Instructor’s Manual

to accompany

Jones • Wood • Borstelmann • May • Ruiz

CREATED EQUAL

Second Edition

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 First Founders 1
CHAPTER 2 Eastern European Footholds on the Fringes of North America, 1600-1660 7
CHAPTER 3 Controlling the Edges of the Continent, 1660-1715 13
CHAPTER 4 African Enslavement: The Terrible Transformation 19
CHAPTER 5 An American Babel, 1713-1763 25
CHAPTER 6 The Limits of Imperial Control, 1763-1775 31
CHAPTER 7 Revolutions at War, 1775-1783 38
CHAPTER 8 New Beginnings, The 1780s 44
CHAPTER 9 Revolutionary Legacies, 1789-1803 49
CHAPTER 10 Defending and Expanding the New Nation, 1803-1818 55
CHAPTER 11 Moving Westward: Society and Politics in the “Age of the Common Man,” 1819-1832 61
CHAPTER 12 Peoples in Motion, 1832-1848 66
CHAPTER 13 The Crisis Over Slavery, 1848-1860 72
CHAPTER 14 To Fight to Gain a Country 78
CHAPTER 15 In the Wake of War: Consolidating a Triumphant Union, 1865-1877 86
CHAPTER 16 Standardizing the Nation: Innovations in Technology, Business, and Culture, 1877-1890 92
CHAPTER 17 Challenges in Government and Corporate Power: Resistance and Reform, 1877-1900 101
CHAPTER 18 Political and Cultural Conflict in a Decade of Depression and War, The 1890s 110
CHAPTER 19 The Promise and Perils of Progressive Reform, 1900-1912 119
CHAPTER 20 War and Revolution, 1912-1920 127
CHAPTER 21 The Promise of Consumer Culture: The 1920s 138
CHAPTER 22 Hardship and Hope in the 1930s: The Great Depression 148
CHAPTER 23 Global Conflict: World War II, 1937-1945 161
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Cold War and Hot War, 1945-1953</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Domestic Dreams and Atomic Nightmares, 1953-1963</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>The Nation Divides: The Vietnam War and Social Conflict, 1964-1971</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Reconsidering National Priorities, 1972-1979</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>The Cold War Returns—and Ends, 1979-1991</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Post-Cold War America, 1991-2000</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>A Global Nation for the New Millennium</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

First Founders

Chapter Outline:

I. Ancient America

The question of where native peoples originated and how North America became populated with such diverse tribes, has intrigued people for centuries. Some early European settlers were certain the Indians were Asian Indians, others categorized Indians as members of the Lost Tribes of Israel or Phoenicians. Native peoples have their own stories about their ancient past. New scientific discoveries in geology, archeology, anthropology, linguistics and DNA matching identify their origins as Asian. It is reasonable to expect continuing information from these sources to fill out the story of ancient America in the future. The appearance and disappearance of a land bridge between Northeastern Asia and Alaska provided one route to North America, land exposed by glacial melt opened other areas, and ocean travel was probably another route. As glacial melt provided access to rich hunting lands southward, hunters followed the herds and eventually spread eastward to the Atlantic and southward into South America.

Climatic changes, hunting, and other conditions combined to cause the disappearance of over 100 animal species like the mastodon and mammoth. Hunters adapted to the situation by hunting bison and smaller mammals. Adaption to existing conditions resulted in diverse cultures closely tied to their physical surroundings. Various wild plants like sunflowers, goosefoot, and manioc were skillfully managed to provide larger yields. While hunting and gathering activities that required seasonal travel would remain the practice of some tribes, others created permanent villages and developed tribal agricultural lands. Beans, corn, and squash would eventually become such important food crops among agricultural native people that they would be called the “three sisters.”

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

With surplus corn providing a staple food source, complex governments and religious systems became the basis for major city complexes tied together by alliances and trade networks. The impressive city-states of the Olmec and Toltec of Mesoamerica were precursors of the Aztecs, while the Mississippi River Poverty Point culture predated the city of Cahokia along the Mississippi River near present-day St. Louis. Similarities suggest some type of connection between these civilizations, though this is one of many puzzles facing future scholars that undiscovered ruins or new scientific research applied to existing sites or materials may answer.

The Aztec migrated from the north to central Mexico in the twelfth century and built an impressive empire through war and trade. Deeply religious, their lives were in the hands of gods who required human sacrifice to have the strength to protect the people. Wars of conquest and ceremonial wars between major cities within the empire provided the necessary sacrificial victims.
In the Southwest, three clearly identifiable cultures depended on the cultivation of maize. Cities, trade networks, and complex religious calendars were common features of the Mogollon, the Hohokam, and the Anasazi. Scholars assume that long periods of drought, and possibly increased warfare, led to the dispersal of these peoples. Although scholars continue to search for answers to the Southwestern peoples who “disappeared,” oral histories of local pueblos have long identified kinship connections to ancient cities.

The Mississippian cultures built major cities with dense populations that lived in well organized neighborhoods around huge centrally located plazas that contained strategically placed political and religious buildings built on top of massive earth-mounds. Smaller villages built along local river systems provided food and other supplies to the city. Cahokia emerged as a leading trade center for the entire northern region after AD 1050. After this major city declined in the 1400s, the small agricultural villages continued to flourish in the region.

III. Linking the Continents

Recent archeological finds now demonstrate that Vikings settled for a short time in Canada around AD 1000. Maritime contact with people from Africa, Ireland, Polynesia, China, or Japan may also have occurred, but such contact remains to be proven. Continuous contact with the Eastern Hemisphere began in the fifteenth century. European activity in the race for territory and riches pitted Portugal against Spain to be the first to reach India or China by sea. The powerful Portuguese navy and merchant marine searched south along the African coast, garnering a wealth of gold, spices, and slaves during the quest. The Spanish Crown, having finally regained control of its country from the Moors in 1492, sponsored its voyages sailing west to reach the wealth of Asia. Columbus reached the Caribbean in 1492 and triumphantly claimed San Salvador as Cimpangu (Japan) for the Spanish Crown. Sailing further, he encountered other lands that he labeled as India. Spanish exploration and settlement proceeded slowly, while other European powers continued the search for China.

IV. Spain Enters the Americas

Within a generation of Spanish settlement in the West Indies, the Taino and Carib Indian populations had been decimated by European diseases, severe food shortages, and the conditions of enslavement. Shocked Dominican friars labeled Spanish exploitation as sinful and argued that these Indians had souls and must be converted. Bartholome de Las Casas went so far as to recommend that blacks from Africa be imported as slaves since they had no souls. The debate about whether black Africans were human would continue among Catholics and Protestants throughout the next century.

The question of continued Spanish presence in New Spain was conclusively answered with the discovery and conquest of the Aztec Empire of central Mexico by Hernan Cortes. In command of 600 adventurers, Cortes coordinated the activities of disgruntled coastal natives. He kidnapped the Aztec diplomatic mission, which included the emperor
Montezuma and gained access to the capitol, Tenochtitlan. Conquest was not easy, and combined the epidemic ravages of smallpox and ferocious door-to-door fighting to gain control of the island capitol. Gold poured into the Spanish treasury from Aztec mines. The Pizarro brothers, also aided by smallpox and division within the Incan Empire, conquered that Peruvian Empire, and the Spanish royal treasury became even healthier.

In 1537, Hernando DeSoto received authority to conquer Florida. With a 600-man expeditionary force, he searched portions of Florida, South Carolina, and Alabama for riches. Indian hospitality turned to resistance or withdrawal as DeSoto’s men looted granaries, dug up graves searching for gold and pearls, tortured hostages for information about wealth, and coerced men and women to be personal servants or luggage bearers. Having crossed the Mississippi, a disappointed DeSoto died of fever without finding the treasure he sought. His remaining men fled southward to the Gulf Coast, leaving epidemic disease in their wake.

Francisco Coronado led 300 adventurers and a thousand Indian allies in search of the mythical Seven Cities of Cibola, reported to lie north of the Rio Grande. Discovering only agricultural Pueblos, he next sought the Pacific Ocean northward, and reached the Grand Canyon. Returning to the Pueblos, Indian elders told of a golden city further northeast in the Great Plains, far enough away from supplies and water that the expedition would be unable to survive the region. Coronado reached the Wichita villages in present-day Kansas, and still finding nothing significant, returned south through Texas to the civilized portions of New Spain.

V. The Protestant Reformation Plays Out in America

As small European states coalesced into nations through marriage and warfare during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, intense religious tensions exploded into wars, combining the Protestant and Catholic dispute with dynastic rivalries. Spain instituted the Inquisition to root out Moorish and Protestant influences, and waged war in the name of religion to acquire new territory. In France, the persecution of French Huguenots and other Protestants divided the country. Seeking relief by settling in America, French Huguenots settled at Port Royal Sound in South Carolina and Fort Caroline near Jacksonville. Spain reacted quickly to this threat to Spanish treasure ships, and eradicated the settlement. To preclude further French or Protestant settlement, the Spanish established St. Augustine.

England gained a wealth of American treasure through the privateering efforts of English sea rovers like Francis Drake and Anthony Hawkins before engaging in settlement efforts. A successful defense of England itself from the attack of the Spanish Armada paved the way for colonization. Concerned about future attacks by Spain, the violent reconquest of Ireland established a precedent for English settlement in America. That first attempt, in 1584 on Roanoke Island in the Chesapeake Bay, was a failure for unknown reasons.
Sample Discussion Questions:

1. What methods do scholars use to gain information about prehistoric Native America? Are there advantages or disadvantages in relying on any one of these sources?

2. Discuss the reasons why so many different tribal cultures developed in North America. Examine the existence of both small villages and major city complexes.

3. The powerful Aztec Empire fell into the hands of a small band of adventurers led by Cortes. What occurrences within the Aztec world made this possible?

4. Spanish priests sought to rescue the Aztecs from the devil. How did Aztecs view the new teachings?

5. Spanish explorations in America provided wealth to the Crown and Spanish investors. What impact did Spanish actions have on native peoples?

6. Examine the impact of religious tensions in Europe on the early French and Spanish colonies.

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. North America was well-populated by tribes with rich cultures, intricate languages, well developed religions, successful economies and widespread trade networks, and existing alliances. The region was a “new world” only to Europeans.

2. Although there is growing evidence to support the theory that other nations reached America before the Spanish, it is the Spanish discovery that resulted in continuous contact between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres.

3. The Spanish efforts to discover and exploit new sources of wealth were devastating to native populations. Spanish adventurers responded aggressively to peaceful diplomatic overtures and hospitality by Indian peoples. Spanish military tactics and weaponry initially gave them a decided advantage over native peoples.

4. Despite the availability of information on North America, initial attempts at colonization by French businessmen in Canada and the Chesapeake Bay, as well as English efforts to establish settlements, were not successful.

Enrichment Ideas:

1. Have the class divide into regional areas of North America. Each group’s task is to examine what kinds of strategies would be necessary for tribal success in its region. Since most areas had both sedentary and migrating tribes, both options should be included in the discussion.
2. Divide the class in half. One part will take the role of visiting traders to Cahokia or Tenotitchlan. The other part will take the part of citizens of one of these cities. What will they see? What will they do?

3. Divide the class into three or more working groups. Have each draw a country name from a hat. Each group has the assignment of selecting the aim of their expedition to North America, the type of individuals who they will recruit for the venture, the kind of equipment they will need, and where they will make first landfall.

Further Resources:


Web Site Assignments:

1. Have students explore the history, culture, or art of one or more tribes found in one of the regions of the United States.
http://www.hanksville.org/NAresources/
http://www.si.edu/nmai/
2. Examine the information about the Acoma Pueblo and discuss this example of the Southwestern Indian agricultural village. Discuss why the wealth of corn would not interest an explorer like Coronado.
http://www.puebloofacoma.org/index2.htm
CHAPTER 2

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

Chapter Outline:

I. Spain’s Ocean-Spanning Reach

Spain’s imperial objectives included global markets in the East. Instructions from the Crown ordered the viceroy to create a Spanish settlement at Monterey Bay in California as a protective port for merchant ships returning from the Philippines and Japan. However, the viceroy spent those funds on expeditions searching for fabled gold islands in the Pacific. The viceroy's decision represents what became customary throughout New Spain (complying with laws generated in far away capitols only when they could not be avoided, while developing local networks to pursue individual goals). While Spanish officials (peninsulares) debated over the wisdom of maintaining outposts like Fort Augustine, Florida, wealthy individuals like Juan de Onate secured permission from Mexican officials to establish a settlement in the northern Pueblo lands of New Mexico.

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

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

In Florida, Spanish cattle ranches were more successful than Spanish missions. Native populations, assaulted by epidemic diseases, as well as corvee labor (required work hours on Spanish projects) and food, began to plummet, and whole villages ceased to exist.
Indian rebellions were quickly and firmly crushed, with an eye to European competition for Spanish Florida.

II. France and Holland: Overseas Competition for Spain

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

While the French expanded their influence on the fur trade throughout the northern reaches of the Great Lakes, trading and arming their allies with guns, Dutch fur traders established Fort Orange on the Hudson River, trading and arming the Iroquois League. Contagious disease and warfare took a dreadful toll, and resulted in a continuous round of mourning wars (also known as the Beaver Wars). Attempts by French Jesuit priests to convert the Indians finally settled on the four major villages of Huronia, later moving their converts to praying missions close to French forts.

Dutch settlements successfully attracted colonizers and Crown support. The Dutch West Indian Company sponsored settlements along the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers. The Dutch Colony of New Amsterdam quickly became the most cosmopolitan European colony in the Americas, with settlers from Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, and England, and religious convictions as diverse as Walloon Protestants, Quakers, and European Jews. It also included a growing number of black slaves.

III. English Beginnings on the Atlantic Coast

The failed Roanoke experiment warned individual investors that developing the wealth of America could be a costly venture. The next efforts were sponsored by the Virginia Company on the Chesapeake Bay under the direction of a governor and council. Instead of an alliance of equals since the English settlers were so weak they were unable to act as "brothers", the local Indian confederacy chose the unequal diplomatic relationship of father to child. As the "father", the confederacy assumed the responsibility of providing food, education, and protection to the weaker English "child" and expected the English to eventually grow into the relationship by becoming useful trade partners and fighting allies. This was similar to the strategy followed by other tribes in dealing with the Dutch and French in the Northeast. Jamestown residents interpreted Indian behavior as proof of English superiority and Indian submission to the Crown. The Jamestown settlers included a large number of gentlemen, unused to physical labor, who expected immediate riches. When hard work and starvation ensued, only the arrival of additional settlers kept the colony alive. Unable to find readily exploitable precious metals, it took a decade to refine
West Indian tobacco plants into an exportable crop. With labor, rather than land, at a premium, the majority of workers were English indentured servants, attracted by the promise of sizeable acreage at the end of the contract period. The high cost of African slaves meant that they would only gradually become key elements of the successful tobacco plantation society.

IV. The Puritan Experiment

In the northeast, religiously motivated settlements began at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. At Plymouth, the Pilgrims developed a small farming community, depending on the aid of the Wampanoag tribe led by Massasoit. The Massachusetts Bay area became the home of a better organized settlement of English Puritans who sought to create settlements that would show England how to be properly religious as well as economically successful. Although dissenters like Roger Williams and Ann Hutchinson, both expelled from the colony, would split the religious settlement around Boston, a strong barter/trade economy emerged from the grid pattern villages and well ordered farms that spread inland and along the coast.

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

V. The Chesapeake Bay Colonies

The successful tobacco experiment meant increasing tensions with the Powhatan Confederacy, as land-hungry Englishmen began to seize corn supplies and burn villages suspected of harboring English runaways, to convince the Indians to abide by English laws. The arrival of 3,500 additional settlers created so much tension that the Pequots finally retaliated with a 10-year war that almost destroyed the Chesapeake colonies. Barely surviving, and rebuilding with newly arriving Englishmen, the colony of Virginia once again became a major force in the area. The Second Pequot War that started 10 years later resulted in the defeat of the Indian Confederacy and with land-hungry colonists moving onto lands once held by the tribes.

The second colony that emerged in the Chesapeake Bay area, Maryland, began in 1634, as a Catholic haven with laws protecting freedom of religion. Within 15 years, the preponderance of Protestants who moved to the colony took control and repealed these laws. In Maryland as in the northern colonies, strong religious conviction did not result in respect for the religious convictions, or rights, of those outside one’s own religion.
Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Why were the Spanish less successful in exploiting the Mexican north (Texas, New Mexico, California) than in central Mexico or Peru?

2. How did Pueblo peoples respond to Spanish military expeditions and missionary efforts?

3. How successful were the expeditions of DeSoto, Coronado, and Onate? Why did Indian nations come to resent and resist Spanish presence in their areas?

4. Would you consider France or Spain more successful in its dealing with Indians and accumulation of wealth from America?

5. Discuss the early Dutch and English settlements. Which were more successful?

7. Disputes over religion were a key part of English life. How did this affect American settlement?

8. Examine the relationship between Indian people and English settlers. How do the actions of “savage” people differ from those of “civilized Christian” people?

