginning of Reagan’s first term, the manned space shuttle Columbia, launched by rocket power, was able, after orbiting for several days, to return to earth intact and reusable. Shuttle flights continued for five years without problems. Then in January 1986, the Challenger exploded after takeoff, and space flights did not resume until 1989.

The Income Tax Act of 1986 reduced the top levy on personal incomes from 50 to 28 percent and the tax on corporate profits from 46 to 34 percent. The law abolished numerous tax shelters and special credits used by some to reduce their tax bill.
Like Nixon earlier, Reagan attempted to move the Supreme Court in a more conservative direction but was only partially successful. He appointed Sandra Day O’Connor as the first woman justice and by 1988 had appointed three Supreme Court justices and over half of the members of the federal judiciary.

Change and Uncertainty

In the 1970s and 1980s, many immigrants poured into the United States from Asia and Latin America. Some were refugees fleeing repressive regimes in Vietnam, Cuba, Haiti, and Central America. Others came illegally across the Mexican border. In 1986, Congressional legislation granted amnesty to some illegal immigrants and imposed civil sanctions on employers who hired “undocumented” aliens.

Family life underwent drastic change by the 1970s and 1980s, as the family with a “breadwinner father” and “housewife and mother” was in danger of ceasing to be the norm. The number of single-parent families living in poverty increased by 46 percent between 1979 and 1987. More than a million marriages ended in divorce, and rampant cohabitation and illegitimacy gained tolerance. By the middle 1980s the number of abortions averaged 1.3 million per year.

AIDS

In June 1981, the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta alerted health officials to an outbreak of a rare bacterial infection in Los Angeles, where five victims were healthy young homosexual men, and within months, all had died. By 1982, the CDC called the disease Acquired Immune-Deficiency Syndrome. AIDS was caused by the lethal Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) that destroys the body’s defenses against infection. AIDS wreaked havoc among homosexual men who engaged in anal intercourse, and intravenous drug users who shared needles. Soon HIV contaminated blood banks, and some recipients of transfusions came down with AIDS.

In 1983, Congress voted for $12 million for AIDS research and treatment. Two years later, amid widespread public interest, the actor Rock Hudson, an old friend of President Reagan’s, confirmed that he was dying of AIDS. No cure has been found, and by 1999, the number of AIDS-related deaths approached 400,000. The spread of AIDS led to an emphasis on the use of condoms, which were distributed for free in many public high schools.

The New Merger Movement

The Reagan administration’s abandonment of strict enforcement of antitrust laws encouraged a new trend toward mergers in which unrelated companies swallowed up one another. Corporate raiders raised cash by issuing high-interest bonds secured by the assets of the company purchased. The broker Michael Milkin emerged as the “king” of “junk bonds.” The system enabled a small company or an individual to buy a corporation. One deal led to another. In 1985, the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company bought Nabisco for $4.9 billion. Three years later, RJR Nabisco was itself consumed for $24.9 billion.
During the 1980s, one-fifth of Fortune 500 companies were taken over, merged, or forced to go private; in all, some 25,000 mergers and acquisitions were successfully undertaken; their total value was nearly a half-trillion dollars.

“A Job for Life”: Layoffs Hit Home

Most corporations coped with their debts by either selling assets, or they cut costs through layoffs. Nearly 100,000 steelworkers lost their jobs. “A job for life” has long been IBM’s unofficial slogan, but the crippled high-tech giant eliminated 80,000 jobs between 1985 and 1994. Many of the lost jobs went abroad, where labor costs were lower and unions nonexistent. In 1980, Xerox of America transferred contracts to Japan; six years later Ford began building the chassis for its Mustang in Japan. In 1984, Nike closed its American shoe factory and moved operations to Indonesia. In addition, to the corporate debt, the total federal debt grew from $900 million in 1981 to $2.5 trillion in 1989. President Reagan’s insistence on coupling increased military spending and income tax reductions produced huge annual federal deficits.

A “Bipolar” Economy, a Fractured Society

In 1982, the economy began to gain strength, and by the late 1980s, it was growing at a rate not seen since the early 1960s. Many economists warned that the rise in stock prices was excessive. On a single day in 1987, the Dow-Jones industrial average fell 508 points to 1738. Prices, however, quickly recovered and embarked on yet another long period of growth. The economy was undergoing a transformation of historic proportions. “Rust belt” factories closed, and new technology industries sprouted in the “Silicon Valley” of California, outside Boston, and in booming cities like Austin, Texas, and Seattle, Washington.

The Reagan tax cuts had disproportionately benefited the wealthy, as had the extraordinary rise of the stock market. As Reagan left office, the economy consisted of two separate components: a diminishing sector of traditional heavy industry and an advancing high-tech and service sector. This “bipolar” economy also impacted society. The standard of living of the poorest fifth of the population declined nine percent during the 1980s, while that of the wealthiest fifth had risen by 20 percent.

The Iran-Contra Arms Deal

In 1979, leftist rebels known as the Sandinistas, supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba, overthrew the Nicaraguan regime of Anastasio Somoza. President Reagan, determined to force the Sandinistas from power, backed elements in Nicaragua known as the Contras and in 1981 persuaded Congress to provide arms to these “freedom fighters.” The Contras made little progress, and Congress banned further military aid. Reagan then sought to persuade other countries and private American groups to assist the Contras.

Iran, meanwhile, was believed responsible for the fact that a number of Americans were being held hostage by terrorists in Lebanon. Reagan sought a way to free the captive Americans. In 1985, Reagan allowed the indirect shipment of arms to Iran by way of Israel, in an attempt to gain release of the hostages. Then in January 1986, he authorized the secret sale of American
weapons directly to Iran, a transaction arranged by Marine Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North. North used $12 million of the profits from the Iranian arms sales to buy weapons for the Contras, a violation of the Congressional ban on such aid. When news of the sales to Iran and the diversion of profits to supply the Contras came to light, North was fired, and Reagan appointed a special prosecutor to investigate.

Reagan said that he knew nothing about the diversion of aid to the Contras, but polls showed that a majority of Americans did not believe him. Iran-Contra undermined Reagan’s influence with Congress and dampened his political reputation, though he remained personally popular with the public.

**PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS**

*Define the following:*

\[
\text{“malaise speech” _________________________________________________________} \\
\text{stagflation ______________________________________________________________} \\
\text{glasnost __________________________________________________________________} \\
\text{perestroika ______________________________________________________________} \\
\text{strategic defense initiative ________________________________________________} \\
\text{space shuttle ____________________________________________________________} \\
\text{Human Immunodeficiency Virus ____________________________________________} \\
\text{“junk bonds” ____________________________________________________________}
\]
Describe the following:

WIN

Camp David Agreement

Challenger

Yom Kippur War

Identify the following:

Anwar Sadat

Cyrus Vance

Muhammad Reza Pahlavi

Walter Mondale

Geraldine Ferraro

Jerry Falwell
MAP EXERCISE

Refer to the world map below. Place the correct letter that corresponds with the location of these cities:

1. Baghdad  
3. Beirut  
5. Bogota  
7. Cairo  
9. Caracas  
11. Havana  
13. Jerusalem  
15. London  
17. Mexico City  
19. Moscow  
21. Reykjavik  
23. San Salvador  
25. Teheran  
2. Beijing  
4. Berlin  
6. Buenos Aires  
8. Capetown  
10. Damascus  
12. Ho Chi Minh City  
14. Kabul  
16. Managua  
18. Montreal  
20. Paris  
22. Rio de Janeiro  
24. Seoul  
26. Tripoli
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The fallout from the Yom Kippur War in 1973 revealed that
   A. the U.S. economy was vulnerable to its dependence on foreign oil imports.
   B. the United States had become an oil-exporting nation.
   C. Arab nations’ oil production had little effect on world oil prices.
   D. nations in the OPEC oil cartel were fragmented and unable to cooperate.

2. President Ford identified _____ as the chief economic problem of his administration.
   A. unemployment
   B. overproduction
   C. high taxes
   D. inflation

3. When North Vietnam initiated a two-year plan to conquer South Vietnam, President Ford
   A. urged Congress to provide arms to South Vietnam.
   B. sent Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to try to negotiate a cease fire.
   C. ordered U.S. bombers and military advisors to South Vietnam.
   D. did nothing.

4. All of the following statements about the 1976 presidential election between Jimmy Carter
   and Gerald Ford are true EXCEPT
   A. Carter repeatedly called attention to his integrity and deep religious faith.
   B. both candidates were precise with respect to the issues.
   C. Ford erroneously claimed that the Soviet Union did not dominate Eastern Europe.
   D. Carter emphasized his lack of connection to the Washington establishment and his
      inexperience in national politics.

5. Generally, the Carter presidency was notable for
   A. its tone of complexity and moral laxness.
   B. encouraging Congress to act without proposals from the administration.
   C. its reputation for the administration’s failure to support its own proposals to
      Congress.
   D. the president’s ability to concentrate on many matters at a time.

6. The economic downturn of the 1970s was the result of all the following EXCEPT
   A. the energy shortage.
   B. many companies had become too big and complacent.
   C. workers’ boredom had lowered productivity.
   D. growing union membership made labor unions too powerful.

7. The economic downturn after 1973 was unusual in that for the first time in the nation’s
   history
   A. the federal government spent more than it received in taxes.
   B. rising unemployment did not lower inflation.
   C. increased spending power caused an upward pressure on prices.
   D. government action made matters worse.
8. Opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment argued that it would do all of the following EXCEPT
   A. subject women to the military draft.
   B. make it unconstitutional to deny both men and women equal rights.
   C. make wives legally responsible for half of a household’s income.
   D. deprive divorced women of alimony and child custody.

9. In 1980, President Carter reacted strongly when the Soviet Union invaded
   A. Iraq.
   B. Tibet.
   C. Afghanistan.
   D. Taiwan.

10. President Carter’s most striking diplomatic achievement was
    A. completing a second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) with the Soviet Union.
    B. exchanging ambassadors with the People’s Republic of China.
    C. arranging for the transfer of the Panama Canal to Panama.
    D. ending war between Egypt and Israel with the Camp David Agreement.

11. In 1953, a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) coup overthrew the government of
    A. Iraq.
    B. Guatemala.
    C. Iran.
    D. Chile.

12. When Iranian militants seized the American embassy and took U.S. personnel hostage, President Carter reacted in all of the following ways EXCEPT
    A. banning trade with Iran.
    B. freezing Iranian assets in the United States.
    C. deporting the former shah of Iran, who was then living in the United States.
    D. ordering a team of army commandos to Iran to try to free the hostages.

13. Early in his first administration, President Reagan crushed the illegal strike of the _____ union.
    A. air-controllers
    B. steel workers
    C. garment workers
    D. computer programmers

14. When President Reagan presented his legislative proposals to Congress in 1981, Congress refused to enact legislation to
    A. lower income taxes.
    B. increase defense spending.
    C. reduce spending on welfare, food stamps, and student loans.
    D. reduce spending on “entitlement” programs, such as Social Security and Medicare.
15. The first woman appointed to the Supreme Court was
   A. Geraldine Ferraro.
   B. Sandra Day O’Connor.
   C. Barbara Jordan.
   D. Germaine Greer.

16. President Reagan’s Strategic Defense Initiative was
   A. a treaty with the Soviet Union eliminating medium-range nuclear missiles.
   B. an agreement with Premier Gorbachev to work toward total nuclear disarmament.
   C. a space-based system of anti-ballistic missile defenses.
   D. a renewed effort to gain Senate ratification of the stalled SALT II agreement.

17. The vast majority of new immigrants who entered the United States after the Immigration Act of 1965 came from
   A. Africa and the Middle East.
   B. Southern and Eastern Europe.
   C. Asia and Latin America.
   D. Northern and Western Europe.

18. The 1980s witnessed all of the following EXCEPT
   A. a mad frenzy of corporate mergers.
   B. the outbreak of the AIDS epidemic.
   C. an extraordinary decline in stock market price over the course of the decade.
   D. the economy transforming from heavy industry to high tech and service.

19. President Reagan’s taxation and government spending policies resulted in
   A. a more even distribution of national wealth.
   B. the federal debt more than doubling.
   C. shrinking annual federal deficits.
   D. greater benefits for the unemployed.