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. Spanish settlements gradually radiated out from central Mexico. In an attempt to secure the safety of its treasure fleet, Spain used missions and forts to gain control of Indian land. In Florida, Spanish cattlemen exploited grazing lands more successfully than missionaries converted Indians. Above the Rio Grande, Spanish settlements found some success among the agricultural Pueblo peoples through the use of religion and military force.

2. Spanish expeditions searched for wealth and easy access to the sea, having no concept of the size of the landmass they attempted to exploit. These northern lands, called New Mexico, did not provide the wealth or easy settlement Spanish adventurers, town builders, or farmers desired.

3. French attempts at town-building were not as successful, nor as necessary to the success of the fur trade, as strategically-located forts that provided security as well as trade opportunity. Adapting to tribal requirements for trade also proved successful in solidifying alliances that provided access to rich beaver regions.

4. French support of the Huron and Algonquian peoples resulted in a powerful enmity with the Iroquois Confederation, who allied themselves with the Dutch.
5. Dutch settlements, both cosmopolitan and religiously tolerant, successfully incorporated the fur trade with agricultural settlements and town-building.

6. Establishing colonies in America was a difficult task for Englishmen, whether they sought wealth, greater freedoms and economic opportunity, or freedom to practice the religion of their choice. The challenges of adapting to the realities of geography, climate, and the need to provide food as well as shelter and mutual protection, took a grim toll.

Local Indians provided the small groups of starving settlers with food, clothing, and protection from other hostile tribes. The increasing strength of the English settlements did not result in more equal relations between tribes and settlers, however. Instead, the desire for land and supplies led to increasing English aggression, which in turn led to war. Like Cortes and Pizzaro, English settlers recruited other Indian tribes to ensure victory.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Find additional examples of colonial writing. What do these writings tell you about colonial life in the religious or merchant colonies? Compare these impressions with those you gain from examining the woodcuts and artifacts provided in the textbook.

2. Examine the maps of North America provided in the first two chapters. How would these primitive maps that inaccurately show land areas affect exploration or settlement?

3. Form a tribal council to debate what course should be taken with these new European neighbors. What action, if any, would convince the council to change its mind? (Note: The position of chief was advisory only. Decisions were arrived at by achieving a consensus. Council members represented their clans, and were required to do so faithfully, regardless of their own personal opinion. The opinions of women were an essential part to any deliberation, whether the tribe was matriarchal or patriarchal.) Once the tribe reached a decision, individuals had the right to decide for themselves whether they would follow it or not.

**Further Resources:**


**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Discuss the accomplishments and impact of European exploration expeditions.
   [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/history_americas.html](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/history_americas.html)

2. Take a visual walk through 1627 Plymouth and colonial Williamsburg. Discuss what this exhibit adds to your understanding of colonial life.
   [http://www.plimoth.org](http://www.plimoth.org)
   [http://www.history.org](http://www.history.org)
CHAPTER 3
Controlling the Edges of the Continent, 1660 - 1715

Chapter Outline:

I. France and the American Interior

The French government followed a two-pronged approach to settlement in New France. Exploration was encouraged to expand French claims to American territory. Adapting Indian canoes, French explorers traversed westward to the Great Lakes and southward on the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, claiming all the land drained by the river for France, and called it Louisiana. French forts were built at distant points to aid in the fur trade and provide support for further exploration. Settlement was encouraged to diversify economic growth. Towns and farms grew slowly due to climate and living conditions. The Crown also decreased its support for major settlements in New France due to concerns about depopulating France to build the colonies. The fur trade continued to be the major commercial enterprise.

Religion and economic competition fueled the French and English rivalry in Europe and boiled over into the American colonies. The French successfully used their Indian allies in this battle of empires, inflicting heavy damage on Britain’s allies, the Iroquois Confederation, and also on scattered English villages, farms, and frontier settlements. At the conclusion of the war, the Iroquois determined to remain neutral in any future confrontations between the two European powers. The European portion of the war ended in a stalemate where each belligerent returned the territory gained from the enemy. In America, this meant a strengthened position for the French, and the freedom to expand forts as well as plant settlements along the Mississippi River down to the Gulf.

II. The Spanish Empire on the Defensive

Mismanagement fueled Indian rebellions throughout northern New Spain. The successful Pueblo Revolt of 1680 had the longest-lasting impact on Spanish policy. Drought, abuses of the encomienda system, Apache and Navajo raids in response to Mexican slave raiders who secured male workers for Mexican silver mines and women and children as household servants, the inability of the Spanish officials to protect villages from these raids, and personality issues were only a few of the long-standing grievances of the Pueblo people. When frustrated priests resorted to hanging, whipping, and selling “idolaters” into slavery, the villagers united around the charismatic San Juan Pueblo leader, Pope, and successfully defeated the military garrison and drove the remaining Spanish citizens from the region. The unusual coalition of independent villages soon disintegrated over differences concerning leadership and objectives. When Spain regained control of the region, the Crown ordered fairer government, which included respect for Indian traditions. The Crown was more interested in maintaining control over the region than in purifying Indian souls.
Among the repercussions of the Pueblo Revolt and fears of Spanish military reprisal, was the dispersion of Pueblo peoples to Navajo villages, along with flocks of sheep, horses, and agricultural seeds. A matriarchal society, Navajo women controlled the flocks and incorporated wool into their traditional cotton-weaving routine. Horses increased Navajo mobility, and also entered the trade network, eventually reaching the Southern and Northern Plains, thus drastically altering Plains lifestyles and tribal relationships.

Indian resentment also grew in Florida, where demands for food and labor combined with the demands of the new religion and deadly diseases to undermine the village lifestyle. Similar to other areas in New Spain, Crown laws concerning Indian legal rights and encomendero responsibilities were ignored. Rather than respecting unfenced Indian gardens, cattle roamed freely, and Indians who killed the cattle faced four months of servitude and the loss of their ears. The new English colonies to the north gave Florida tribes the chance to ignore Spain and deal with English traders in the deerskin trade. Each country tried to force exclusive tribal loyalty by using force. Caught in the middle of Spanish and English imperial aspirations, Florida tribes dealt with harsh military action from the Spanish, and slave raids from Carolina.

III. England’s American Empire Takes Shape

Immigration, early marriage, high birth rates, and generally low mortality rates strengthened the English settlements that clustered within 50 miles of the sea coast. To regulate the growing trade opportunities, England passed the Navigation Act to ensure that trade, regardless of where it originated, remained tied to British business interests. Customs officials sought to regulate imported and exported goods in the colonies.

English and Dutch trade rivalries also affected the colonies, when the English monarchy claimed the New York area as part of its original rights in America. The naval fleet that arrived to back up the English claim was unnecessary, as the Dutch governor surrendered the colony without a fight. The enthusiasm of Dutch colonists waned under an appointed governor and council whose decisions were unrestrained by local opinion. Arriving English settlers also resented the lack of representation and lobbied successfully to acquire it. However, their first action, approving government by consent of the governed, angered the Duke, who ordered it disbanded.

The restoration to monarchal rule also resulted in the establishment of new colonies as proprietorships, opening Carolina, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Carolina quickly prospered, using slavery to develop plantations that supplied rice to Barbados and its fellow slave regions, and indigo (deep blue dye) to the British textile industry. Pennsylvania prospered by supplying foodstuffs and various craft goods, especially chains and metal tools, in the existing colonies to the North, South, and West Indies.
IV. Bloodshed in the English Colonies: 1670 - 1715

In Massachusetts, Wampanoag grievances mounted as colonial traders used rum to cheat Indians out of hard-earned trade goods, and English livestock destroyed Indian gardens under the sanction of English law. Increasing pressure for more Indian land finally convinced the tribes of the need to go to war to protect their remaining lands. Sassamon, a Christian Indian, advised the English of Metacom’s war plans. He was executed for this treachery, so the English hanged three Wampanoags suspected in the murder. Wampanoags protested that Sassamon was subject to Indian justice. The tribe decided that war was the only alternative when an Englishman shot another Native American. Warriors successfully attacked towns along the Connecticut River Valley, threatening the existence of Connecticut and Rhode Island colonies. Uniting with Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, 1,000 colonists surprised a neutral Narragansett village, killing men, women, and children. Narragansetts now joined Metacom, in raids that lasted through the winter. By spring, sickness, lack of gun powder and food, and the fact that the powerful Mohawks joined with the colonists, seriously weakened Wampanoag support for the war. In a humiliating defeat, hundreds of Native American prisoners were sold in the West Indies, and the remaining local Indians lost lands and freedoms.

In Virginia, the grievances of 6,000 indentured Europeans and 2,000 black slaves combined with frontier tensions in a bloody rebellion led by Nathaniel Bacon. Governor Berkeley was not successful in controlling the rebellion, which grew with the addition of poor land owners and runaway servants. In an attempt to demonstrate support for his policies, Berkeley held the first election in 14 years, but Bacon’s followers dominated the new Assembly, which passed laws returning the vote to landless men, and reducing much of the corruption that had crept into Virginia’s governance under Berkeley. Bacon’s followers destroyed Indian villages on the frontier, and Jamestown on the coast. The rebellion evaporated with the death of Bacon and the arrival of English troops. On the frontier, Indian anger against settlers increased, while the small group of Virginia gentry moved to erect barriers between black and white servants.

In England, questions about succession, fueled by religious fears, ignited a war in 1688, when William of Orange accepted the invitation of English Protestants to invade England and replace the reigning Catholic monarchy. In America, James II’s creation of the Dominion of New England met fierce resistance, which increased under the heavy-handed governance of Edmond Andros. James II finally abdicated and fled the country. Crowned king, William accepted English demands for a bill of rights, greater freedom of the press, and freedom of religion to Protestant dissenters. Unlike James II, William supported Parliamentary power. As information about these conditions in England reached the colonies, colonists in Boston and New York removed the Dominion officials appointed by James II. Colonists in the Chesapeake also seized power from his appointees.
V. Consequences of War and Growth: 1690 - 1715

Continued conflict in England, as well as wars between England and France, also brought war and uncertainty to the American colonies. News of bloodshed on the frontier raised fears along the coast. In Salem, local anxiety manifested itself in accusations of witchcraft, public trials, and public executions. Only when accusations escalated to include the families of wealthy merchants and public officials did Church officials in England support the colonial governor in his decision to halt the trials and release the remaining accused from jail.

While war in America meant frightening raids for frontier settlements, there were those in coastal towns who profited from the war. The challenge of supplying troops with necessities combined with a growing trade in black market merchandise, created opportunity and wealth for a few and an expanded job market for others. Poor families suffered under increased taxes, higher food prices, and military pressures. While the rich prospered under the wartime economy, with 5% controlling 40% of the wealth, over 60% of the population controlled only 13% of the wealth.

VI. Storm Clouds in the South

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

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Why were the French more successful in building trading forts than in establishing farms or towns in Canada or along the Mississippi drainage?

2. Threats to Spanish territory by European rivals resulted in greater controls and more fort building. How did the Pueblo Revolt impact Spanish town development and regional governance?

3. American colonial actions, whether in English or Spanish territory, showed increasing rejection of European laws. How did these two monarchies react?

4. The “Glorious Revolution” replaced a Catholic monarch with a Protestant monarch. Englishmen gained additional guarantees of religious freedom and Crown support of Parliamentary power. Did these conditions in England provide greater freedoms in the colonies as well?
5. Examine the impact of European wars in America on the frontier, as well as in significant coastal cities.

6. As English settlers expanded westward in both the northern and southern regions, did native peoples find successful ways to deal with the intrusion on their lands and restrictions on their freedom? Be sure to discuss tribal alliances with the settlers, like those of the Mohawk and Yamasee, as well as those choosing war, like the Wampanoag and Tuscarora.

**Significant Themes and Highlights:**

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, Spanish, French, and English settlements expanded further into Indian territory.

In the north and the south, tribes made unprecedented alliances to halt destructive European incursions. The size of European settlement, combined with the military aid sent from Europe, determined the outcome of these violent outbreaks.

By the eighteenth century, few tribes dealing with American settlements viewed the European presence as beneficial.

Wars in Europe had a major impact on English towns, villages, and farms. While frontier areas faced the uncertainty of raids, coastal towns prospered. The number of widows and orphaned children rose, and though the number of jobs also increased, the greatest impact seemed to be the shift of wealth into fewer American hands.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Divide the class into two groups, one researching Spanish activities in the Southwest and the other exploring the English activities in the East. Explore why there were more instances of warfare between the English and their Native American neighbors than between the Spanish and their Native American neighbors.

2. Discuss whether changing conditions in Europe had as much impact on America as you would expect.

3. Find examples of French, Spanish, and English fort-building. Are they the same or different?

4. Examine the maps in this chapter. According to European convention, exploration of an area more firmly establishes a country’s claim to a region. The existence of colonies confirms the claims. What do they tell you about European activity between 1660 and 1715? Regardless of international understandings, who has control of the land claimed by Spain, England, or France?
5. Do further research on the Salem witch trials. Prepare to hold a class witchcraft trial. Have students take roles as accused male or female witches, as persons providing evidence against the witches, as the judge, as members of the jury, and as spectators in the courtroom.

**Further Resources:**


**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Divide the class into research groups to examine the major Native American allies of France, Holland, Spain, and England.
http://www.hanksville.org/NArources/
http://www.si.edu/nmai/

2. From the following site, select two documents to share with the class.
http://personal.pitnet.net/primarysources/
CHAPTER 4
African Enslavement: The Terrible Transformation

Chapter Outline:

I. The Descent into Race Slavery

As the need for fully-controlled, inexpensive labor emerged in colonial expansion, Europeans devised religious and moral justifications for participation in the African slave trade. Spanish developers introduced black slavery to the Western Hemisphere as Indian populations declined due to disease and labor conditions. Agriculture and mining successes outgrew the ability of Spanish ships to deliver the required number of slaves, and the Spanish government actively sought shippers from rival nations. Portugal, already delivering slaves to sugar colonies in the Azores, increased its activity in the lucrative slave trade to meet the new demand. As Portugal developed Brazil, the slave trade naturally followed. Slavery also became the regional work force on English sugar plantations in Barbados. During the earliest British colonies in America, black slaves, due to expense, were an insignificant portion of the labor force, which depended on white indentured labor.

Enslaved Native Americans were readily used, but proved susceptible to European diseases, and were harder to identify or capture when they ran away. Also, Indian wars to secure slaves tended to disrupt trade and increased the risks to villages, towns, and outlying farms in all of the colonies. Bacon’s Rebellion, supported by indentured and poor white laborers in Virginia, encouraged plantation owners in southern colonies to move away from white indentured workers who had rights as Englishmen, to black slave labor. The north also used slaves in various businesses and as personal servants, though this area moved toward the use of inexpensive local white labor as colonial populations increased.

Although black slaves existed in British colonies, the growth of laws to support a slave system emerged gradually over decades as questions about the length of time one would be a slave, the free or slave condition of children of slaves, the impact of Christianity on a slave’s status, and the legal restrictions regarding slave testimony were decided in colonial courts.

II. The Growth of Slave Labor Camps

The decision to use black slave labor in the Chesapeake region was based on the desire for profit and dependable long-term laborers. As better living conditions emerged, slaves could be expected to produce children, whose labor could also be exploited or who could be sold for a profit. Slave laborers worked long hours, at tasks specified by owners, and were moved without warning wherever their labor was desired. These conditions were similar to convict labor camps.
Slave ownership appealed to both the wealthy and those aspiring to wealth. Young white men, like William Byrd of Virginia, could earn enough money in business, purchase a few slaves for resale, and continue expanding his operations to gain wealth and power. Planters in Virginia increased their profits by expanding the head right system, where 50 acres of land were provided for any person who brought a family member or worker into the colony, to include those who bought slaves, thereby increasing their acreage as they increased the workforce. The courts and the church also became influential in establishing the accepted conditions of slavery and white laborers. Masters assumed the color of skin would make those who attempted to run away easy to recapture, and also that the differences in language would prevent the formation of a sizeable rebellion.

III. England Enters the Atlantic Slave Trade

By 1670, the Crown granted a monopoly to the Royal African Company to exploit the African slave trade. Previously enslaved blacks and black prisoners of war who were purchased in West Africa for textiles, guns, and iron bars, spent one to three months in atrocious conditions, and were sold in Britain’s American colonies. Captains returned to England with rum before returning to Africa, participating in the infamous “triangular trade.” Those slaves who had survived the journey were sold to the highest bidder, and then were moved directly to the owner’s plantation or chained in slave coffles to be resold to distant customers. Next came the seasoning process, where new slaves learned, through force, the new conditions they were expected to work under and the submissive attitude that was required for survival.

In Africa, the market for slaves encouraged coastal tribes to increase their wars into the interior for the express purpose of securing slaves, just as they increased their purchasing of slaves from other tribes. The desire for European goods escalated slave raiding on the interior, severely altering the population density and power relations throughout Africa. Rivalry for slaves also increased the tensions between European countries seeking to enhance their international stature.

IV. Survival in a Strange New Land

Unlike the Chesapeake region where slavery slowly replaced white laborers, from its inception, South Carolina depended on black slaves. South Carolina’s climate and its hazards were similar to those in Africa. Working with cattle was also familiar to some, while others were faced with unfamiliar tasks. Slaves were expected to produce their own food, and many turned to rice cultivation common in their homelands. Owners recognized the market opportunities of rice cultivation as food for slave populations in the Caribbean, and later as a viable export to satisfy the European taste for rice pudding. Another labor-intensive African product, indigo, also developed into a highly desirable dye for English textile industries.

South Carolina laws quickly emerged to protect owner interests similar to the laws found in the Caribbean region. The strict working conditions, and subsequent punishments, did not develop a totally subservient people. Work slow-downs, faking illness, losing or
breaking tools, running away, and threatening violence were only some of the acts of resistance that slowly forced individual owners to alter working conditions. Slaves needed to calculate the reaction to such resistance, since punishments could be severe, and included confinement, reduction in food, whipping, mutilation, sale, or even death. Owners feared their slaves and constantly watched for signs of a violent uprising of numbers of slaves, or changes in activity of an angered individual who could strike out by burning fields at harvest time, destroying livestock, intentionally damaging expensive equipment, or murdering white owners or overseers.

Individual acts of slave protest were common, yet group uprisings also occurred. During the 1730s, rumors of slave uprisings shook French Louisiana. Several suspected plotters were unsuccessfully tortured to force them to reveal the extent of the plot and names of others involved, and then were executed. The largest colonial uprising, called the Stono Rebellion, occurred in South Carolina in 1739, shortly after the declaration of war between Spain and Britain. Approximately 70 armed slaves burned selected plantations, murdered 10 whites, and tried to attract new recruits as they traveled toward the freedom promised in St. Augustine, Florida. Colonists and their Indian allies defeated the rebels before they reached Florida, while additional blacks suspected of sympathies with the rebels were tortured or killed during the wave of hysteria following the event. Charleston stopped another rumored uprising in 1740 by hanging the 50 suspects as an object lesson to other slaves. New York also exploded in violent racial activity during fears generated by the Spanish War with England. Suspicious fires resulted in spirally arrests and 34 executions, and the expulsion of 72 free blacks from the town. It is clear that as slavery became imbedded in colonial life, white slave owners and neighboring non-owning slave colonists had serious concerns about their own safety.

V. The Transformation Completed

Those southern Americans who saw slavery as a viable tool for survival and success, tightened the regulations concerning slave behavior, supported costly slave patrols and slave-catching activity, and sought to further control or drive from their midst the small but growing number of free blacks in their neighborhood. Free blacks in the North also faced increasing discrimination in relation to jobs and housing. The number of slaves also increased in the North, where slaves were most often used as servants, both to alleviate white mistresses from burdensome household tasks and provide evidence of wealth and culture. Northern speculators and ship owners became wealthy by transporting slaves from Africa and selling them in the South. Although not all Americans condoned slavery, few even among the religious leaders spoke against slavery. Some religious leaders promoted Christian instruction for slaves, which received little support among masters, and those who did give permission insisted that slaves be taught about their duties and clearly instructed that rewards or freedom would be found in heaven, not on earth. Among Quakers, individual opposition to slavery might exist, but the church supported the individual’s right to own slaves.

In 1731, the London proprietors of Georgia posed an idealistic challenge to southern slavery. The objective of this new colony was to provide a means of rescuing the worthy
poor and those in jail for minor crimes by providing small farms as well as transportation to Georgia. In return, these new farmers would produce warm weather items like grapes and silk for the English market. This prosperous region would also provide a military buffer between Spanish Florida and South Carolina. The proprietors took no profits from the colony, but sought to control all aspects of its growth. Settlers, whether from England, Germany, Switzerland, or Austria, faced the common adjustment problems to weather, geographic conditions, and animal or insect hazards, encountered by all other new colonies. Resentment over the lack of a legislature, enjoyed by the other English colonies, and over the inability to buy or sell land or deed their land to whomever they desired to prevent the accumulation of large estates, caused problems. In addition, the banning of slavery in the colony was viewed as a threat by other southern colonies. Finally, a small, well-organized Georgia faction, joined by supporters from South Carolina, encouraged a rift among the proprietors about the appropriate course for the development of Georgia. Slavery was allowed by 1751, and land-hungry South Carolinians pushed into Georgia to extend their slave empires into the rich, virgin soils. Slaves rapidly became the workers of choice, and Georgia laws controlling slavery mirrored those passed in South Carolina.

**Sample Discussion Questions:**

1. Examine the reasoning behind European justification for enslaving Africans.

2. Discuss the shift in Spanish and British America from using Native Americans as slaves to using Africans as slaves.

3. Evaluate the individual and legal methods that developed in English colonies to control the activities of slaves.

4. Explain why more black slaves were involved in personal acts of resistance than were involved in violent group rebellions.

5. Compare the influence on slave owners and slaves of Spanish Florida and native tribes.

6. Examine the reasons why the proprietors’ plans for Georgia were unsuccessful.

**Significant Themes and Highlights:**

1. Some African tribes engaged in selling slaves to the European markets for their own reasons. The increasing demand for slaves in European colonies resulted in the escalation of tribal warfare and slave raids, which in turn significantly reduced Africa’s population.

2. The purchase in Africa, the terrifying Atlantic journey, and months of seasoning were meant to produce a docile, hard-working slave with no inclination to rebel in any way. The program was only partially successful. African men and women, through passive resistance, gained concessions about workloads, work pace, and use of free time. They
developed fictive kin relationships that provided some of the support and encouragement necessary to endure the conditions of their enslavement.

3. A thriving slave economy existed in the Western Hemisphere before slavery became important in the British continental colonies. While dependence on slavery emerged gradually in Virginia and Maryland, South Carolina immediately used slave labor to establish plantations, and created a rigid system of laws to support controls over black labor.

4. Owners justifiably feared violent slave revolts. Although individual acts of rebellion were normal, occasionally male slaves plotted attacks on plantation owners to gain their freedom. Few of these reached fruition because the plots were revealed to whites, who executed the perpetrators. The very small number of successful rebellions seemed to justify white paranoia and increased controls on slave activities.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Complete library and web site research on the major violent slave rebellions. Have the class discuss their findings and examine why the revolts failed.

2. Explore, then discuss, the development of a distinctive African American slave culture. How do stories, songs, clothing, or personalized tools demonstrate culture?

3. Have students explore what it would be like to be a slave. The discussion would include whether the slave was born in Africa or America, who bought the slave, the intended work for the slave, the size and make-up of the slave population the slave joined, etc.

**Further Resources:**


**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Discuss the different ways slavery evolved in the early colonies, using information from the following web sites:
   - http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/home.html
CHAPTER 5  
An American Babel, 1713 - 1763

Chapter Outline:

I. New Cultures on the Western Plains

As the horse spread northward from Spanish settlements in New Mexico, French and British trade guns slowly moved down from Canada or across the Mississippi River. Plains tribes like the Cheyenne and Crow in the Northern Plains, and the Comanche in the Southern Plains, formerly dependent on dogs to aid village movement, readily adapted the horse, initially to carry burdens like the dog, and then to improve bison-hunting expeditions. Once the herds had increased, horses became key to raiding and warfare strategies. Social, religious, hunting, and raiding customs quickly adapted to the use of the horse. With hunting success came population increase, which in turn encouraged raids against distant enemies to acquire horses or other trade goods, and to gain warrior status and leadership skills. The power of existing warrior societies increased and tribes without formal societies created them. Eventually some of the sedentary tribes, like the Osage and Pawnee, chose to leave their riverside villages and agricultural lands for the nomadic life on the Plains to remove their people from the constant slave-raiding expeditions of their enemies.

In the Southern Plains, the Comanches expanded their range from western Kansas to central Texas. Skilled warriors and hunters, the raids on Apache and Pueblo towns concerned the Spanish authorities. The presence of French traders at Natchitoches and New Orleans, territory claimed by Spain, also alarmed the Spanish authorities. The failure of Spanish expeditions to chastise the Comanche encouraged their raiding, which in turn meant Apache villages made more raids on Pueblo and Spanish settlements. To survive under the new pressures, Spanish villages made separate peace and trade agreements with the Comanches and Apaches, increasing their own safety, but also increasing the problems for other Spanish and Pueblo towns in the region. In two decades, the Comancheria encompassed most of Texas, with a tribal population of 20,000.

In the Northern Plains, the Beaver Wars and the impact of trade guns resulted in Sioux bands moving out onto the Plains. Familiarity with firearms gave the Sioux an advantage over western tribes, while access to horses significantly changed Sioux culture. The abundance of food increased band size, while the abundance of hides resulted in larger tepees and the accumulation of personal possessions. The workload for women increased, as did their exposure to raiding parties. Leadership within the tribe shifted to include more hunters and warriors, while the influence of women and older men on tribal decisions decreased. Wealth was judged by the size of horse herds, and the need to pasture the expanding herds increased the necessity of constant movement.
II. Britain’s Mainland Colonies: A New Abundance of People

Early marriage, the abundance of food, the need for laborers, and the relatively low occurrence of deadly epidemics due to the dispersal of the population, produced an astonishing population growth in the American colonies. Immigration also added to colonial growth. From Europe came small numbers of independent persons pursuing opportunity or joining relatives, and small numbers of deported felons. The majority of European immigrants were indentured servants. Sizeable numbers arrived from Scotland, Wales, and Germany. African slaves were predominant in the South, and in some areas exceeded the white population. By 1750, black slaves reached 20% of the entire British colonial population. The new diversity affected all of the colonies.

III. The Varied Economic Landscape

Deepwater ports like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston grew from villages to significant regional centers. With few good roads, river systems were used to transport goods to and from coastline trade centers. Both large farms and self-sufficient farmers engaged in commercial agriculture, thereby tying the local economies to national and international markets. After 1700 all colonies had slavery, but the north gradually decreased its use of slaves, while the southern colonies increased their dependence on slave labor. In the South, South Carolina moved from dependence on hogs and cattle to rice and indigo plantations and increased trade in deerskins. North Carolina commercially developed its forests, producing lumber and naval stores. Virginia and Maryland remained tied to tobacco, which caused serious soil depletion and resulted in crop diversification to wheat, corn, hemp, and flax.

In the North, barter and trade supplemented crops grown on small farms. Ship-building and fishing expanded to meet the demands of a growing population. As the northern colonies matured, men increased their influence in the political and business worlds, while women remained locked in gendered work and social patterns and retained their legal status as non-persons. The rich farmland of the middle colonies produced a diversified economy based on free labor, while the excellent ports and growing towns attracted craftsmen and tradesmen. Wealth discrepancies continued, and larger seaport towns developed almshouses and hospitals to handle the worst problems of local poverty. Towns also encouraged the poor to settle on the frontier, to alleviate overcrowding and encourage self-sufficiency. Population growth also intensified the pressures on Indian lands in all of the colonies.

IV. Matters of Faith: The First Great Awakening

The growth in population and ethnic diversity created problems for the official English religion, the Anglican Church. The growing number of religious sects resulted in a degree of religious toleration. The intense religious revival efforts of Europe reached the American colonies during the 1730s. Preachers from England like George Whitfield, and itinerant American preachers like Jonathan Edwards, addressed emotional crowds from
New York to Georgia. This Great Awakening of the American religious consciousness produced converts called “New Lights,” who clashed with the conventional clergy supported by colonial governors. No unified church emerged from this energetic movement; instead, numerous congregations split off from existing churches, and religious vigor blurred class lines and strained the conventional distance that had developed in America between politics and religion. The Great Awakening legacy of democratic associations and free thinking would prove valuable in the development of revolutionary ideology.

V. The French Lose a North American Empire

By 1740 the size of French claims in North America above the Rio Grande exceeded those of Britain and Spain. Good relations with native tribes were a pivotal part of the fur trade empire. French trading forts dotted the interior, and explorers had also discovered the wealth of farmland that could be readily developed into thriving French towns and villages. Far fewer colonists immigrated to New France than to the British colonies, and the French government did not seriously back such immigration. British traders and farmers threatened French goals west of the Appalachian Range. During the next two decades, wars between England and France spilled over into America, but the concluding treaties failed to harm French alliances with native peoples or destroy French claims to the Mississippi River drainage. A clash over fort-building at the strategic confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers (modern Pittsburgh) became the opening salvo of the Seven Years’ War. The poor leadership of British General Braddock resulted in a costly defeat. Seven years of war exacted a heavy toll throughout the American colonies. By 1760, France had lost Quebec and Montreal, signaling French defeat in America. The war continued in Europe, finally ending in the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Under the treaty provisions the French ceded New Orleans and the Louisiana territory west of the Mississippi to the Spanish. Spain ceded East Florida to Britain. France ceded all claims between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River and all remaining claims in Canada in exchange for Britain returning the French sugar islands in the Caribbean. Unexpectedly, France made no provisions to protect the lands of her Indian allies. French presence in America effectively disappeared overnight.

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. In what ways did the horse and gun alter Native American life in the Northern and Southern Great Plains?

2. Natural increase and immigration strengthened the British colonies and increased westward expansion into Indian lands. Why is this significant?

3. How did the diversity of commercial crops, trade and craft specialties, different religions, and countries of origin during the early decades of the eighteenth century impact the British colonies?
4. Ideas can change the course of empires. Why is the religious phenomenon called the Great Awakening important to the development of the British colonies?

5. The increasing French power in America suggested that France would become the dominant power on the continent. What happened to change this situation?

**Significant Themes and Highlights:**

1. Many Indian nations faced challenges from European animals and trade goods long before they encountered Europeans themselves. Horses and guns were the most significant exchanges because these items altered power relationships. The Comanche became dominant in the Southern Plains, while the Sioux became a major force in the Northern Plains.

2. Natural increase and immigration increased the populations in British colonies. Population pressures increased settler demands on Indian lands, which in turn led to Indian wars.

3. Tribes like the Yamasee, which allied with settlers to defeat a common enemy, found that they themselves became the enemy when their British ally wanted access to their lands.

4. Wealth in the southern colonies became closely tied to ownership and exploitation of slaves, while wealth in the northern colonies depended on free labor or the purchase, transportation, and sale of African slaves to the southern colonies.

5. The religious enthusiasm generated by Great Awakening preachers from England altered the religious landscape of white America, providing more variety, and a stronger basis for religious toleration. Within denominations there was often little tolerance for other religious groups, but the health and power of the numerous religious groups prevented one religion, with ties to government power such as that found in Europe, from destroying the religious freedom of its rivals.

6. French strategies that included Indian alliances for trade and war supported French power over a vast amount of American territory. Even though French/Indian alliances remained strong in America, and English battle victories in America were minimal, the English won the Seven Years’ War. The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1763, ended French presence in America.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Examine pictures of Native American artifacts found from web research and/or visit a museum or reservation to gain a better understanding of the artistry that adorned clothing, weapons (shields, breast plates, head gear, bow covers, quivers, knife sheaths, etc.), religious objects, tools, and household items. Discuss what the intricate, time-consuming detail tells you about Native American life during the eighteenth century.
2. Examine several Native American religious stories and appropriate behavior stories. What do these tell you about Indian religion and society? How does the Indian view of life differ from the European view of life?

3. Read transcripts of French/Indian and English/Indian negotiations and treaties. What do these tell you about the European world and the Indian world?

4. How does the increase in population in the British colonies impact colonial opportunities?

5. The wealth discrepancy among colonists increases with the population explosion. Does this lead to class conflict? Which would be more effective in limiting class conflict: strong neighboring tribes, the presence of western lands, the increase in local opportunities, the presence of black slaves, or the threat of war with other European nations?

6. Read descriptions of Great Awakening camp meetings. How does this experience differ from services in the more traditional Anglican, Calvinist, Puritan, or Catholic churches? Is this significant?

Further Resources:


Kroeber, Alfred L. *The Arapaho*, University of Nebraska Press, 1983.


**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Examine the way the horse affected Great Plains societies and how the gun affected life along the Great Lakes and Mississippi River.
   [http://www.hanksville.org/NAresources/](http://www.hanksville.org/NAresources/)

2. Read several of the speeches of Jonathan Edwards. What do these sermons tell you about the colonial world?
   [http://www.jonathanedwards.com](http://www.jonathanedwards.com)

3. Using this source, select two documents about colonial life to share with the class.
   [http://personal.pitnet.net/primarysources/](http://personal.pitnet.net/primarysources/)
CHAPTER 6
The Limits of Imperial Control, 1763 - 1775

Chapter Outline:

I. New Challenges to Spain’s Expanded Empire

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

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

Franciscan priests established scattered Indian missions between San Diego and San Francisco. These settlements remained small, isolated, and difficult to supply. Provisioning by sea was not very successful, so Spanish expeditions sought many years for a dependable land route. Spain was accumulating solid legal grounds for claiming the land. This might have been enough, until one of the powers made it a difficult military or international issue. Then, if the question needed to be settled by war, Spain would have had a very difficult time holding on to the California and New Mexican areas.