20. The Iran-Contra deal involved all of the following EXCEPT the
   A. secret sale of U.S.-made weapons to Iran.
   B. illegal sale of arms to Nicaragua.
   C. resignation of the national security advisor.
   D. defeat of the Sandinista armies in Nicaragua.

**Essay Questions**

1. What events worked to the advantage and disadvantage of the little-known Jimmy Carter in his remarkable bid for the White House in 1976?

2. Discuss President Reagan’s successes and failures in his attempt to reduce the size and scope of the national government.

3. Explain the difficult choices that President Carter faced in his handling of the Iranian hostage crisis over the 444 days of captivity.
4. How and why did the Iran-Contra affair undermine the effectiveness of the Reagan administration? Explain the roles of Oliver North and John Poindexter.

5. Discuss the massive national and international trends of the 1980s that led to establishment of the “bi-polar” economy.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Some events and ideas are primarily supported by Democrats; others by Republicans; still others draw the backing of both parties. Place a “D” beside each selection primarily identified with Democrats; an “R” beside each choice identified mostly with Republicans; a “B” beside each selection supported by both parties; and an “N” beside each selection identified with neither party.

_____ 1. Reaganomics
_____ 2. School desegregation
_____ 3. Outlawing flag desecration
_____ 4. “Tax the rich”
_____ 5. Foreign aid to Israel and Egypt
_____ 6. Minimum wage increases
_____ 7. Détente
_____ 8. Military spending cuts
_____ 9. Balance the budget through a constitutional amendment
_____ 10. Urban enterprise zones
_____ 11. More progressivism in income taxes
_____ 12. Arms control agreements
_____ 13. “Fairness” in the tax code
_____ 14. Nationalization of natural resources
_____ 15. Strengthening environmental laws
CHAPTER 33

Misdemeanors and High Crimes

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, in the column entitled “Anticipation” place a check mark beside any of the following seven statements with which you now agree. When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and in the column entitled “Reaction” place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Note any variation in the placement of check marks from Anticipation to Reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
<th>Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. _____ In the final third of the twentieth century, the prison population increased at about the same rate as the total U.S. population.</td>
<td>_____ 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. _____ Over the objections of President H. W. Bush and General Schwartzkopf, the United Nations stopped the attack on Iraq, leaving Saddam Hussein in power at the end of the War in the Persian Gulf.</td>
<td>_____ 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. _____ As President Clinton’s legal battles continued, opinion polls showed a decline of public confidence in his performance as president.</td>
<td>_____ 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. _____ The eight years of the Clinton presidency coincided with an eight-year-long economic boom—the longest in American history.</td>
<td>_____ 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. _____ The Supreme Court’s 5-4 decision on the 2000 Election was based on the Constitution’s guarantee of equal protection under the law.</td>
<td>_____ 7.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 33 you should be able to:

1. Discuss the winding down of the Cold War from the aftermath of the communist victory in Vietnam to the rise of democratic governments in Eastern Europe.
2. Evaluate the origin, prosecution, and aftermath of the Persian Gulf War.
3. Explain the remarkable resiliency of the nation’s economy in the 1990s.
4. Explain the rise of terrorism at home and abroad.
5. Evaluate the House impeachment and Senate acquittal of President Clinton on charges of perjury and obstruction of justice. Discuss the looting of savings and loan associations and the related Clinton Whitewater land development deal.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The Election of 1988

Vice-President George Bush easily secured the Republican nomination to succeed President Reagan. Though he stressed his vice-presidential experience as a campaign asset, Bush disingenuously claimed to have been “out of the loop” in the Iran-Contra affair. The Democratic party turned to the scholarly Massachusetts Governor Michael S. Dukakis. When it was revealed that Governor Dukakis had granted brief furloughs to convicts with satisfactory prison records, Bush’s campaign aired a frightening television advertisement showing prisoners streaming through a revolving door. The campaign became a referendum on violent crime, and Bush carried the Electoral College, 426 to 112.

Crime and Punishment

In the 1980s, the “law and order” movement President Nixon had initiated in the 1960s realized many of its goals. Nixon’s constituency elected judges and legislators who promised more police, tougher laws, stiffer sentences, and additional prisons. When the Supreme Court ruled in 1972 that jury-imposed capital punishment was racially biased and thus unconstitutional, state legislators imposed mandatory sentencing instead. Capital punishment that had halted in 1967 resumed in 1976, and by 2004, more than a thousand people had been executed. The prison population tripled during the 1970s and doubled again in the 1980s. The growth in the prison population required much construction at a high cost to taxpayers.

“Crack” and Urban Gangs

During the 1980s, several factors intensified the problem of violent crime, especially in the inner cities. South American growers expanded production, and cocaine flooded into American cities. Soon cocaine became available in a smokeable, less expensive form known as “crack.” The murder rate in large cities increased sharply due to the gang competition to market crack.

George H. W. Bush as President

President Bush embarked on a broad initiative against crime. He named a “drug czar” and supported an increase in federal funding of local police. By 1991, the Bush administration had spent $2.5 billion in a failed effort to stop the flow of illegal drugs into the nation. Bush tried to shed the tough image he had cultivated during his election campaign. In his inaugural address Bush expressed the hope to make a “kinder . . . nation, and a gentler . . . world.” He displayed a more traditional command of the workings of government than had Reagan and pleased
conservatives by his opposition to abortion and gun control and by his call for a constitutional amendment prohibiting the burning of the American flag.

The Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe

The Cold War came to a swift end shortly after President Gorbachev announced that the Soviet Union would not use force to maintain communist governments in its satellite states. Popular uprisings in Eastern Europe and the Baltic states quickly overthrew repressive regimes that had ruled throughout the postwar era and moved toward democratic reforms. Nearly overnight the international political climate changed. In June 1990, Presidents Bush and Gorbachev signed agreements reducing American and Russian stockpiles of long-range nuclear missiles and eliminating chemical weapons. The Cold War was over.

At the end of 1989, Bush dispatched forces into Panama to overthrow the regime of General Manuel Noriega, who was under indictment in the United States for drug trafficking. Noriega was taken to Florida, tried, found guilty, and imprisoned. Latin Americans, however, were alarmed by the way the United States had used force in the region.

In the summer of 1991, civil war broke out in Yugoslavia as Croatia and Slovenia sought independence from the Serbian-dominated central government in Belgrade. The conflict became a religious war, pitting Serb and Croatian Christians against Bosnian Muslims. Meanwhile, a pro-communist coup toppled Gorbachev from power in the Soviet Union, but by the end of the year, Boris Yeltsin, the anti-communist president of the Russian Republic, had emerged as the dominant figure in Moscow. The Communist party was officially disbanded, and a federation of states replaced the 74-year-old Soviet Union.

The War in the Persian Gulf

In August 1990, President Bush dispatched a large force to Saudi Arabia to prevent a threatened invasion from Iraq’s Saddam Hussein, who had just overrun the oil-rich sheikdom of Kuwait and thereby jeopardized Western petroleum needs. For five months the United Nations bolstered American-led forces in the Saudi desert. Congress finally voted to use force when Saddam ignored an order to vacate Kuwait.

The U.N. launched a month-long air assault followed by a ground attack, directed by General Norman Schwarzkopf. With the liberation of Kuwait, Bush ordered an end to the attack, and Saddam, who remain entrenched in Baghdad, agreed to pay reparations to Kuwait and to allow U.N. inspectors to determine whether Iraq was developing atomic and biological weapons. He thereafter refused to carry out the terms of the agreement and used the remnants of his army to crush his internal opponents. In the aftermath of the war, Bush received the highest presidential approval ratings ever—a stunning 90 percent—and his reelection seemed assured.

The Deficit Worsens

In the 1988 campaign, Bush had pledged not to raise taxes, and once in office, he endorsed reducing taxes on capital gains to spur investment. But, as deficits soared—in part due to
Congress’s refusal to close out-of-date military bases and also from the rising costs of entitlements like social security and Medicare—Bush said that the government needed new revenues. So, despite conservative opposition within his party, Bush signed into law a bill that increased excise taxes and raised income taxes on higher-income families.

**Looting the Savings and Loans**

Another drain on the federal treasury was caused by the collapse of hundreds of federally insured savings and loan institutions. These S&Ls had lost money on home mortgages when interest rates soared into double digits in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Congress therefore allowed the S&Ls to enter the more lucrative but riskier business of commercial loans and stock investments. This attracted a swarm of unscrupulous investors who bought up S&Ls and invested their assets in high-yield but risky junk bonds and real estate deals. So, when the stock market crashed in 1987, hundreds of S&Ls went bankrupt. Because the federal government insured their deposits, taxpayers were forced to cover the losses. Costs of the bailout plus interest reached $500 billion. The Justice Department charged nearly a thousand people for criminal involvement in the S&L debacle, arguably the financial crime of the century.

**Whitewater and the Clintons**

Arkansas Attorney General Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary Rodham, borrowed money to purchase land to be developed for vacation homes in the Ozark Mountains. The proposed development, called Whitewater, failed to attract buyers and became insolvent. In 1992, federal investigators claimed that the Clintons had been “potential beneficiaries” of illegal fiduciary finagling by their Whitewater partners. His partners were jailed for fraud, but when Clinton was seeking the presidency in 1992, few voters paid much attention to Whitewater.

Then, just prior to the New Hampshire presidential primary, a national tabloid reported that Clinton, while governor of Arkansas, had for years engaged in an extramarital affair with a former state employee. When his standing in the polls tumbled, Hillary Rodham Clinton appeared with her husband on television to deny these charges. Clinton issued an appeal for forgiveness, his campaign regained momentum, and he won the Democratic nomination with ease. Clinton tapped Tennessee Senator Al Gore as his vice-presidential running mate.

**The Election of 1992**

Despite the perceived success of the Gulf War, President Bush faced an alarming decline in his political fortunes during the winter of 1991-1992. Conservative columnist Patrick J. Buchanan, challenged him in the early primaries, then billionaire Texas industrialist H. Ross Perot mounted an independent challenge using some conservative and some liberal ideas. He vowed to “take the shackles off of American business” and “get rid of waste” but also defended gun control, abortion and a “restructuring” of the health care system. Following Clinton’s nomination, Perot withdrew his candidacy.

Clinton accused Bush of failure to deal effectively with the recession. He vowed to undertake public works projects, to encourage private investment, and to reform the health care and
educational systems. Bush discounted the seriousness of the recession. In October, Perot reentered the race, and a record 100 million-plus citizens voted. Clinton won only 43 percent of the popular vote, but he swept the electoral vote, 370-168.

A New Start: Clinton

Clinton’s knowledge of governmental detail created a general impression of mastery, self-confidence, conciliation, and reasonableness. He promised changes in health insurance and the welfare system and to bring the budget deficit under control. In the campaign he had vowed to end the ban on homosexuals in the armed services, but when the Joint Chiefs and a number of key congressmen objected, he settled for a policy known as “don’t ask, don’t tell,” which allowed homosexuals to enlist only if they did not openly proclaim their sexual preferences. Clinton used his executive authority to reverse Reagan-Bush policies that had limited access to abortion. He named Ruth Bader Ginsburg of New York, who supported the continued legalization of abortion, to the Supreme Court. Clinton also authorized the use of fetal tissue for research and signed a revived unpaid family leave bill.

President Clinton’s economic program, packaged as a deficit-reduction plan, narrowly passed Congress in the summer of 1993. Clinton named his wife to head a task force to reform the nation’s health insurance system. The proposed overhaul, which seemed more complicated and possibly more costly than the existing system, never came to a vote in Congress.

Emergence of the Republican Majority

Scandal slowly began to gnaw at the Clinton presidency. Public pressure forced Attorney General Janet Reno to appoint Kenneth W. Starr, a Republican lawyer, as a special prosecutor to investigate Whitewater. President Clinton faced another personal crisis when, in May 1994, a another former Arkansas state employee, charged him with sexual harassment. Clinton’s troubles offered an unexpected opening for the Republicans in the 1994 congressional elections. Led by incoming Speaker Newt Gingrich of Georgia, the Republican party gained its first House majority in forty years and control of the Senate for the first time in eight years.