II. New Challenges to Britain’s Expanded Empire

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

On the frontier, the Delaware holy man, Neolin, and the influential Ottawa warrior, Pontiac, forged a coalition of Ottawas, Potawatomies, and Hurons, and attacked Fort Detroit and Fort Pitt. Eighteen other nations joined the coalition to drive the British out of the Indian homelands. Britain lost all remaining forts in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes region, and tribes raided eastward into Pennsylvania and Virginia. British General
Amherst ordered a war of extermination, using all means available, including the intentional spreading of smallpox, using contaminated blankets. Unable to win the siege when their ammunition ran out, the Indian coalition slowly collapsed. English losses were so significant that the Crown forbade settlement west of the Appalachian Range to avoid further warfare.

During the 1760s, England tried to develop better control over the American colonies, where tax evasion had become a way of life. Parliament passed new customs regulations and tax laws to help pay the expenses incurred in governing and defending the colonies. Parliament was not anticipating a powerful reaction from the colonies to these measures. American demonstrations against the Stamp Act were immediate, violent, and out of control. The most violent riot occurred in Boston, where Thomas Hutchinson’s house was looted and vandalized. South Carolina workers harassed wealthy slave owners with demands for liberty. However, when blacks took up the cry of liberty, white support for the demonstrations evaporated, lest white protests actually fuel slave revolts.

III. “The Unconquerable Rage of the People”

When discussions in England over the nature of the monarchy turned to abuse of power, or the rise of tyranny, the assumption was that the creation of Parliament had ended these fears, yet constant vigilance was needed to protect citizens’ rights. In the British colonies in America, such discussions generated alarm and heated debate among those who saw class tyranny and malfeasance in office clearly evident in America.

It seemed that in every colony, local problems suddenly exploded into violent mob action. Back-country settlers seethed over government decisions and appointees who cared little for local problems, and even less for the citizens they were supposed to serve. Piedmont residents joined militia groups and staged demonstrations that required military force to suppress.

IV. A Conspiracy of Corrupt Ministers?

Normal political maneuvering in England appeared to colonists as a planned conspiracy to take away colonial rights. Long years of warfare meant an empty treasury, a problem that Parliament sought to correct through reasonable new taxation laws. Lawmakers were barely aware of the tight currency situation in America, and were not sympathetic to angry Americans who had never paid taxes, especially in light of the heavy tax burdens of those living in England. When informed that governors would receive their pay from the Crown rather than from local assemblies, Americans were dismayed at this loss of local control over the governor. Additional laws, seen in England as normal legal controls, alarmed Americans, who looked at all of the changes and concluded that there was indeed a conspiracy. Americans reacted to taxes on imported goods with a consumer boycott. Men and women, previously unaffected by the political wrangling, joined local associations. The tactics were successful, as English exporters pressured Parliament to repeal the taxes.
In October 1768, two regiments of well-armed British soldiers disembarked in Boston. Tensions mounted as officers ordered their soldiers not to respond to insults and name-calling, and local workers clashed with job-seeking soldiers. Rumors exaggerated the magnitude of each encounter, until a string of events that had begun in February ended on March 5th in a violent clash between a crowd outside the customs house and a patrol of British soldiers under orders to disperse the crowd. During the confrontation, the mob attacked with clubs and stones, a British soldier accidentally discharged his weapon, and the rest of the patrol assumed that an order had been given and fired one volley. The order had in fact not been given, and the officer immediately ordered them to cease firing. The Sons of Liberty dubbed the incident the “Boston Massacre,” and Paul Revere created an inflammatory engraving that was widely distributed throughout the colonies.

Elsewhere in the colonies, the activities of customs cutters, combined with anger over impressment, resulted in regular armed attacks against these vessels by local citizens. Conditions in Rhode Island resulted in the sinking of the Liberty and the burning of the Gaspee. Residents refused to divulge the names of the guilty parties despite a reward of five hundred British pounds. Colonial legislatures organized “Committees of Correspondence” to investigate the Gaspee incident and to keep one another informed of British activities that harmed colonial interests.

V. Launching a Revolution

In response to the Tea Act of 1773, militia groups calling themselves “Sons of Liberty” encouraged local merchants to refuse to sell the tea, and worked to prevent tea from being off-loaded at colonial ports. Three ships carrying tea worth ten thousand British pounds entered Boston Harbor in late November. Governor Thomas Hutchinson, part owner of the shipment with two of his sons, determined to land the tea and distribute it despite Bostonians’ objections. On October 16, the final appeal to the governor to refuse the tea was rejected, and a disciplined group of 150 men disguised as Mohawk Indians boarded the ships and dumped the chests of tea into the harbor. Several thousand spectators observed the operation, which, unlike the Boston Stamp Act Riots, resembled the extra legal protests used by Englishmen for centuries. Parliament responded with laws meant to punish Boston and assert English authority. General Gage, the commander of the British forces, replaced Hutchinson as governor, effectively placing Massachusetts under martial law.

Massachusetts rebels called for a new colonial congress, and established a de facto government at Concord. The rebel committees in each colony organized militia groups and staged boycotts and protests. Colonial representatives met to formally protest the government’s actions, but did not agree on whether they supported demands for change while maintaining loyalty to the Crown, or whether they felt that rebellion was the only solution.

England responded with orders to General Gage to arrest the leaders of the Massachusetts Provisional Government and to use sufficient military power to stop the deteriorating conditions. On April 18, Gage sent seven hundred troops to Lexington to seize John
Hancock and Sam Adams and then capture the rebels’ military stockpiles in Concord. About 70 militiamen gathered on the Green to stop the British troops and there was a brief skirmish that left eight militiamen dead. When the British column reached Concord, four hundred militiamen from surrounding villages waited outside of town. The British and rebels exchanged gunfire, and by noon the British forces had begun a disorganized retreat. An estimated one thousand rebels fired at the British troops from behind stone fences and trees. British losses were high, 73 killed and two hundred wounded or missing, compared with 49 rebel dead and an unknown number of wounded. Rather than a clear display of British power that permanently ended the activities of American rebels, the incident at Lexington and Concord became the opening shots of a very long war.

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. What actions did Spain take to support claims to lands west of the Mississippi, and the Pacific coastal area from Baja California to Alaska?

2. How effective were Russian traders in supporting Russian claims in America and exploiting natural resources like fur? Was Russian treatment of native peoples different from the other powers that established colonies in America?

3. Were all English colonists content with the British colonial system? Does it matter that some members of the upper class sided with the lower class?

4. Under the prophet Neolin, interior tribes united to remove the British colonists from tribal lands. Why was the attempt, called Pontiac’s Rebellion, not successful?

5. When England reassessed its policy of salutary neglect and passed laws to bring colonial policies in line with British law, American colonists protested the changes. Examine the kinds of resistance that occurred, and explain Parliament’s reaction.

6. What happened in the Boston area to generate so much rebellious feeling?

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. France, Russia, and England challenged Spanish claims to exclusive development rights in America. In order to clearly establish claims to the northern area, missions and forts were established above the Rio Grande and along the California coast.

2. Unlike the French who used diplomacy and trade to gain access to valuable furs, Russian traders used kidnapping, and erected strong forts in major villages to coerce native peoples to produce furs in exchange for the lives of relatives.

3. The treaty that ended the Seven Years’ War between France and England did not include protection of Indian lands or any Indian goals. In the Ohio Valley, the Ottawas formed a broad-based Indian alliance to drive the British out of Indian lands. Despite early successes, the lack of replacement weapons and gunpowder normally supplied by
the French resulted in defeat. However, the extent of losses prompted Parliament to create the Proclamation Act, forbidding English settlers from crossing the Appalachian Range in order to avoid further warfare.

4. England sought to replenish the treasury by new tariff and tax laws in both England and America. Parliament also worked to find ways to get Americans to admit that they had obligations as English citizens. Americans reacted quickly, suspicious that the new regulations were intended to destroy the rights of colonial citizens.

5. At the request of colonial governors, Britain sent troops to protect cities from mob action. Citizens of Boston, like their counterparts in England, resented the presence of standing troops during peacetime. Tensions between townspeople and soldiers eventually escalated to violent confrontations in 1768. Elsewhere, the activities of customs cutters, as well as the practice of impressments, prompted mob action.

6. Colonists reacted to taxes on goods imported from England by boycotting the merchandise. English exporters, watching their profits disappear, responded by pressuring Parliament to rescind the taxes. Reinstating the tax on tea in 1773 led to the dumping of a large shipment of tea into Boston Harbor.

7. Massachusetts rebels called together representatives from the colonies and, calling the meeting a congress, sent demands for changes in Crown management, yet still maintained that the members were loyal to the Crown.

8. The Crown ordered General Gage to arrest the delegates and quickly end further acts of disobedience. In compliance, British troops advanced on Lexington to arrest rebel leaders, and then to Concord to confiscate rebel supplies. Instead of effectively ending rebellious activities, the shots fired at Lexington and Concord would become the opening salvos of a long war.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. At the start of the war that became known as Pontiac’s Rebellion, many former tribal enemies joined the coalition to drive the British from Indian lands. Examine the influence of prophecy in creating the coalition, as well as the reasons the coalition would be difficult to maintain.

2. Examine the military depositions regarding the incident known as the Boston Massacre, the reports during the trial by Boston witnesses, the final decision by the court, and the engraving by Paul Revere. Debate whether the trial proceedings were fair and whether the court decision served justice.

3. Have the class research web and library sources on the causes of the Revolution. Divide the class into thirds, one defending loyalty to the Crown, one defending the need to rebel, and one that is neutral about the political question and wants to be left alone.
Have either a panel discussion or debate on whether war is necessary to correct the problems encountered in the colonies.

**Further Resources:**


Web Site Assignments:

1. How does the information about Thomas Paine and his pamphlet, “Common Sense,” aid your understanding of revolutionary sentiment?
   http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/1776-1800/paine/CM/sense01.htm

2. Discover more about women’s contributions to the Revolutionary War effort.
   http://userpages.aug.com/captbarb/femvets.html

3. Discover more about the Loyalists on the following sites:
   Maryland Loyalists:  http://users.erols.com/candidus/index.htm
CHAPTER 7
Revolutionaries at War, 1775 – 1783

Chapter Outline:

I. Declaring Independence

In the two months after the skirmish at Lexington and Concord, the Second Continental Congress sent aid north to Boston, placed Philip Schuyler in charge of the newly formed Army Department, printed its own currency, and appointed George Washington as commander of the Continental forces. During the same time, rebel forces captured Fort Ticonderoga in the Hudson Valley, while others lay siege to Boston, and Congress approved a plan to attack Canada.

In June, the British army successfully engaged rebel forces outside of Boston in the Battle of Breed’s Hill. Rebel forces under Montgomery and Arnold invaded Canada, while other rebel forces under Washington continued to organize and train at Cambridge, waiting for the arrival of heavy guns captured from Ticonderoga in March. Unwilling to risk the destruction of Boston, the British fleet removed the army to Nova Scotia. In June the British launched a northern and southern attack on rebel forces.

Surprisingly, despite these activities, the Continental Congress debated taking the final step of formally declaring war on Britain. Thomas Paine’s pamphlet, “Common Sense,” published in January 1776, generated so much support that the Declaration of Independence was finally approved on July 4, 1776, fifteen months after the shots fired at Lexington. One month later, British victories in New York decimated Washington’s army. The rebellion appeared to be crushed.

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

II. “Victory or Death”: Fighting for Survival

After the defeat at the Battle of Long Island, rebel troops retreated south to avoid capture. The British government offered liberal pardons and looked to end the rebellion without alienating the majority of the American population. Desertions mounted as Washington’s army, lacking supplies, faced starvation, biting winter weather, and the end of enlistments with the start of the new year. The successful early-morning surprise attack on Hessian troops quartered at Trenton provided the rebels with desperately-needed supplies. With his army still intact, Washington moved to change conditions in the army. Congress remained concerned about the consequences of having a “standing army,” but reluctantly agreed to Washington’s request for longer enlistments, better pay, and greater authority.
over his troops. Still, British troops continued to defeat Washington’s poorly-trained army, which finally went into winter camp at Valley Forge.

British plans for the 1778 fighting year centered on a complex plan to destroy the American forces in the North. Generals Burgoyne and St. Leger would lead two armies and strike southward from Canada, while Howe’s forces would move northward from New York, crushing the rebel forces between them. Howe, certain that his troops would not be needed to ensure a British victory, planned to attack Philadelphia. The long march exhausted the British soldiers, while the threat of attack divided the rebel commanders. Once battle commenced, Horatio Gates refused to send his troops to support Benedict Arnold. Despite these problems within the Continental ranks, determined fighting by the Continentals and the capture of Burgoyne’s supply trains forced Burgoyne to surrender 5,800 troops at Saratoga. In light of the victory at Saratoga, the French government decided to recognize the rebel government and support the American cause. Spain joined France against their common enemy Britain, enlarging the “brush fire” in America to a broader European battlefield.

III. Legitimate States, a Respectable Military

One month after the Battle of Saratoga, the Continental Congress completed, and approved, the Articles of Confederation, and submitted the document to the individual states for ratification. After four years of debate and negotiation, the states finally voted to accept the Articles in 1781, formally agreeing to a weak confederation, where the majority of power resided in the states. It was then up to the individual states to create their own state constitution. State citizens and lawmakers debated the rights and responsibilities of citizens, what forms of power the state could exercise, and the qualifications required to vote or hold office. These heated debates occurred while the Continental army and local militias struggled to defeat the British army, and while British government controlled American ports.

As the war continued, local militias combined to form state militias, and the Continental army was more formally organized. Concerns over pay, discipline, tactics, distribution of supplies, election of officers, and privileges of rank were not easily solved, and these discussions mirrored the intense debate that occurred in the political realm. Attempts to improve the army continued during the long winter months at Valley Forge, aided by the drilling expertise of the German volunteer officer, Friederich von Stueben. Improved discipline and fighting ability led to improved morale, though supply and pay problems, lack of new recruits, and civilian indifference remained constant frustrations. Black volunteers served with the northern Continental forces and militia, but were not accepted in the South. While most rebel women remained behind, caring for homes, farms, businesses, and children, around 20,000 accompanied the rebel forces as cooks, laundresses, nurses, and water bearers.

At sea, the small national and state navies acted independently, and concentrated on disrupting British shipping, successfully taking 200 prizes. The thousand American
privateers were 10 times more successful, capturing 2,000 ships, 12,000 men, and cargo worth 18 million pounds.

IV. The Long Road to Yorktown

Because of settler pressures on tribal lands, the majority of the powerful native tribes fought for Britain. In the Ohio region, the attempts to maintain peace were destroyed by the murder of several powerful peace chiefs during peace talks, and the massacre of Christian Indian men, women, and children at the peaceful Moravian mission town of Gnadenhutten. Sioux, Sauk, Fox, Chippewa, Ottawa, and Miami Indians received British supplies to support their fight to defeat American settlers. The Spanish governor in New Orleans drove the British from Mobile and Pensacola, thereby cutting off supplies to Britain’s Creek and Cherokee allies. In New England, those members of the Iroquois Confederation allied with Britain raided frontier settlements. George Rogers Clark organized Rangers who fought Indian-style, securing Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes. In 1779, American General John Sullivan led punitive raids against Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca villages, destroying 40 villages, burning crops, and destroying orchards.

In 1780, British troops sailed south, taking Charleston and capturing 5,500 American troops. Loyalist Banastre Tarleton’s dragoons clashed with rebel guerrillas throughout the summer. Congress sent Horatio Gates to the area with fresh troops, but his defeat and hasty retreat back north left the South more firmly in British hands. In a more successful rebel action in the southern back-country, rebel militia surrounded and destroyed over 1,000 Loyalist troops. Nathaniel Greene was then sent south and took charge of rebel forces in North Carolina. During 1780 and 1781, Greene coordinated guerrilla warfare and short confrontations, exhausting British forces in the field with little damage to the small rebel army. British general Cornwallis confidently expected to complete the southern campaign during the summer of 1781 after receiving reinforcements by sea at the Yorktown Peninsula. Instead, the French fleet, which had defeated the British navy in the Chesapeake, guarded the Bay while 7,800 French troops and 9,000 Americans placed British troops under siege. Cornwallis surrendered October 19, 1781.

With such a major defeat on the battlefield, Britain agreed to treaty talks. Congress instructed American treaty negotiators to sign no agreement without French approval. American negotiators, aided by distrust between the French and British negotiators, secured a favorable treaty that recognized American independence, established the Mississippi River as the western border, and permitted American fishing in Newfoundland waters. Spain received East and West Florida. Similar to previous treaties, no European nation interceded to protect Native American rights.

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Examine why it took the Continental Congress 15 months after the bloodshed at Lexington to declare war against England.
2. Why did Washington have so few men in the army by December 1776?