Gingrich advanced a conservative agenda called the “contract with America,” which included a proposed tax cut. The plan also sought to reduce the role of the national government and to turn over certain federal functions to the states or private enterprise. The federal welfare program was to be replaced by block grants to the states. Clinton vetoed the 1995 congressional budget that reflected much of the “contract.” Both sides refused to compromise, the government ran out of money, and all but vital services shut down for about two weeks.

The Election of 1996

The public blamed Congress and particularly Speaker Gingrich for the shutdown, and Clinton took advantage of the stalemate and an upturn in the economy to bolster his poll standings. The Republican party nominated the Senate majority leader, Robert Dole, as its candidate for the presidency in 1996. Dole was not a particularly effective campaigner, appearing stiff and
speak in a monotone voice. He advocated a reduction in the deficit and a 15-percent tax cut for all taxpayers. On the other hand, the charismatic Clinton promised to reduce the deficit, and yet spend more on education, the environment, and social welfare. He stressed preparation for the twenty-first century and took an optimistic view of the state of the economy. Clinton again polled less than half of the popular vote, but swept the Electoral College, 379 to 159. Republicans retained control of Congress.

A Racial Divide

The cultural chasm between whites and African Americans seemed to widen in the 1990s. Supreme Court justice Thurgood Marshall lamented that educated Americans in both races appeared to have “given up on integration.” Louis Farrakhan, leader of the black separatist Nation of Islam, organized a “Million Man March” on Washington, which attracted far more than had participated in Martin Luther King’s “March on Washington” in 1963.

The persistence of inequality was one reason for the new separatism. In 1972, the incomes of black families were one-third less than those of white families; the income gap had scarcely changed by 1992. Black children fared especially poorly on standardized tests given in public schools. Evidence was mounting that public school students were voluntarily “re-segregating” their schools.

A significant casualty of the changing tone of race relations was “affirmative action,” which gave minorities preference in hiring or college admissions. In July 1995, the Regents of the University of California ordered an end to affirmative action. In 1996, California voters approved Proposition 209, which abolished racial and gender preferences in all government hiring and education. The U.S. Supreme Court let the decision stand, and other states enacted similar laws.

Violence and Popular Culture

By the 1990s, the culture of violence depicted in movies and on television became bloodier and more intense. Popular music similarly acquired a hard edge. The Music Television (MTV) channel featured music videos replete with violence and sexually suggestive material. A new sound called “rap” which emerged from the ghetto, but equally popular among young whites, conveyed a sense of defiance and rage that contributed to the charge that rap condoned violence and crime. For some, this culture of violence seemed to legitimize the meanness of everyday life, and a few went so far as to act out destructive fantasies. In the second half of the nineties, numerous school shootings resulted in the death and wounding of dozens of students.

Clinton Impeached

In 1998, after first denying the charge, President Clinton, admitted to a grand jury, and on television, that he had had engaged in “inappropriate intimate contact” with a former White House intern. Independent counsel Kenneth Starr sent a lengthy referral to the House Judiciary Committee arguing that Clinton’s behavior warranted consideration of impeachment. After several weeks of deliberations, the House, in a primarily partisan division, impeached Clinton on
two charges: perjury and obstruction of justice. The impeachment went to the Senate for trial. The trial was brief and the senators quickly acquitted Clinton. Through all of this, voters repeatedly told pollsters that they approved of Clinton’s performance as president

Clinton’s Legacy

The healthy economy also helped save Clinton. The Clinton years coincided with the longest economic boom in the nation’s history, and Clinton, by reducing the federal deficit, deserves considerable credit for the remarkable prosperity of the era. During Clinton’s presidency, the nation enjoyed low interest rates, low unemployment, low inflation, and leadership of all industrial nations in the rate of growth of its real gross domestic product. In 1998, the federal government operated at its first surplus since 1969.

Clinton’s record in foreign policy was more mixed. He failed in an effort to assemble an international force to prevent “ethnic cleansing” by Serbian troops against Muslims in Bosnia. In 1999, Clinton proposed a NATO effort to prevent Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic from crushing the predominantly Muslim province of Kosovo, which was attempting to secede. Clinton claimed victory; Milosevic withdrew from Kosovo and was made to stand trial as a “war criminal.” As had presidents before him, Clinton tried to broker a peace between Israel and the Palestinians in the Middle East. Like them, he failed. Extremists on both sides shattered the fragile peace.

The Economic Boom and the Internet

A significant part of the prosperity of the 1990s came from new technologies, especially the Internet. The World Wide Web and its protocols—URL, HTML, HTTP—and the creation of “browsers” enabling users to navigate through the sea of information, created a whole new sector of business and a new pastime for Americans. Through the decade, the prices of the stocks of “dot.com” companies soared, even though few of them generated profits. Then, in the spring of 2000, a selling wave hit the tech stocks and stock prices plummeted. A recession seemed eminent.

The 2000 Election: George W. Bush Wins by One Vote

Clinton’s vice-president, Al Gore, won the Democratic party’s nomination and chose Senator Joseph Lieberman, an orthodox Jew and critic of Clinton during the impeachment proceedings, as his running mate. Gore’s campaign kept its distance from the scandal-tainted Clinton. George W. Bush, son of the former president, won the Republican nomination after a primary contest with Senator John McCain of Arizona, a former Vietnam POW. Consumer advocate Ralph Nader entered the race, running as an environmental advocate on the Green party ticket. Bush campaigned for a tax cut, Gore wanted to increase spending on education and shore up the social security system, and McCain advocated campaign spending reform. The election, however, turned on the character of the candidates.

On election night, when the returns were nearly complete, the race between Bush and Gore was too close to call. Charges of election irregularities in Florida caused the election to end up in the
courts. Over a month after the voting took place, the Supreme Court voted 5 to 4 that Bush’s small margin of victory in Florida should stand, and he was declared the winner.

**Terrorism Intensifies**

After the fall of the Soviet Union, American military might was virtually unassailable, and its backing of Israel, unshakeable. Opponents therefore pursued their objectives through terrorism. In 1998 Osama bin Laden surfaced as the leader of a terrorist group, al-Qaeda. Bin Laden and al-Qaeda were harbored by another extremist Islamic group that governed Afghanistan, the Taliban.