3. The military was concerned with winning the war on the battlefield. What kind of problems would the Continental Congress deal with during the war?

4. When Britain gained control of the major northern and southern colonial cities, why didn’t this end the war?

5. Evaluate the problems that the civilian population faced during the Revolutionary War.

6. How important were America’s foreign allies during the Revolutionary War?

7. Why did the Battle of Yorktown signal the end of the war?

**Significant Themes and Highlights:**

1. Britain’s attempts to reduce tension in the colonies and capture rebel leadership failed.

2. Britain assumed that the majority of colonists were loyal and had been misled by unscrupulous individuals. The rebels assumed that the majority of colonists had no desire to remain attached to England. Neither side accurately assessed the situation.

3. Despite the British success on the battlefield, the war continued because portions of the rebel army refused to surrender.

4. The rebel battle plan included strategic retreats to keep the rebel army out of British hands and short engagements where the rebel forces had the advantage. This approach prolonged the war but would not be sufficient to win independence.

5. The majority of native peoples either remained neutral or joined the British side of the war because of problems with aggressive traders, settlers, and land speculators.

6. Women made significant contributions to the war effort. Some remained at home managing the farm or business while the men were fighting, and made essential clothing, sent food, nursed wounded soldiers back to health, transported supplies, and provided information about the activities of the enemy. Other women followed the army, carrying supplies, erecting tents, cooking food, washing clothes, nursing the sick and wounded, and providing encouragement.

7. The size of the war zone extended the length of the war because of the difficulty in getting troops and supplies from one place to another, the varied geography that provided hiding places, and the difficulties facing Britain in coming up with a plan to defeat rebel forces in the North, South, and West.
8. The entrance of France and Spain into the war expanded a small, colonial conflict into a more global war. As the fighting dragged on, British citizens became weary and very concerned about the escalating needs for men and supplies.

9. Two years after the Battle of Yorktown, the belligerents signed the peace treaty, which recognized the existence of the United States as a legitimate country and established its borders.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Divide the class into groups representing the British monarchy, the British citizens, other European monarchies, Loyalist Americans, and undecided Americans. Using the Declaration of Independence, have each group discuss among themselves how they would respond to the document, and then present their conclusions to the class.

2. Have class members divide into research teams to examine one year of the war per team, starting in 1775 and ending after the surrender at Yorktown in 1781. The teams would discuss both the English (and/or loyalist) and rebel perspectives.

3. Have half of the class watch *The Crossing*, and the other half watch either *Revolution* or *The Patriot*. Discuss the accuracy of these films in portraying the Revolutionary experience.

**Further Resources:**


**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Divide the class in half to examine the differences between the political and military view of the Revolutionary War period, using web research. George Washington papers [http://www.virginia.edu/~gwpapers](http://www.virginia.edu/~gwpapers)

2. Discuss the experiences and concerns of white and black loyalists during the Revolutionary War.  
   [http://users.erols.com/candidus/index.htm](http://users.erols.com/candidus/index.htm)
CHAPTER 8
New Beginnings: The 1780s

Chapter Outline:

I. Beating Swords into Plowshares

The fighting finally over, the new country faced many challenges. The experiment in republicanism did not start out smoothly. Heavy wartime debts, an army that had not received proper provisions or pay throughout the war and looked to receive its promised back pay and land bonuses, no treasury, and doubts about the value of the Continental dollar vied with the issue of who would benefit from the new government. With so many problems to solve, and little real power, discontent among the soldiers and officers about the priorities and intentions of Congress created the perfect atmosphere for a military overthrow of the government.

A small clique that included the Secretary of Commerce, Robert Morris, encouraged the military officers to threaten a coup d’etat unless they received assurances about officer pensions and land bonuses. George Washington again demonstrated his value to the young country by firmly supporting the separation of political and military roles and encouraging his officers and men to do likewise. Officers formed a seemingly harmless, exclusive social club, the Society of the Cincinnati, with hereditary membership. Some politicians feared the potential power of such an organization, which looked like it would become a privileged aristocracy, mimicking too closely the monarchy they had just defeated.

To celebrate the new nation, towns and cities were renamed, parents named children after American heroes and battles, plays and poetry celebrated America’s virtues, and a new dictionary supported spelling and words that were uniquely American, while collectors stuffed and mounted American birds, mammals, and plants. In response to European ridicule, American writers defended and defined the American character. Regardless of the weakness or stability of the government, it was clear that American citizens knew they were no longer part of a European empire, but instead lived in a new nation.

II. Competing for Control of the Mississippi Valley

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

Since the United States was little more than a weak confederation of states, it had no effective control of citizens moving westward and did not try to prevent the expansion. Strong southern confederacies like the Creek, Cherokee, and Chickamauga found
themselves under continued pressure from land-hungry settlers. Populations west of the Appalachian Mountains grew so quickly that new states like Tennessee and Kentucky soon entered the union. Settlers moving into the Old Northwest faced British garrisons in strong forts, who encouraged resistance by their tribal allies.

Congress passed important legislation, the Land Ordinance of 1785 and 1787, that systematized the way land in the territories would be surveyed into precise sections to diminish conflicts over land deeds, defined the Ohio River as the dividing line between slave and free territory, provided basic rights to white territorial residents, and delineated the steps required for a territory to become a state.

III. Debtor and Creditor, Taxpayer and Bondholder

War’s end increased economic instability, as the postwar depression produced record numbers of personal and business bankruptcies. Creditors called in loans, lands were confiscated to pay taxes, and citizens fought back by using the vote to elect officials more sympathetic to poor citizens’ problems. For many, this would not provide relief quickly enough, and demonstrations became so violent that states raised armies to control angry citizens. Among wealthy citizens, concerns also developed that the new nation would become more sympathetic to the common man than to moneyed interests.

The aftermath of war also provided unusual opportunities. Barred from British commerce, merchants sought alternative markets. In the New England area, whaling fleets were quickly rebuilt. Investors and ship owners exploited trade opportunities in the African slaves, the Asian market in tea, spices, and silk, and Pacific Northwest furs. American sea captains explored the western coastline, making claims for the United States to territories already claimed by Spain, Britain, and Russia. Wealthy individuals also became involved in land schemes and heavily-depreciated continental dollars and individual state currency and securities. As states faced popular demonstrations that supported debtor relief, demands that more paper money be placed in circulation and accepted as legal tender for debts, a small number of men determined that major changes needed to occur to correct the focus of the government.

IV. Drafting a New Constitution

Men like Hamilton and Madison were convinced that the Articles of Confederation, which provided extensive authority to the states and little authority to the national government, needed to be seriously altered. Because of the increasing amount of unrest in New England, the 55 male delegates from 12 states who gathered in Philadelphia in May 1787 to discuss commercial issues were willing to discuss more radical changes to the Articles of Confederation. These elite lawyers, merchants, bankers, slave holders, and members of the Order of the Cincinnati, favored a strong national government that could control finances, support commerce, and exert greater control over the states. Issues like representation, power and responsibility of branches of government, controls to prevent any branch from becoming tyrannical, or protections for slave property, were seriously
debated. After five months of secret deliberation, the final document enumerating the
compromises was signed.

V. Ratification and the Bill of Rights

Acceptance by the Articles of Confederation Congress or by the individual states was a
major hurdle. To gain support for the Constitution, the drafters flooded the newspapers
with supportive letters, portrayed themselves as average Americans, called themselves
Federalists, and portrayed the Constitution as a document that more firmly established
federal (i.e. state) power, when the document instead established a strong national
government. Skillful use of the press, deals and promises, and changing the number of
states necessary to make changes to the existing Articles of Confederation from 13 to
nine, resulted in the acceptance of the proposed Constitution by nine of the 13 states,
thereby making the Constitution the law of the land. One of the major conditions for
acceptance involved the First Congress adding the missing list of citizen rights, which the
public insisted be clearly written into the Constitution. Implied rights seemed too close to
the common law rights of colonial days that were so easily ignored by Parliament.

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. What basic problems facing the young nation at the end of the war had to be solved
   immediately? What kinds of problems could wait?

2. Did the army pose a serious threat to the new government? Why is this significant?

3. Would it be reasonable to argue that the decisions of George Washington at the end of
   the war were as important as those made during the war?

4. Why did violent confrontation erupt between settlers and native peoples in the Old
   Southwest (TN, KY, AR, AL, MS) and the Old Northwest (OH, MI, MN, WI, IA, IL)?

5. Why does it matter that there was almost universal white male suffrage (i.e. right to
   vote) at this time?

6. Why did earnest men gather in Philadelphia to discuss amending the Articles of
   Confederation? How did they end up with the Constitution instead?

7. How did the Constitution become the basis for United States government?

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. The size of the new country, as well as the diversity of its population, made it difficult
to create a strong, stable government that protected peoples’ rights.

2. Despite good reasons to distrust politicians, the army did not try to overthrow the
political process to guarantee better government.
3. Although the Mississippi River was legally the western boundary of the United States, treaty-wording did not guarantee American control of the lands west of the Appalachian Range. Native peoples retained control of their homelands and Spain remained a significant power in the South. The continued presence of British troops in well-positioned forts also challenged American claims to the northern region.

4. Powerful men sought a new government that would protect class interests, while the majority of Americans sought a new government that protected individual rights. Both sides viewed the early national years as crucial in establishing the direction of the country.

5. The framers of the Constitution of the United States did not have the authority to make such sweeping changes. Political ability and skillful propaganda provided the necessary support to have the document ratified.

6. The American public was not satisfied with a Constitution that did not contain a basic list of citizen rights.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Staying in the spirit of the period, have students debate whether citizens have the right to disrupt a government that does not serve their needs.

2. Divide the class into 13 states with representatives from both the upper and lower classes. Once research is completed, hold a constitutional convention. Discussions should include the issues that are important to both classes of citizens.

3. Read the Constitution of the United States. Have each student decide whether they would have voted to accept or reject the document, providing the reasons for that decision.

**Further Resources:**

Beard, Charles A. *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, 1913.


Web Site Assignments:

1. Divide the class into research groups to examine the Federalists Papers.
   http://www.law.emory.edu/FEDERAL/federalist

2. Discuss documents from the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention.
   http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem
   http://www.archives.gov/research_room/arc/index.html
CHAPTER 9

Revolutionary Legacies,
1789 - 1803

Chapter Outline:

I. Competing Political Visions in the New Nation

Under the newly ratified Constitution, the Electoral College unanimously chose George Washington for president in 1789. Congress proposed 10 amendments to the Constitution in response to popular demand that personal rights have written guarantees. By 1791, these amendments had been passed by the states. Believing that the existence of parties in England hampered free and open discussion of issues, the Federalists of the First Congress began to solve the problems facing the young nation. By the late 1790s, the supporters of Hamilton (Federalists) and Jefferson (Democratic-Republicans) represented two opposing viewpoints. The Federalists supported a strong central government that supported business and industry, while the Democratic-Republicans supported states’ rights and a dependence on the integrity of small farmers to guarantee the freedoms and obligations of a republic.

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

As Secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton developed the First Bank of the United States, modeled after the Bank of England, to fund the national debt and stimulate the economy. Jefferson opposed not only the national bank, but all of Hamilton’s centralizing proposals aimed at creating financial stability by encouraging industrial growth. Lumber, textile, and grain mills flourished in the North, and Whitney’s cotton gin prompted the expansion of slavery and cotton production in the South.

The increase in federal power was opposed by many citizens. Frontier settlers protested federal taxes by closing roads, shutting down courthouses, and intimidating tax collectors. By 1794, Washington had sent an army of 13,000 to end the disturbances. When Washington stepped down after two terms, the Federalists remained in power. Support for Federalist policies diminished. Heightened concerns about national stability resulted in the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798. For many Americans, these Acts sought to destroy the freedoms fought for during the Revolution.

II. People of Color: New Freedoms, New Struggles

Some slaveholders found slaveholding incompatible with their understanding of the freedoms gained by the war. Between 1790 and 1804, all northern states abolished slavery. Some southerners immediately manumitted (freed) their slaves, while others, like
Washington, did so in their wills. Some, like Jefferson, agonized over the issues, but purchased even more slaves to improve the family prosperity, while still more southerners had no problem with any aspect of slavery. Despite manumissions, the number of slaves significantly increased in the decade after the war, and southern states passed additional laws to control free black populations within their states.

The general chaos of the postwar period meant that free blacks faced immense challenges in finding sufficient work to support themselves and/or their families, and few enjoyed even the most basic rights of citizenship. In spite of the problems, they set up households, and also worked together to create churches, schools, hospitals, charitable organizations, and festivals.

III. Continuity and Change in the West

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

Some eastern tribes, fleeing devastated homelands, also moved west. Tribes occupying the Northwest Territory worked to protect their homelands from both Indian and white settlers. Some chose war, as individual tribes fought intruding enemies, and others joined together in the Ohio Confederacy, which was eventually defeated by the U. S. Army. Others tried to adopt some of the customs and habits of whites in order to retain their homelands. In the Southeast, some members from each of the Five Civilized Tribes farmed, kept domesticated animals, converted to Christianity, and purchased black slaves.

In Spanish territory, the work to Christianize Indians continued. Missions in California grew in both number and size, while those in the Texas region had little success. Some of the nomadic hunter-gatherer tribes began to include Spanish villages or missions in their seasonal pattern.

IV. Shifting Social Identities in the Post-Revolutionary Era

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

Changes also occurred among working men. Craftsmen and tradesmen organized in societies that stressed equality and emphasized their revolutionary roots by marching in local celebrations to honor the Declaration of Independence, George Washington, or the Constitution. The use of wage labor over indentured labor or slavery increased the mobility of male unskilled workers, who were unable to find enough work in one location
and needed to travel to find sufficient work to provide for their families. While the postwar period provided opportunity for some, the majority of small farmers and wage laborers encountered greater problems.

Some women, expecting greater freedom and opportunity in the new nation, would be disappointed too. Rather than acquiring the right to participate equally in the political sphere, own property, or act as legal persons, women were tied more fully to the patriarchal household and family responsibilities than during the colonial period because of the new definition of a woman’s role within the nation. The concept of “Republican Motherhood” supposedly settled any gender issues among elite and middle-class women by identifying the role of mother as crucial to the creation of republican sons, who would become the solid citizens that would guarantee the survival of the nation. The work demands for poor women did not decrease, while in the borderlands the traffic in female slaves of all colors increased and influenced cultural development.

V. The Election of 1800: Revolution or Reversal?

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

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

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Did George Washington, elected unanimously by the Electoral College and dealing with only one party, the Federalists, have an easy time as the first president of the United States?

2. Would the political beliefs represented by Hamilton and Jefferson cause cooperation or contention? Why is this important?

3. Would the distant decisions by France and England have a minor or major impact on the new country?

4. Does the word “liberty” apply to all Americans? What actions support your response?
5. One might expect that only the elite would remain interested in politics once the Revolution was over. Is there any evidence that small farmers, craftsmen, wage laborers, women, or blacks remained politically active?

6. What did the example of Washington’s slave, Ona Judge, demonstrate about the dilemmas faced by slaves and slave owners during the period immediately following the end of the American Revolution?

7. Did elite and non-elite women gain or lose rights or influence under the laws of the new nation?

**Significant Themes and Highlights:**

1. Despite the conviction that a republic could only survive under united leadership, this proved impractical. There were clashes over the different goals and concerns of rural and urban businessmen, and between those convinced that national self-sufficiency was key to survival and those convinced that international involvement better met long-term economic and international goals.

2. Although some slaveholders determined that slavery was incompatible with republican ideology and manumitted their slaves, others fought hard to safeguard their national right to hold slaves.

3. Neither women, nor blacks, nor formerly allied Indian nations found that the newly developing nation answered their expectations.

4. Republican ideology had profound effects on many aspects of American society and culture.

5. Despite the intense rivalry and bitter rhetoric, there was no radical change in policy when the Democratic-Republicans gained the presidency from the Federalists.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Review the first 10 amendments to the Constitution of the United States. Do the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 threaten any of these rights?

2. Debate the wisdom of the new nation in acquiring the Louisiana Territory from France. What problems might arise with so much new land? What solutions to immediate national problems might the area afford?

3. Examine the various strategies used by Indian peoples to secure their rights and homelands in dealing with the new nation. Do any of the Indian strategies succeed for the long-term or the short-term?
4. Divide the class into four groups, one representing non-elite women, another representing slaves, another representing the white wage-earning laborers, and another representing Indian societies interacting with their European neighbors. Discuss which of these groups had the most impact on their surroundings.

**Further Resources:**


**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Create panels to discuss the choices made by native peoples in dealing with the new United States government.  
   http://www.si.edu/nmai

2. Discuss the differences between the national views of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson.  
   http://www.pbs.org/jefferson

3. Divide into groups to research early national rebellions and discuss which event had the greatest impact on early U.S. rebellions  
   http://www.whiskeyrebellion.org/dshay.htm
CHAPTER 10
Defending and Defining the New Nation, 1803 - 1818

Chapter Outline:

I. The British Menace

During the Napoleonic Wars, England sought to control American shipping by continuing the practice of seizing both crewmen and cargo from American merchant ships. In an attempt to force European nations to respect American sovereignty, President Jefferson requested an embargo on all exports to European destinations in 1807. Citizens in both New England and the South compared Jefferson to George III because he refused to lift the embargo that crippled their economies.

Congress replaced the embargo that banned shipment to all of Europe with the Non-Intercourse Act that excluded shipments to England and France only. England’s continued harassment of American shipping led western congressmen to demand war to protect American independence.

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

II. The War of 1812

By 1812, the western congressmen succeeded in their demands for a war with England to halt the threat to American ships and eliminate Canadian trade with native peoples. New England protested and provided little aid during the war, with several states even threatening to secede. The U.S. attack on Canada in 1812, similar to the Revolutionary War experience, failed because militias refused to leave their states. The American navy won small engagements on the Great Lakes and Lake Champlain. The American attack on Montreal failed, and pursuing British troops burned Fort Niagara and surrounding towns.

As in the Revolutionary War, the majority of native tribes fought for the British because of the actions of land-hungry American settlers. Tecumseh joined the British effort, with the rank of brigadier general. In 1813 the most significant event in the Canadian theater was the death of Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames. In the South, the Creek nation divided its allegiance between the British and the Americans. Andrew Jackson, with 3,500 troops and Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creek warriors, wasted Creek villages, forcing the Creeks to cede 23 million acres of their homeland. Despite evidence of battlefield atrocities, Jackson praised his troops for bringing civilization to the area.
The British navy controlled the Atlantic Ocean, British armies defeated poorly led and poorly motivated American troops, and all major American port cities were in British hands by 1814, except New Orleans. Andrew Jackson led an army to defend New Orleans, unaware that by the time he had reached the area the war was over. The battle on January 8, 1815, which lasted half an hour, was an astonishing American victory.

III. The “Era of Good Feelings”?

By the time James Monroe became president in 1817, the bitter discord that had been so common in Congress and small-town America seemed to have disappeared. Veterans of the war took up land grants, while neutral, defeated, or allied southeastern tribes lost their land. Two military heroes would eventually become president of the United States, Andrew Jackson in 1824 and William Henry Harrison in 1840. New home industries became stronger as the impact of the embargo and war provided them with customers. Toll roads and steamboats facilitated the movement of people and goods. Americans became more mobile, changing locations to improve individual or family opportunities.

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

IV. The Rise of the Cotton Plantation Economy

As rich lands opened up in the South, cotton production soared. In the low country of South Carolina and Georgia, rice production also flourished. Despite the ban on importation of African slaves, the demand for slaves so exceeded the supply that South Carolina reopened the trade. Most states depended on the internal slave market. Owners encouraged women to have children, with some owners supporting limited marriage arrangements because it improved the work done on the plantation and decreased the amount of runaways. Black families supported each other in both kin and fictive kin arrangements that provided mutual support in raising families and surviving slavery. Surplus slaves living on older, settled plantations in the Upper South were sold to meet the growing market demand.

As the need for slaves increased, restrictions on slave activity also increased. Afraid of slave retaliation, owners sought firmer control of slaves’ lives because they were afraid of either individual or united slave retaliation. Harsh punishments were common, and both active and passive resistance to slavery became normal. Work slow-downs, feigned illnesses, accidental fires, broken tools, misunderstanding directions, and running away for short periods of time were common. Individual violent acts were more common than group collaboration in a major rebellion.
Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Did the actions of the British navy demonstrate that Britain considered the United States a free and independent country?

2. Which members of Congress demanded that the United States declare war on England? Did this have an effect on the way the country responded to the War of 1812?

3. How did the economy react to the embargo and the war with Britain? What positive consequences do the authors report once the war is over?

4. Business consolidation and new management techniques alter working conditions for American labor. What part of the workforce gained from the changes? What part lost? Did this have anything to do with the support for strikes?

5. Why was southern industry less successful than northern industry?

6. Were the practices of southern plantation agriculture useful in developing profitable operations in the West? What impact did this have on the institution of slavery?

7. Did the development of family ties have a significant impact on the forms of resistance employed by slaves?

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. For the United States, gaining international recognition as a separate country did not secure rights to unmolested access to the seas. Although afraid of the potential consequences of asserting American rights, Congress declared war against Britain in 1812.

2. The nation was not united during this war. The East threatened to secede, but in the end provided little help to the war effort. English troops easily occupied American ports and inland areas. Faced with trained British troops, both the American army and the state militias retreated, often without firing a shot.

3. The majority of Indian nations on America’s frontier supported the British. America’s Indian policy had gained Indian territory; it had not gained Indian friends.

4. Economic opportunities for the creation of successful industries improved because of the war with England and the national tariff policy. The importance of small individual craftsmen decreased as business consolidation meant laborers needed fewer skills, and management distanced itself from the workforce. Tradesmen and craftsmen united in unsuccessful short-lived strikes in an attempt to regain control of their working environment.
5. The cotton gin made large commercial cotton plantations very profitable. Some planters with slaves quickly took advantage of the fertile new western lands at the end of the War of 1812. The usefulness of slaves in profitably clearing, planting, and harvesting the crop increased the demand for slaves. Despite the banning of the African slave trade, the surplus of slaves from older, established plantations resulted in a brisk, profitable internal traffic in slaves.

6. As the institution of slavery matured in the Southeast, owners encouraged women to have children. Some owners encouraged the formation of families to improve morale, decrease the problem with runaways, and increase profits. Despite the mental and physical burdens of slavery, black men and women worked to create mutual support systems on the large plantations.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Discuss President Jefferson’s instructions to the members of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Was the information the president sought military, political, or economic? How successful was the expedition in providing the President with those answers?

2. Examine the location of American military victories in the War of 1812. Examine the location of English victories (include those in the West). Considering the political and military importance of the territory controlled by England, who won the war? Who won the treaty negotiations? Keeping in mind that renewed hostilities (i.e. battles) normally end armistice agreements, does the timing and consequence of the Battle of New Orleans have much actual effect on the outcome of the war? Why would westerners feel they had delivered the nation from destruction and be furious with the peace treaty?

3. Examine some of the assumptions about warfare. 1) Are victories in obscure locations as significant as victories that provide control of major populations or economic locations? 2) Battles normally take place between groups of armed combatants. Andrew Jackson led American troops against the Creek nation. In light of the type of warfare that took place on the frontier, were Jackson’s tactics unusually inventive or harsh? Why would Jackson praise the actions of his men following the victory at Horseshoe Bend, while the textbook’s authors label this a massacre?

4. Evaluate why slavery did not disappear during the early national period. Were there practical reasons for the move to wage labor in the North? Were there non-economic benefits to slave owners? Were there more advantages than disadvantages for those whites who did not own slaves?

5. Examine the kinds of problems you would expect slaves to encounter in a frontier region.
Further Resources:


Web Site Assignments:

1. Examine the rights guaranteed to the Five Civilized Tribes through treaties with the United States government prior to the removal policy of the 1830s.

http://www.library.okstate.edu
2. Discuss the wisdom of the U.S. wars with the Barbary States and England.
http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm
CHAPTER 11

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

Chapter Outline:

I. The Politics Behind Western Expansion

The right of territories to become states was established by the Northwest Ordinances of 1785 and 1787. In 1819, when the 22 states of the United States were evenly divided between slave and free states, Missouri applied for statehood as a slave state. The heated debate that followed finally ended in compromise, with Maine admitted as a free state to balance Missouri, and an agreement that in the future, above latitude 36°30’, in the Louisiana Territory, slavery would be prohibited. This decision only postponed a more heated debate over slavery.

The lure of the West continued to draw settlers to open new lands. Settlers from the slave states crossed the Appalachian Mountains into Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. A new planter elite arose in the area, who used slaves to drain swamps, to build levees to control the seasonal flood waters, and to plant and harvest cotton.

In 1819, the Second Bank of the United States demanded greater fiscal responsibility from the local banks that had extended credit to struggling farmers. Those unable to make the regular mortgage payments faced foreclosure, loss of land, equipment, and crops, causing a depression known as the Panic of 1819. With fewer crops for the eastern market, food prices rose. Without the usual customers and less access to credit, many small businesses closed. Faced with the normal credit problems but unable access credit, even the elite slave owners faced foreclosure.

II. Federal Authority and Its Opponents

During the 1830s, significant questions regarding the extent of federal power emerged. Federal treaties, made with individual tribes as independent nations, established tribal boundaries and mutual obligations. The Cherokee nation controlled lands in western Georgia with rich soil, water, timber, and gold. The state of Georgia claimed the right to control all peoples and lands within its state borders. Under the leadership of Andrew Jackson, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which forced the Cherokee to leave Georgia and move to the Indian Territory. The Cherokee took their case past the Georgia court system to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court found on behalf of the Cherokee people, but the state of Georgia refused to comply, and the national government also ignored the court ruling and used the military to force the Cherokees out of the state.

The Tariffs of 1828 and 1832 increased the taxes on foreign products, thereby continuing the protection of American industry. Foreign governments retaliated with tariffs of their own. Both measures economically hurt the South. South Carolina declared the 1832
Andrew Jackson vetoed rechartering the Second Bank of the United States, claiming to represent the majority of the nation. Economic chaos ensued, as local and state banks proliferated, and issued bonds and certificates of questionable value to facilitate large improvement projects like roads and canals. Local communities, unable to meet the loan payments, repudiated many of their debts, adding to the economic stability of the era.

III. Real People in the “Age of the Common Man”

In the 1820s, Native Americans, blacks, and women comprised 70% of the American population. Consequently, universal white male suffrage provided increased political power to only one-third of the nation. As political decisions increasingly dehumanized Indians and rejected the idea that they had rights that must be respected, tribes east of the Mississippi, like the Cherokee in the South, publicized the existence of schools, newspapers, domesticated animals, farms and plantations, and craft and trade skills that showed their degree of “civilization.” In the Old Northwest, tribes like the Peorias moved in response to increased white pressure on their land, while Winnebagos, Sauks, and Fox fought unsuccessfully to keep their lands.

The decade of the 1820s saw a natural increase in the slave population of 25%, or 500,000 people. The free black population in the North made a similar percent increase, more due to manumissions, while the southern free black population increased more slowly. Although the number of free blacks was insignificant, white southerners feared their leadership would inspire slave rebellions. The reaction to rumors about the actions of free black Denmark Vessey in 1822 demonstrated the depth of white fear. This rumor about intended rebellion led to arrests, torture, and eventually the hanging of 35 black men and the exile of 18 others. Witness testimony was contradictory, and historical evidence suggests no reliable proof ever existed that any kind of rebellion was planned. The Nat Turner Rebellion of 1831, which resulted in the deaths of 60 whites, prompted similar reactions and served to reinforce white fears. Slave owners subsequently implemented policies meant to fully control the slave and free black populations.

Northern free blacks also dealt with white suspicions and restrictions on their freedom. Some became active in advocating the end of slavery, a few suggested leaving the country to settle in Africa, some advocated separation from whites, and others urged integration as the best means of protecting themselves and building a future.

A white woman also remained subordinate, having no legal control over property, wages, her children, or herself. She could not make contracts, vote, or serve on a jury. Few white women worked outside their homes for wages and there were few respectable jobs available, though most made major contributions to family welfare through housework and child-rearing. Well-to-do women redefined their role as managers of servants, becoming consumers rather than producers.
IV. Ties That Bound a Growing Population

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

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. In what way was the federal government supportive of settlers moving west? What benefit, if any, did it provide for the states?

2. Why did the Erie Canal have such a significant impact on the nation? Would canals built at other locations have the same impact?

3. Considering the significance of issues involved, did the Missouri Compromise end the debate about the expansion of slavery into national territories?

4. Were citizens justified in blaming the Second Bank of the United States for the Panic of 1819?

5. As a southerner, a slave-holder, a land speculator, an Indian fighter, and a Democrat, did President Andrew Jackson alter the direction of the nation? (In other words, did his presidential actions match his ideology?)

6. Did the “Age of the Common Man” provide opportunities for all American residents?

7. Does either the religious revival movement or the interest in literature tell us anything of importance about Jacksonian America?

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. Native people did not find a way to accommodate white demands, regardless of the strategy they used. Demands increased for Indian removal from their homelands to provide opportunity to white settlers. The U.S. Supreme Court supported Cherokee control of their homeland, establishing the precedent that all tribes with treaties had similar rights. Despite this ruling, state and national governments formed policies that forced eastern tribes to relocate west of the Mississippi River.

2. Political power remained in the hands of white men. Women, blacks, and Indians remained legally invisible, with no rights a court needed to respect.
3. White owners became alarmed that the increase in the slave population would encourage slave rebellions. The number and frequency of slave patrols increased. Rumors of rebellions, like the Vessey and Prosser Rebellions, were quickly and harshly dealt with. The unexpected success of the Turner Rebellion confirmed that southern suspicions were accurate and encouraged the further use of terror to keep any potentially rebellious slaves under control. Another result of these rebellions was the increasing restriction of free-black activity. Some southern states evicted free blacks from their borders.

4. As settlers moved west, literature and religion helped to maintain ties to family and friends back in eastern regions.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Divide the class into research panels, one addressing Cherokee rights to their land, one addressing the Supreme Court decision, one addressing the actions of the Georgia governor and Georgian residents, one addressing the Cherokee Indian Removal (the Trail of Tears.) Have each panel present its position to the class as a whole. Examine why the nation and the president failed to support the Supreme Court decision.

2. Discuss if the party system that elected Andrew Jackson as president used any methods used by modern candidates campaigning for office.

**Further Resources:**


**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Why did the state of Georgia and the United States government agree on what to do with the Cherokee nation?  
http://www.cherokee.org/culture/history.asp

2. Discuss the impact of the building of the Erie Canal and the settlement of the Midwest.  
http://www.memory.loc.gov/ammem/umhtml/umhome.html
CHAPTER 12
Peoples in Motion, 1832 – 1848

Chapter Outline:

I. Mass Migrations

European immigrant experiences varied as they entered thriving regional economies. The motivations and destinations of the immigrants depended on their economic situations and the existence of supportive enclaves of established immigrants from their home areas. In the 1840s and 1850s, over 4.5 million poverty-stricken Irish immigrants fled the potato famine in Ireland. Arriving in America with nothing, these immigrants rarely moved beyond their port of debarkation. Political instability increased the number of German families immigrating to America. Some moved inland and bought farms or started businesses. Others from Germany, Norway, Sweden, and elsewhere worked for a short time for a fellow-countryman, gaining experience, learning English, and earning money to buy land, start their own businesses, or provide their own dowries. Some joined countrymen to form close-knit communities that built schools, churches, and aid societies. Others eventually joined highly-mixed communities that encouraged mutual cooperation, the blending of customs, and the curbing of old ethnic animosities. Some Americans also continued to move, hoping to take advantage of distant opportunities, and to remake themselves in a new environment.

Demand for slaves caused prices to quadruple between 1800 and 1860. One out of every 10 children born in the upper South was sold, with the majority never seeing their families again. This internal slave trade made fortunes for a few and paid the basic bills for plantation owners whose crops had not sold well or whose spending habits outreached their ability to meet their obligations. Traders shipped slaves down the Mississippi on riverboats, or chained slaves together in slow-moving coffles and force-marched men, women, and children to distant markets like New Orleans, Natchez, Charleston, or Savannah.

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

A number of religious groups traveled west to form new communities where they could practice their religion unmolested. A few couples like the Whitmans and Spauldings traveled west to build Indian missions. The Protestant missions had even less success in inducing tribal members to change their religion than the Spanish priests who worked in New Mexico. Few faced as much united opposition from Protestant neighbors or finally went as far west as the Mormons, who settled in the Salt Lake Valley of Utah. From this base, Mormon communities developed hundreds of farming towns throughout the West, displacing local native peoples.
The government sponsored the forced removal of eastern Indians to western lands. A successful war with Mexico added one-half of Mexico to American territory. Urban mobs habitually attacked African Americans, Catholics, Irish, and abolitionists. The number of Irish that arrived over the 30-year span created extra pressure on the job market, housing, schools, and local politics. Employers posted signs reading “No Irish need apply.” Established and newly arrived Protestant Americans so feared the Roman Catholic faith of these Irish immigrants that the normal activities like building churches, erecting orphanages or creating mutual aid societies triggered unusually violent mob activity against all Irish institutions and neighborhoods.

II. A Multitude of Voices in the National Political Arena

The election of 1836 generated new coalitions and revitalized old parties. The unusual number of presidential candidates split the popular vote, narrowly returning the Democrats to the White House. Urban candidates for all positions courted the working-man’s vote, recently concentrated by the formation of the National Trades Union.

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

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

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

III. Reform Impulses
During the mid-1800s, crusaders looked at American society and found much that needed fixing. Though committed and energetic, no ideology or plan united the reformers.