**September 11, 2001**

At mid-morning on September 11, 2001, terrorists slammed two hijacked airliners into the 110-story twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York. Within an hour a third hijacked airliner plunged into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. and burst into flames. Moments later a fourth hijacked airplane crashed into a field in western Pennsylvania when passengers acted to thwart its mission for further destruction. Meanwhile, the Trade Center towers collapsed and nearly three thousand people died in a horrific scene of mangled steel, concrete rubble, shattered glass, and choking smoke.

The hijackers were quickly identified as members of the al-Qaeda terrorist network run by Osama bin Laden, a wealthy Saudi who ran terrorist training camps in Afghanistan, a nation governed by the Taliban, an extremist Islamic group. President Bush labeled bin Laden an international terrorist rogue who must be brought to justice, and declared war on terror. Bush also created a new Cabinet position, the Office of Homeland Security.

**America Fights Back: War in Afghanistan**

Bush’s war on terror was in a way ironic, because he had often stated opposition to ill-defined and far-flung military operations. His secretary of state, and former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Colin Powell expressed his view that U.S. troops should only be deployed when their political objective was clear, military advantage overwhelming, and means of disengaging secure. None of these, however, were characteristics of the war into which Bush was taking the nation.

In Afghanistan, when Taliban leaders refused to surrender bin Laden and other al-Qaeda leaders, Bush unleashed missiles and warplanes against Taliban installations and defenses. Then small teams of elite American soldiers joined with anti-Taliban contingents and guided bombs onto Taliban troops with uncanny accuracy. Within weeks the Taliban were driven from power. Now the search was on for bin Laden.

**The Second Iraq War**

President Bush next announced that the United States would take preemptive action against Iraq, a nation he linked to Iran and North Korea as an “axis of evil” in the world. Bush and his key advisors believed that an Iraq freed from Saddam Hussein’s leadership would stimulate
democratic reforms throughout the Middle East. The president charged that Saddam possessed chemical and biological weapons and that he sought nuclear weapons. These chargers compelled Congress to vote overwhelmingly for war appropriations. Bush then tried to use classified U.S. intelligence alleging Saddam was stockpiling weapons of mass destruction to convince the United Nations to take action against Saddam. When the U.N. balked, Bush formed a coalition with Britain and a few other nations to forcibly oust the Iraqi leader.

In March, 2003, a “Shock and Awe” campaign to liberate Iraq began with American and British armored columns heading from Kuwait into Iraq toward Baghdad and the oil port of Basra. Iraqi resistance was disorganized and ineffective, and within days Saddam’s government evaporated. By mid-April, major combat operations ended, but Iraq was in chaos. There were too few U.S. troops to preserve order and install a new government.

The Election of 2004

By the fall of 2003, the war in Iraq had become the main issue of the presidential campaign. Democratic candidate Howard Dean enjoyed early success as an antiwar candidate, but his liberal views were too radical for party centrists. As 2004 began, Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts began to gain ground as a more moderate and stable candidate, and he eventually won the Democratic nomination.

In Iraq, the situation had deteriorated further. Reports revealed that American captors had tortured their Iraqi captives in the Abu Ghraib prison, American casualties mounted, and war costs spiraled upward. When occupying forces failed to find any weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, Kerry and others criticized the president for leading the nation into an unnecessary war with too few troops and too little international support. Republicans criticized Kerry’s antiwar activism in the 1960s and portrayed him as a craven opportunist since he had actually voted for the original war resolution in the Senate. Bush also attacked Kerry for his liberal voting record, and he mobilized conservatives and religious fundamentalists by proposing a constitutional amendment outlawing same-sex marriages. On election day, the divided nation chose President Bush for a second term.

The Imponderable Future

No wartime president had ever lost a reelection campaign, and although the situation in Iraq was deteriorating, the pattern held true for Bush in 2004. But by early 2005, over 1400 American soldiers had been killed, the federal deficit approached a half trillion dollars, and America’s effort in Iraq seemed to have promoted resentment in the Arab world, rather than democracy.

Historians are trained at explaining how things got to be the way they are at the present moment. That is because events have causes and results. However, although historians may explain how and why events developed, they cannot predict the future. This textbook, rich in events and their causes and results, must end inconclusively. Yet, not knowing the future is one thing that keeps life interesting.
PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Identify the following:

“affirmative action” _______________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

entitlements __________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

block grants __________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

resegregation __________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

impeachment __________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

sexual harassment __________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

“ethnic cleansing” __________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

“drug czar” __________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

preemptive war __________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

Describe the following:

Whitewater __________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________

World Trade Center __________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________________
Identify the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Willie Horton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boris Yeltsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Noriega</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norman Schwarzkopf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruth Bader Ginsburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddam Hussein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janet Reno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Farrakhan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osama bin Laden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Qaeda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taliban</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map Exercise

Refer to the United States map on the next page. Place the number that corresponds with the location of each city beside the proper selection.

1. Albany
2. Albuquerque, NH
3. Anchorage
4. Atlanta
5. Austin
6. Baltimore
7. Baton Rouge
8. Billings
9. Birmingham
10. Boise
11. Boston
12. Buffalo
13. Charleston, SC
14. Charleston, WV
15. Charlotte
16. Cheyenne
17. Chicago
18. Cincinnati
19. Cleveland
20. Columbia, SC
21. Columbus, OH
22. Dallas
23. Denver
24. Des Moines
25. Detroit
26. El Paso
27. Fargo
28. Fort Worth
29. Hartford
30. Houston
31. Honolulu
32. Indianapolis
33. Jackson, MS
34. Jacksonville
35. Kansas City
36. Knoxville
37. Las Vegas
38. Little Rock
39. Lexington, KY
40. Los Angeles
41. Louisville
42. Lubbock
43. Manchester
44. Memphis
45. Miami
46. Milwaukee
47. Minneapolis
48. Mobile
49. Montpelier
49. Nashville
50. New Orleans
51. New York City
52. Norfolk
53. Oklahoma City
54. Philadelphia
55. Omaha
56. Pittsburgh
57. Phoenix
58. Portland, ME
59. Portland, OR
60. Providence
61. Salt Lake City
62. San Antonio
63. San Diego
64. San Francisco
65. Savannah
66. Shreveport
67. Sacramento
68. Spokane
69. Seattle
70. Tallahassee
71. Sioux Falls
72. Trenton
73. St. Louis
74. Tampa
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. After “Willie Horton” became a household name, the 1988 presidential campaign became a referendum on
   A. junk bonds.
   B. violent crime.
   C. financial scandal
   D. political corruption.
2. All of the following were manifestations of the crackdown on crime in the late twentieth century EXCEPT
   A. capital punishment resumed after a brief moratorium.
   B. mandatory sentencing was abandoned.
   C. obtaining parole became more difficult.
   D. the nation’s prison population increased.