Northern education advocates sought to create schools with similar programs so that children in mobile American families could fit smoothly into their classes wherever they went. Some viewed universal education as the key to uniting the country, making immigrant children good Americans, and teaching such American values as hard work, punctuality, and sobriety. Local school boards remained in control of their schools, resisting the demands of education reformers for universal standards. School boards hired less expensive unmarried female teachers (since women were naturally nurturing), selected the books, and established the criteria for student behavior.

More immigrant and native-born northern white children received public education than southern white children. Few blacks had access to education. Unintentionally, the education effort actually increased class differences.

A small number of reform groups tried to reorganize the family, change attitudes toward private property, or alter the wage labor system. Similar to the intentions of the early Puritan societies, utopian societies like New Harmony, Nashoba, or Oneida sought to create ideal societies that would become national models for solving modern problems.

Other reformers joined the temperance movement, which sought to alter drinking habits by reforming drunkards or closing bars. Others advocated improved women’s rights, though this topic faced internal dissension over what rights should be fought for first. There was fairly widespread northern and southern support for Married Women’s Property Laws to prevent husbands from squandering property and assets brought into the marriage by wives. There was much less enthusiasm for securing the vote, and the issue of abolition drove most southern supporters out of the slowly growing women’s rights movement, even as it galvanized others who saw too many resemblances between life under slavery and the treatment of women. As the fight for abolition gained support, the need to end slavery replaced the fight for women’s rights.

IV. The United States Extends its Reach

Mexican concerns about the growing number of uninvited Americans in Texas reached a climax when a few influential Tejanos and Texians declared independence in 1836. The Mexican army, led north by President Santa Anna, defeated a small force of rebels at the Alamo, the Spanish mission in San Antonio. Two months later, the rebels defeated the Mexican army, captured Santa Anna, and declared a new nation, the Republic of Texas, making it the only Mexican state to successfully rebel.

American interest in expanding westward included the Mexican states of Texas and California. During the 1844 presidential election, the Democrats promoted James K. Polk with the campaign slogans “Reannexation of Texas” and “54’40” or fight.” Both Democrats and Whigs worked to avoid the slavery question despite the presence of the Liberty Party and its outspoken candidate William Lloyd Garrison. Voters supported Polk
and aggressive expansion. One of the last decisions of the incumbent, President Tyler, was the admittance of Texas to U.S. statehood in December 1845, despite the clear warning from Mexico that any attempt by the U.S. to acquire Texas meant war.

Polk chose diplomacy rather than war with Britain over the issue of control of the Oregon Territory, negotiating for one-half of the claimed territory, with the 49th parallel being the mutually-undefended border between Canada and the United States. Diplomacy was also the initial approach with Mexico, not concerning problems over annexing Texas, but over demanding to purchase California. Mexico’s refusal resulted in a highly divisive war. Objections to the war were immediate and vocal. Southerners supported the move to acquire additional slave territory. Nativists were not interested in the large number of non-white persons, whether black, Indian, or Mexican, who could become part of the United States. Some saw the war as an aggressive land grab, unbefitting a republican government.

With the successful conclusion of the Mexican-American War, the United States acquired one-half of Mexico under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, thus achieving the expansionists’ goal of a nation that spanned the continent from ocean to ocean.

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Examine the motives of settlers who moved west toward the Mississippi River. Is it significant that slaves were used to develop part of the territory?

2. By 1848 were there other divisions occurring between North and South that impacted the political arena?

3. What kind of impact did the American Republican Party (Know-Nothings) have on American society? Did abolitionists effectively thwart or support this party?

4. What does the formation of utopian societies tell us about the degree of citizen satisfaction with life in America?

5. Compare the abolition and women’s rights movements.

6. What did America gain in going to war with Mexico?

7. By 1850, were the problems between the North and South so severe that war could have broken out any minute?

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. The lure of undeveloped land continued to draw settlers westward, filling in the fertile lands in the eastern areas of the Mississippi drainage.
2. Growing cotton became highly profitable at the very time the African slave trade legally ended in the United States. Only a few additional slaves from Africa entered the country through the black market. The majority of slaves to fill the demands of southern commercial agriculture and maintain the southern way of life came from natural increase. Mature southern states sold black men, women, and children to the newly developing plantation areas.

3. Education, abolition, prohibition, utopian, and women’s rights reformers joined together in separate organizations to fix the problems found in American society. The strongest negative reactions from the American public focused on abolition and women’s rights. The strongest support was for education and prohibition. Although there was some overlap, with individuals working on several areas at once, the varied goals resulted in intense activity but little real change.

4. American society finally made up its mind about what to do with Indians. Acculturation within local communities was no longer deemed a reasonable solution. Eviction from homelands through both voluntary and forced removal became state and federal policy.

5. Land hunger moved from individual settlers trespassing on contiguous lands, to the use of diplomacy to gain permanent control over co-claimed British territory, to formal war with Mexico to acquire additional land.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Discuss why there was less support for women’s rights or prohibition in the southern states than in the northern states.

2. Debate whether the actions of President James K. Polk provoked a war with Mexico. Does this have anything to do with the type of public support behind this war?

3. Divide the class into two or more teams. Each team uses half of the class period to create a crossword puzzle using the words and concepts found in the chapter. During the last half of the class, each side works on the other team’s puzzle.

**Further Resources:**


**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Examine the economic and cultural impact of trade between the United States and northern Mexico.

2. How does Alexis de Tocqueville’s assessment of American democracy compare with the experiences of the Cherokee nation and the Trail of Tears?
CHAPTER 13
The Crisis Over Slavery, 1848 - 1860

Chapter Outline:

I. Regional Economies and Conflicts

To European Americans, the acquisition of the Oregon Territory and half of Mexico meant new areas of opportunity. The lure of gold in California and rich farmland in the Oregon Territory drew thousands of European Americans west. Wagon trains with their cattle and horse herds moved across Indian lands protected by treaties, polluting rivers and streams, stripping the rich grasslands, cutting down trees and saplings, and splitting the great buffalo herds. Plains tribes that had developed a rich nomadic culture, tied to their horse herds and buffalo hunting, found their way of life threatened. The majority of Indian/settler contacts involved peaceful trading, but that was not what was believed in the East, where accounts of savages attacking innocent travelers were good newspaper copy.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo granted American citizenship and recognized the legal title to land grants of the Mexican citizens in the region, which meant all Indians as well since they were also considered Mexican citizens by Mexico. In reality, the new Anglo American settlers took lands without regard to existing titles, and the new American courts refused to uphold Indian or Mexican land rights, arguing that these people were so uncivilized they were unfit for citizenship. Mexican citizens in California worked through the court system and occasionally turned to violence in an attempt to protect their property and citizenship rights. In California, Indians were killed, kidnapped as slaves, or pushed into the poorest lands where there was too little food, causing death from starvation, exposure, or European diseases. Asian workers, despite their growing numbers and considerable contributions to the development of western transportation systems and emerging towns in the gold fields, received similar treatment to other “non-whites.”

Anglo Americans and immigrants created farms and towns in the Midwest (Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Iowa, Indiana, Minnesota), tending to settle in regions that were similar to their homelands. These heavily timbered lands quickly became farmland, producing so much grain that they became the nation’s breadbasket. Some new towns were exclusively settled by one of the groups, but generally these new towns included a mix of ethnic groups, Yankees, and/or southerners. Disagreements emerged over control of education, economic opportunity, religion, and politics.

In the South, the few rich plantation owners increased their land holdings and placed a greater number of their slaves in the cotton or rice fields. Yeoman farmers, about half of the white population, worked their small, self-sufficient, diversified farms, relying on barter and trade to provide other necessities. Most of the remaining white population worked as tenant farmers. The resulting complex white society valued independence and racial superiority. Meanwhile, slaves used various resistance tactics to mitigate the
conditions of slavery, and some participated in the black market exchange of stolen plantation goods.

Facing competition from the Midwest, many Northeastern farmers left their worn-out farms to work in town as wage laborers in industry or small businesses. The majority of women and children remained unpaid, working at home or in family businesses.

II. Individualism Versus Group Identity

In the nineteenth century, the general image of all Americans as highly independent and self-interested individuals did not fit the reality. In this period of mobility, Anglo Americans sought to firmly establish their unique rights and claims as citizens, using ridicule and exclusion, as well as legal and illegal means, to emphasize racial and ethnic differences. To counter these tactics, minority groups built strong support networks, aid societies, and political coalitions.

Everywhere in the country, European Americans sought to control the best jobs, leaving the heavier, dirtier work to those they considered socially inferior. Some in the North found the independence needed to invent new technology that fueled dynamic change. Those labeled “others” identified more strongly with their group, finding safety and self-esteem in positive ethnic or racial experiences that celebrated food, dress, festivals, literature, and song.

Writers portrayed white middle-class women as celebrating their self-sacrifice, family and community service, and emotionally rich lives. A small group of educated northern women, energized through work in the cause of abolition, organized to promote the rights of women. The meeting at Seneca Falls, New York, claimed that the rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence applied to women as well as men. Yet the majority of women in America did not identify with most of the goals expressed at Seneca Falls.

III. The Paradox of Southern Political Power

Pro-slavery forces continued to control the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. The influx of immigrants that foreshadowed growing free-state power added to southern concerns about the development of the newly-acquired national territory. Rich new lands that could replace the dwindling economic value of worn-out farmlands were seen as necessary for economic prosperity and continued political dominance. The emergence of new political parties that espoused “free soil, free labor, free men” intensified southern fears, especially as these Free-Soilers found success at the polls. The Know-Nothings, who sought to inhibit immigrant and Catholic power, soon merged with the new Republican Party, which espoused non-extension of slavery into the new territory.

The Compromise of 1850, which admitted California into the Union as a free state, with the remaining Mexican territory to be determined as slave or free through popular sovereignty although balanced by the powerful new Fugitive Slave Law, left both North
and South dissatisfied. In an effort to mitigate the problem, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, for the first time opening territory to slavery above the 36°30” parallel. The Republican Party used the Fugitive Slave Law and the Kansas-Nebraska Act as effective campaign material, to warn voters of a slave conspiracy that meant to engulf the entire nation. The party line supported non-extension of slavery into the territories, but accepted the Constitutional right of existing southern states to retain slavery. A number of southern politicians began to propose secession rather than remain in a Union that did not respect southern rights.

IV. The Deepening Conflict Over Slavery

The sharp war of words over slavery from small northern presses entered the mainstream press during the 1850s. Abolitionists’ harsh descriptions of slavery raised the awareness of many northern readers and inflamed the anger of the southern population.

From a southern view, the Supreme Court decision in Dred Scott v. Sanford guaranteed the protection of slave property anywhere in the United States. Northern voters feared this meant the demise of their free-state constitutions. In Kansas, the question of who would have control over the statehood question erupted into violent conflict that involved the burning of property and murder. Debates during the 1858 Congressional elections like those between Stephen Douglas and Abraham Lincoln in Illinois confronted the slavery issue directly, increasing the appeal of the Republican Party while further alarming the South. Then the failed raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry led by John Brown, which was intended to place guns in the hands of slaves expecting this to result in successful, sweeping slave revolts instead of being condemned by the northern press, turned John Brown into a martyr for the abolitionist cause. In light of all of these events, the talk of secession among southerners increased.

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Discuss whether the discovery of gold in California and rich farmland in Oregon had a major impact on American settlement patterns. Precious metal discoveries throughout the West continued for two decades. Would it be different if there had been only one strike?

2. Evaluate the importance of the failure of the national government to enforce the conditions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

3. Compare the emergence of the northern and southern economic system. Are the differences so extensive that war is the only alternative?

4. Examine the nineteenth-century concepts of freedom, independence, and the American character. Do all Americans view success based on independent action as their main goal, or is there evidence of an alternate avenue to success? Why would persons in a less-privileged position depend more on group identity than individual identity?
5. What part of the southern population would feel threatened by an increase in the white northern population? Is the threat to southern society as a whole or to special-interest groups?

6. Discuss the major issues that concern northern citizens when they discuss the impact of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, the *Dred Scott v. Sanford* case, or conditions in Kansas. Do these actions actually pose significant hazards to the rights and liberty of Free State citizens, or is their reaction simply paranoia?

**Significant Themes and Highlights:**

1. Popular support for expansion placed the country on a collision course with Great Britain and Mexico. President James K. Polk solved the Oregon Territory issue through negotiations, thereby providing American access to Pacific ports and establishing the 49th parallel as the border with Canada. The approach to Mexico was more belligerent. When demands to purchase California were rebuffed, a questionable military encounter in lands claimed by Texas resulted in a declaration of war. The United States gained half of Mexico in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

2. Distinctly regional characteristics in both societal and economic development emerged by the 1850s. Each region—North, Midwest, and South—also contained significant diversity.

3. In response to increasing immigration, Anglo Americans cooperated to control the best jobs and superior rights before the courts, basing their claims on racial and ethnic superiority. Those labeled inferior because of ethnicity and race, and unable to secure their rights as single individuals, formed group identities and built networks to provide as much protection as possible in their dealings with the dominant Anglo American culture.

4. Despite firm control of the government, the South became increasingly alarmed about the future. Expansion of slavery into new lands was deemed essential for the economic health of the region. Of equal concern was the growing problem with abolitionists. The southern elite demanded their right to retrieve runaways and to travel with their slave property anywhere in the existing states.

5. New parties emerged to promote or protect northern interests. The tension caused by northern and southern political and economic interests increased.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. The popular vision of the lone wagon train working its way westward, encountering hostile nature and hostile Indians is a myth. What difference does the following information about wagon traffic along the Platte River suggest? What kinds of problems would you anticipate between years with few immigrants and those with many thousands?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>35,000</td>
<td>1859</td>
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<td>1847</td>
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<td>5,000</td>
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<td>5,000</td>
<td>1866</td>
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<td>30,000</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>330,000</td>
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</tbody>
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2. Discuss the following:
The United States is the only country in the world that ended slavery through civil war. This could mean that the United States is more violent than other countries, and chose to settle the problem with war. All former slave-holding countries experienced a major shift in the region of the country and the politicians who commanded economic and political power at a time when slavery was becoming less profitable. All shared the problems generated by competitive vitriolic press stories. All shared instances of personal violence. Only the United States acquired additional territory.

3. Divide the class into two groups to examine the Lincoln-Douglas debates. One group should read and defend the Douglas position, and the other group should cover the Lincoln position.

**Further Resources:**


**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Examine slavery as described by abolitionists.

2. How does Abraham Lincoln view the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Act?
   [http://www.illinoiscivilwar.org/debates.html](http://www.illinoiscivilwar.org/debates.html)
CHAPTER 14
The Fight to Gain a Country

Chapter Outline:

I. Mobilization for War, 1861 - 1862

Following the November 1860 election, the southern reaction to the selection of Republican Abraham Lincoln as president was mixed. The upper South and border states stayed in the Union. South Carolina voted to secede from the Union on December 20, 1860. Only six southern states followed, and by February they had formed the Confederate States of America, with Jefferson Davis as president. The attack on Fort Sumter, Charleston, South Carolina, and Lincoln’s request for 75,000 troops brought four more southern states into the Confederacy.

The Confederacy justified secession, pointing out that it was their right to do so, using the terminology of the American Revolution, with the Union acting the part of Britain denying basic rights, imposing unjust taxes, and threatening the southern way of life. Although the CSA lacked the political, economic, industrial, and military infrastructure to wage war, they were confident that they would win this war quickly because their cause was a just one. However, similar to the problem of the Americans in the Revolution, many southerners supported the Union. In addition to this basic conflict between the individual dreams and goals of citizens, the new Confederate nation was based on the sacredness of states’ rights, which would cause major rifts between state governments trying to preserve their inherent rights, and the Confederate government in Richmond trying to consolidate sufficient power to win a war that proved a much longer duration than anyone anticipated.

The Union justified its militant approach to the problem in terms of self-defense, since the Confederacy had fired on a federal fort and imprisoned Union troops. The major issue was the federal government’s responsibility to maintain the Union. The Union expected to handle the southern rebellion easily in light of the considerable advantages of having an established government with military and naval forces, economic and industrial capacity, as well as the raw materials necessary to wage war.

The opponents assumed the war would end either with a show of force, or in, at most, one battle. Each side badly underestimated the other because the enemy was a fellow American with similar background, similar heroes, and a similar commitment to gaining victory.

The first battle, 30 miles south of Washington, D.C. at Manassas Junction (Bull Run Creek), on July 21, 1861, was a resounding CSA victory. Lincoln discovered that he needed to reassess his political and military strategies for subduing the southern rebels.

The CSA strategy to defend southern soil needed no revision. However, Jefferson Davis would need to seriously increase the power of the CSA government in order to effectively
fight a war that required a great deal of money, supplies, and men. Since the Confederacy was founded on the principle of the sacredness of states’ rights, this would not be an easy task. In March 1862, when the call for volunteers failed to provide the needed men, the CSA passed a conscription law (all men between the ages of 18 and 35 were called for three years of service). The provision allowing wealthy men to hire substitutes alienated poorer whites, who quickly dubbed this a rich man’s war but a poor man’s fight. Taxation and conscription of slave labor also provoked the elite, who had expected the CSA to provide them with greater opportunities, not burden them with the debts and demands of a war. State legislatures and governors also resisted.