3. While he was president, George Bush did NOT
   A. display a competent knowledge of current events and government procedures.
   B. oppose abortion and gun control legislation.
   C. pledge “No New Taxes.”
   D. support a constitutional amendment prohibiting term limits.

4. When President Gorbachev revealed the Soviet Union would not use force to keep communist governments in power in Eastern Europe, all the following nations EXCEPT _____ peacefully converted to more democratic governments.
   A. Poland
   B. Hungary
   C. Romania
   D. East Germany

5. In the Persian Gulf War, American troops were sent to
   A. enforce trade sanctions imposed by the United Nations.
   B. protect American-owned petroleum mining equipment.
   C. arrest the Iraqi president for drug smuggling.
   D. liberate Kuwait from Iraqi occupation.

6. Arguably the “financial crime of the [twentieth] century” was
   A. the speculative looting of savings and loans associations.
   B. the public expense of the O. J. Simpson trial.
   C. the impeachable offenses charged against President Clinton.
   D. President Bush’s decision to support Congress’s 1992 income tax hike.

7. Contenders for the presidential nomination in 1992 included all the following EXCEPT
   A. George Bush.
   B. H. Ross Perot.
   C. Patrick Buchanan
   D. John McCain.

8. In 1992, Bill Clinton focused his presidential campaign on President Bush’s
   A. failure to pursue Saddam Hussein out of power in Iraq.
   B. hesitancy to use American military power in Latin American trouble spots.
   C. failure to deal effectively with the lingering economic recession.
   D. inability to handle the workings of government.
9. To support women’s right to abortion, Clinton did all the following EXCEPT
   A. indicate he would veto any congressional bill limiting abortion rights.
   B. appoint a new member of the Supreme Court who supported the continued acceptance
      of the constitutionality of abortion.
   C. settle for the “don’t ask, don’t tell” rule.
   D. appoint Ruth Bader Ginsberg to the Supreme Court.

10. The “contract with America” offered by the Republican party in the 1994 midterm
    elections did NOT include
    A. tax cuts.
    B. block grants to states to reduce the burden of federal power.
    C. reducing the federal debt.
    D. requiring businesses to clean up their own environmentally hazardous waste.

11. In 1996, both President Clinton and his Republican opponent, Robert Dole, campaigned in
    favor of
    A. a 15-percent tax cut.
    B. imposing spending limits on Social Security and Medicare.
    C. reducing the federal deficit.
    D. block grants to the states.

12. Evidence that the cultural chasm between blacks and whites was widening in the 1990s
    included the fact that
    A. polls indicating whites were dissatisfied with the accomplishments of the civil rights
       movement.
    B. only a small percentage of blacks and whites said they approved of interracial
       marriages.
    C. a smaller percentage of whites reported living by a black neighbor in 1994 than was
       reported in 1964.
    D. white support for affirmative action programs declined in the 1990s as compared to
       the previous two decades.

13. In 1991, an exhaustive survey found that the average 18 year-old
    A. had witnessed 40,000 murders on television.
    B. spent more hours a day watching rock videos than going to school.
    C. did not like “rap.”
    D. had never seen “Thriller.”

14. In 1998, the House of Representatives impeached President Clinton for
    A. malfeasance in office and lying to a grand jury.
    B. behavior unbecoming a president and inducing others to give false testimony.
    C. perjury and obstruction of justice.
    D. failure to observe a court order and legalistic obfuscation.

15. During President Clinton’s years in office, all the following declined EXCEPT
    A. the federal deficit.
    B. unemployment.
    C. inflation.
    D. real gross domestic product (GDP).
16. All the following Clinton foreign policy initiatives ended in failure EXCEPT
A. a NATO effort to prevent Yugoslavia from crushing the Muslim province of Kosovo.
B. a brokered peace between Israel and the Palestinians.
C. Operation Restore Hope in war torn and famine-struck Somalia.
D. assembling of international forces to prevent “ethnic cleansing” in Bosnia.

17. Regarding candidates in the 2000 presidential election and their position on the issues, which of the following is a MISMATCH?
A. George W. Bush—tax cut
B. Al Gore—shore up Social Security
C. Ralph Nader—get government off the back of business
D. John McCain—reform campaign funding laws

18. Regarding the Florida election returns, in December 2000, the Supreme Court ruled that _____ was/were unconstitutional.
A. punch-card ballots
B. hand recounts of selective ballots
C. waving the deadline requirements on overseas ballots
D. machine recounts

19. Between 1988 and 2001, Americans were killed by terrorist attacks in all the following countries EXCEPT
A. Scotland.  
B. Saudi Arabia.  
C. Yemen.  
D. Afghanistan.

20. Repercussions of the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, included all the following EXCEPT
A. the federal deficit disappeared.  
B. several airlines declared bankruptcy.  
C. the travel industry was crippled.  
D. military expenditures increased.

Essay Questions

1. Why did President Bush fail to gain reelection in the fall of 1992 when polls showed a 90-percent approval rating in the spring of 1991?

2. Why and how did President Clinton win reelection despite scandal in his administration?


4. Discuss the link between Whitewater and the failure of savings and loan institutions in the late 1980s and early 1990s.
5. Explain the significance of the “contract with America” on public policy in the middle 1990s.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Here are ten thought questions that can be answered in a couple of sentences each. You must deduce the answers, for they will not necessarily be written in the passages of the text.

1. How did Speaker Newt Gingrich inadvertently contribute to the reelection of President Clinton?

2. Why do critics of gun control laws believe that such measures have little impact on the rash of shootings and terrorist attacks in recent years?

3. Why did some Republicans privately hope that President Clinton would be found not guilty in his trial of impeachment?

4. Who are Democrats and Republicans most likely to credit with the longevity of the prosperous economy in the 1990s?

5. How did President Bush blunder in regard to the 1990 tax bill?

6. Why did Czechoslovakia split apart in 1993?

7. Why did Israel not retaliate against the Scud missile attacks launched by Iraq in 1991?

8. How did the death of Republican National Committee Chairman Lee Atwater affect the 1992 presidential campaign?

9. From 1976-1996, every single Republican national ticket included a candidate with one of what two names?

10. Why has the Reform party been unable to establish itself as a major factor in U.S. politics following Ross Perot’s 19-percent showing in the 1992 presidential election?

11. In 2004, the federal deficit was over $250 billion and rising, and the war in Iraq had tied the United States to a politically chaotic, potentially long-term, and morally questionable occupation of an Arab nation and Muslim people. Why did the American people reelect the president whose policies had led the nation into this state of affairs?
ANSWER SECTION
CHAPTER 16

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking


CHAPTER 17

Map Exercise

11. D

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking

1. Faro  6. Irrigation
2. Atchison  7. Humid
3. Citizenship  8. Harvest
4. Reservation  9. Cherokee
5. Miners  10. Subsidies

CHAPTER 18

Map Exercise

11. F  12. C

Multiple-Choice Questions

Critical Thinking


CHAPTER 19

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking


CHAPTER 20

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking

11. P  12. T

CHAPTER 21

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking


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Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking

2. "Old Guard"  7. Debs
3. Monopoly  8. Laissez-faire
5. Carter Woodson  10. Samuel Gompers

Map Exercise I


Map Exercise II


Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking


Map Exercise


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Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking


CHAPTER 25

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking

1. F. Scott Fitzgerald  5. Sinclair Lewis
2. Fitzgerald   6. Robert and Helen Lynd
4. H. L. Mencken   8. Langston Hughes

CHAPTER 26

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking

11. O  12. F

CHAPTER 27

Map Exercise

11. A
Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking

11. T  12. F

CHAPTER 28

Map Exercise I


Map Exercise II


Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking


CHAPTER 29

Map Exercise


Multiple-Choice Questions

Critical Thinking
1. 15 2. 1 3. 7 4. 13 5. 12 6. 14 7. 3 8. 5 9. 2 10. 11
11. 8 12. 4 13. 9 14. 6 15. 10

CHAPTER 30

Map Exercise

Multiple-Choice Questions

Critical Thinking

CHAPTER 31

Multiple-Choice Questions

Critical Thinking
11. F 12. F

CHAPTER 32

Map Exercise

269
Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking


Chapter 33

1. 75  2. 18  3. 1  4. 56  5. 29  6. 69  7. 38  8. 15  9. 49  10. 11
21. 53  22. 28  23. 17  24. 33  25. 51  26. 19  27. 20  28. 27  29. 78  30. 31
31. 2  32. 44  33. 43  34. 36  35. 47  36. 48  37. 10  38. 36  39. 46  40. 8
41. 45  42. 26  43. 82  44. 42  45. 59  46. 40  47. 32  48. 50  49. 81  50. 47
51. 39  52. 74  53. 66  54. 24  55. 22  56. 72  57. 13  58. 71  59. 83  60. 5
61. 84  62. 65  63. 67  64. 77  65. 6  66. 12  67. 30  68. 9  69. 7  70. 61
71. 3  72. 37  73. 21  74. 4  75. 35  76. 57  77. 58  78. 73  79. 14  80. 25
81. 68  82. 23  83. 70  84. 79

Multiple-Choice Questions


Critical Thinking

1. Gingrich and the Republicans were blamed for a two-week government shutdown in 1995, which permitted Clinton to regain the initiative in his political standing with voters. Gingrich could not convince the public of the need for such a shutdown.

2. Opponents of gun control believe that such laws violate the Second Amendment and are mostly procedural barriers to the rights of law-abiding citizens seeking to obtain firearms. They claim that such laws cannot keep weapons out of the hands of criminals, who will obtain guns through unlawful means.

3. Some Republicans wanted to prevent Vice-President Albert Gore, Jr., from succeeding to the presidency should Clinton have been removed. They believed that Gore, as the sitting vice-president, would be a far weaker candidate in 2000 than he would have been as “President Gore.”

4. Democrats credit President Clinton; Republicans, former President Reagan. Many further credit Federal Reserve Board chairman Alan Greenspan.
5. In agreeing to a tax hike after proclaiming “No New Taxes” at the Republican convention in 1988, Bush appeared deceitful. Many conservatives in his party refused to support the tax hike. Some voted for Patrick Buchanan in the 1992 primaries, which revealed a deterioration of Bush’s political strength.

6. Czechoslovakia was an artificial creation when the map of Europe was remade in 1919. The Czechs and Slovaks considered their differences greater than their common interest; so they parted political company in 1993.

7. The United States convinced its ally Israel not to take an active part in the Gulf War, for fear such action would enlarge the conflict and rally sentiment against Israel by Arab nations.

8. When Bush sought reelection, he had no “hard-nosed” campaign manager who could fill the shoes of the tenacious Atwater, who died of a brain tumor in 1991 at the age of 40.

9. Dole or Bush.

10. Perot largely disappeared from media appearances after his two presidential campaigns and did not take an active role in building his new party at the grass roots. However, the Reform party won the Minnesota governorship in 1998, with the election of Jesse Ventura, a former mayor, well-known professional wrestler, and entertainer.

11. Voters were uncomfortable with the nation’s state of affairs, but they preferred Bush’s nostrums and leadership to the sometimes ponderous and confusing alternatives offered by his opponent. Bush did not win by a wide margin—52 percent of the vote to Kerry’s 48 percent. Had Kerry won in Ohio, where the popular vote was very close, he would have won the Electoral College vote and the election.