II. The Course of War, 1862 - 1864

The CSA had mixed success in recruiting members of the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian territory. As in previous wars, the majority of each tribe remained neutral, with some warriors choosing to fight for the CSA and some for the USA. Rather than providing a powerful fighting arm for the CSA in conventional battle, Indians insisted on doing their own style of fighting, and were quickly dismissed by CSA commanders as useless to the military campaign. Indian warriors did not return home peacefully, but engaged in fierce battles that brought civil war to the Indian nations in Oklahoma territory, tearing them apart. Both CSA and USA western state and territorial volunteer units chose to wrest lands guaranteed by federal treaties from powerful tribes like the Comanche, Apache, and Navajo while the attention of the federal government and military were focused on the eastern battlefields. They also sought to avoid the draft or the removal of volunteer forces from the region by claiming imminent dangers to citizens from imaginary Indian attacks or through participation in incidents like the Sand Creek Massacre by Colorado Volunteers led by Colonel Chivington of tribes in winter camps under the protection of Federal troops.

Women in the Union and in the Confederacy made substantial sacrifices and contributions to the wartime effort. There was greater coordination of women’s efforts in the North than in the South, as evidenced by the creation of the U.S. Sanitary Commission and the contribution of over 20,000 white and black women in military hospitals. The contributions of southern women, white and black, tended to be more individual than organized.

The Republican government, despite opposition, expanded federal power to deal with a longer war. Lincoln rejected the plea of free blacks and abolitionists to expand the war to include emancipation of the slaves. They felt that this would ennoble the war, secure French and British support, and weaken the Confederacy. Lincoln feared it would alienate the Union border states, and greatly increase northern opposition to the war itself. Without federal direction, Union officers acted at their own discretion, some sheltering runaways, others returning them to their masters. Some Union soldiers also acted independently, aiding runaways and thwarting slave catchers.

The Confederacy continued to win important battles in the East, stopping the Union forces during McClellan’s Peninsula Campaign, threatening Washington, D.C. with a
second victory at Manassas Junction (Bull Run), and moving north into Maryland. On September 17, Confederate and Union forces met at Antietam in the bloodiest fighting of the entire war. Encouraged by reports of Union success, and concerned over the reports of growing support in Europe for the Confederacy, Lincoln announced in September his intention to emancipate the slaves in rebel territory on January 1, 1863. Although the announcement halted British and French intentions to recognize the Confederacy, the reaction at home was less supportive. Republicans lost heavily in the Congressional elections of 1862. Reenlistments declined and desertions rose on the battlefield, and recruiters faced greater difficulties securing volunteers.

The Union navy worked to blockade the 3,500 miles of Confederate coastline. By December 1861, Union forces also had beachheads in Confederate territory along the eastern shoreline. Confederate privateers profited handsomely when they managed to slip through the blockade to deliver desperately needed supplies. The small Confederate navy, especially the British-built warships *Alabama* and *Florida*, avoided battle with the heavily-armed USN, concentrating instead on northern shipping.

### III. The Other War: African American Struggles for Liberation

The number of successful runaways in the upper South increased. More middle-aged and young black men in the upper South attempted to reach northern lines. An unusual number of women with their children also reached Union lines. Some elite owners moved valuable male slaves further inland. The majority of slaves remained on plantations or in town. With so many absent masters and overseers, few elite southern women could force slaves to maintain antebellum production as work slowdowns and accidents with machinery increased. Fears of slave rebellion seriously escalated throughout the Confederacy, and owners came to fear field hands and even trusted house servants in light of reports of violent attacks and runaways.

Union generals hired male runaways as manual laborers, and after the Emancipation Proclamation, enlisted them as soldiers in all-black companies. Black troops, as well as runaways, faced military and civilian hostility and prejudice, especially from those who blamed blacks for the war or viewed them as unwelcome competition. The Confederacy refused to recognize blacks as legitimate Union soldiers, formally declaring that blacks in uniforms or carrying guns, along with their white commanding officers, would be executed. In response, the Union halted prisoner-of-war exchanges.

### IV. Battle Fronts and Home Fronts in 1863

From the beginning, some southerners did not support the war effort. The majority of the battles took place on southern soil. Even where there was no fighting, armies devastated the areas they passed through, using fields for camps, butchering animals for food or seizing them for transportation, and confiscating crops, using any available building as hospitals, headquarters, or barracks. Suffering poor families urged fathers and sons to desert, especially as the food shortages and taxation fell heavily on their households.
Shortages, runaway inflation, taxes, and the draft affected even the elite, taking from them more than they were willing to give. Many lost, wounded, or escaped individual soldiers received aid from local families, who shared quickly-diminishing supplies to famished soldiers. These efforts were greatly appreciated by the individuals they helped but often did not result in a family being protected from looting or other depredations of subsequent groups of soldiers. Similar to some northern women, some elite southern women angrily denounced the war, while others aided the cause every way they could, nursing, sewing uniforms, working in textile mills or munitions factories or the Confederate bureaucracy, running small farms, businesses, or plantations, and numerous other ways.

In May 1863, Confederate General Robert E. Lee headed north, looking to lure Union troops away from Vicksburg, encourage Britain and France to support the Confederacy, and hasten the end of the war by giving the northern public a better idea of what war could do to a civilian population. He met the Union army at Gettysburg, Pennslyvania in an intense three-day battle, July 1-3, which ended in his defeat. This loss, and news of the fall of Vicksburg, Mississippi on July 4 convinced many southerners that the war to create a new nation was a lost cause. In Richmond and elsewhere, many southerners saw the defeats as evidence that God no longer smiled on the venture, and they rededicated themselves to the sacred cause and the Confederacy.

Northern reaction to these two battles was mixed. The staggering losses convinced many that peace at any price was better than such slaughter. The Union draft announced on July 1 provoked angry demonstrations. The New York City Draft Riots became so violent that 20,000 front-line Union troops were called in to restore order to the city.

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

By 1864, Union troops increasingly lived off the land and confiscated or burned property that might aid the rebel army. Since southerners had been so inventive in using household goods to aid the war effort, every kind of property became a legitimate target. As Lincoln sought reelection in 1864, civilian dissatisfaction with the war threatened to place his long-time opponent, George McClellan, in the White House. A Democratic platform calling for peace, Union victories in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and Atlanta, Georgia, and the furloughing of Union soldiers from states that did not allow absentee voting so they could return home to vote, gave Lincoln a second term in office.

The imminent threat of defeat resulted in the CSA’s decision to impress 20,000 slaves to aid the war effort and form black fighting units to protect southern soil, convincing many additional southerners that there was no hope for victory. The war ended before these troops were ready for battle. Sherman’s March-to-the-Sea devastated Georgia and South Carolina. Grant’s forces took Petersburg, Virginia after a long siege, opening the way to Richmond, which fell on April 3. Lee’s army was finally forced to surrender on July 9, 1865, and Lee urged his men to return home rather than go into the hills to fight as guerrillas. Although Davis and the Confederate congress escaped from Richmond with the intent of reestablishing the government elsewhere as soon as possible, the end of the
conflict was clearly in sight. Then on April 14, Lincoln was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth. Although there were still undefeated CSA armies in the field, Lee’s surrender and Lincoln’s assassination effectively ended the war.

**Sample Discussion Questions:**

1. As war began, the advantage lay with the North, yet both sides expected a short, victorious war. Why did the South win so many battles during the first year of war?

2. Evaluate the success or failure of Union and Confederate foreign policy.

3. Why did Lincoln wait for the northern victory at Antietam to announce the Emancipation Proclamation?

4. Did southern blacks help or hinder the Confederate cause?

5. Evaluate the efforts made by southern civilians in support of the war. Remember to include those who supported the Union, as well as those who supported the new CSA government.

6. Were women’s efforts in the Civil War at all significant?

7. Was the Civil War a “rich man’s war but a poor man’s fight”?

8. Compare the Shenandoah Valley Campaign and Sherman’s March-to-the-Sea with the Fort Pillow and Sand Creek Massacres. Why are the first two viewed as wartime strategies and the last two as massacres?

9. Despite the Confederate defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, the war lasted another two years. Why?

10. When Lee surrendered his army, he advised his troops to go home and not continue the war as guerrilla fighters. Why did he do this?

11. Jefferson Davis expected to reestablish the Confederate government in another location and continue the war. Why were southerners willing to accept defeat in 1865?

**Significant Themes and Highlights:**

1. The election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency resulted in southern states choosing secession rather than remain in the Union. Most of those who supported secession assumed the North would allow a peaceful withdrawal from the Union. Those who expected a fight looked for a quick victory. The North was equally confident of a quick victory.
2. Despite numerous disadvantages, the South achieved early military victories that prolonged the war.

3. Initially, both sides depended on volunteers to fill their armies. As the war dragged on, first the South, then the North passed draft laws that forced men to fight.

4. Citizens in both the North and the South resisted the war efforts of their governments. Resistance increased as each respective government increased its power over civilian life in order to fight the war. Battlefield losses and wartime shortages also increased dissent.

5. The length of the war impacted the lives of all Americans, northern as well as southern, western as well as eastern. War expanded to include the seizure and destruction of civilian property to prevent the enemy from profiting from it.

6. Although guerrilla forces claimed they fought for each side, neither the Confederacy nor the Union was comfortable with this type of warfare.

7. Major southern losses at Gettysburg and Vicksburg did not end the war, though many southerners lost hope of winning the war, either through foreign intervention or through the political pressure of northern civilians who would let the South leave the union rather than continue to suffer such loss of life.

8. Lee’s surrender at Appomattox Courthouse and the assassination of Abraham Lincoln convinced the South that the war was over.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Have half of the class watch the well-documented movie Glory or Gettysburg and the other half watch a fictional movie like The Blue and the Grey, North and South, or Red Badge of Courage. Discuss the ways these films present the war.

2. Divide the class into two groups to research Union and Confederate medical care during the war.

3. Research the kinds of food and tool substitutes used by southerners during the war.

4. Have the class find the words and/or music for Union and Confederate songs of the Civil War. After listening to the samples, discuss the role of music in maintaining morale.

**Further Resources:**


**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Some of the decisions of Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War were highly controversial. Examine the Lincoln papers to discover how he explained his actions. [http://www.alincolnassoc.com](http://www.alincolnassoc.com)

2. Learn how photographs, as well as documents, can improve your understanding of the Civil War. [http://www.memory.loc.gov/ammem/](http://www.memory.loc.gov/ammem/)
CHAPTER 15
In the Wake of War: Consolidating a Triumphant Union, 1865 - 1877

Chapter Outline:

I. The Struggle Over the South

Abraham Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address, as well as his discussions with Congress, demonstrated his intention to quickly rehabilitate the South in order to heal the Union. His death placed his vice president, Andrew Johnson, in charge of implementing this executive vision. While Congress was in recess, Johnson implemented the Ten Percent Plan, and pardoned poor whites who fought or worked for the Confederacy, and also pardoned many elite southerners.

Southern states elected Confederate generals, colonels, and high-ranking members of the Confederate government to the United States House and Senate. The returning Republican Congress refused to allow these southern Congressmen to take their elected seats. Reconstructed southern state legislatures had also quickly passed laws intended to permanently control blacks, called Black Codes, which also angered Congress.

Among Congressmen, wartime reconstruction experiments provided information that helped form Republican understanding of the potential for change in the postwar South. The attitude of constituents also influenced Congressional planning, providing support for the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, which abolished slavery, provided black male suffrage, and federal protection of citizens’ rights. President Johnson vetoed Congressional bills that he deemed excessive punishment for the South, occasionally going directly to the people.

In the 1866 Congressional elections, Republicans secured a two-thirds majority in both houses, enabling them to override the presidential veto and develop their own Reconstruction policies. Unable to secure the cooperation they desired from President Johnson, Congress started impeachment hearings to prevent Johnson from dismissing Secretary of War Stanton, and to require that the president have approval from the army senior commander for all military orders. Congress failed to win the vote on impeachment.

Former slaves moved away from plantations to find family members, to visit friends, and to test their freedom. Freedmen expected more control over their own labor, and sought to provide well enough for their families so that women could stay out of the labor market to manage the home and raise the family. Southern whites found this insulting, insisting that black women return to their accustomed workplaces. Congress gave the Freedman’s Bureau the task of helping freedman gain fair labor contracts, secure medical help, engage teachers, and distribute food, clothing, seeds, and basic tools. Despite the attempts of this agency to regulate postwar labor issues, white southerners developed
their own methods of control. Sharecropping became standard for both black and poor white families.

Black communities supported education, formed churches, and established aid societies to care for the sick, the elderly, and orphans. They understood much about citizenship responsibilities, and expected to be allowed to serve on juries, vote conscientiously in elections, and contribute to city, county, and state-planning decisions. Some whites, derisively called “scalawags” by their opponents, were willing to work with blacks to create more fairness in local laws and working conditions. Numerous blacks served capably in local, county, state, and national leadership positions. A number of southerners formed secret societies like the Ku Klux Klan, and used violence and the threat of violence to control blacks and their white supporters.

II. Claiming Territory for the Union

As thousands of settlers headed west at the end of the Civil War to stake their claim to the free land promised under the Homestead Act, Indian warfare increased. The Union army reported 1,000 Indian engagements between 1865 and 1890 in their attempts to defeat tribes and force them to accept life on small reservations. Since the warriors were pledged to defend and care for their village and families, the Union army staged dawn raids when warriors were away that claimed the lives of many women, children, and elderly. The treatment of prisoners was intentionally brutal, and successfully induced warriors to accept reservation life. On the reservations, the job of Indian agents (to make Indians good citizens) was rarely successful for numerous reasons. The program was poorly funded; the Indian Bureau had the dubious record of being the most corrupt in the entire government; and tribal elders worked quietly to pass on traditions, subverting attempts to assimilate the Indian population.

One of the methods used to encourage white settlement in the West was the building of the transcontinental railroad. In the West, the Central Pacific Railroad hired male Chinese laborers to prepare the railroad grade and lay track. When this job was completed, most went to California to work in small businesses, in the fields, and as servants. White laborers viewed them as unfair competition, finally driving most of them from the country.

Following the war, northern cattle buyers connected with southern entrepreneurs, who had too many wild cattle and no market. Towns quickly emerged to service the cattle-buyers. As Indian warfare on the northern Great Plains diminished, Texas cattle were driven north to become the base of huge cattle fortunes, which were dependent on illegal control of water and open range. Ranchers used vigilante tactics to remove farmers attempting to claim legal homesteads. Congress passed Federal Land Acts to control the development of national lands. Too often, loopholes in the law enabled small groups of men to exploit national resources irresponsibly.
III. The Republican Vision and its Limits

Some of those who fought for Negro suffrage were painfully disappointed at the failure of the government to pass a universal suffrage act that included women. Efforts to gather support for women’s suffrage after the war were not successful in convincing white women, white men, or black men that this was a crucial problem.

Finding that the Republican model of individualism brought little of realistic value, small farmers joined cooperative buying clubs, called Granges. Craftsmen also found the individual approach unsuccessful, and joined labor unions in search of safer work environments, better wages, and reasonable hours. Strikes were at this stage an unsuccessful tactic because employers hired ethnic and racial minorities to cross picket lines.

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. The North won the military aspect of the war. Did they also win back the hearts and minds of the South?

2. Evaluate the quality of the freedom former slaves gained through Republican legislation.

3. Were northern and southern racists accurate in their assessment of the inability of blacks to earn a living, care for their families, pay their debts, or properly use their freedom?

4. Consider the problems addressed during Reconstruction. Was congressional Reconstruction more successful than presidential Reconstruction in solving these problems?

5. Why did sharecropping become an important element of southern farm labor?

6. Why was the Union army able to move independent tribes onto reservations and protect white settlers in developing western lands?

7. Did racism disappear in the freedom from effective political and social restraints seen in the West?

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. The Civil War left the South with a shattered economy, ruined farmland, destroyed buildings, grief from the loss of loved ones, grief and anger over the failure of the lost cause, general shock at the broad extent of destruction, and millions of freed slaves. The biggest problem for most families would be bare survival.
2. Although Andrew Johnson stayed within the parameters Lincoln had disclosed prior to his assassination, executive Reconstruction failed under Johnson’s leadership.

3. The white South refused to act defeated. Exercising their right to vote, they elected high-level Confederate political and military officials to represent them in the national Congress. On the state level, they passed Black Codes to control every aspect of black life.

4. As freedmen, slaves traveled extensively, trying to reunite families and visit old friends. Some traveled just to prove they were free to do so, but returned to their home plantations. Most, however, had no desire to work on their former masters’ plantations.

5. Black families were determined to stay together, and many men worked to allow the mother to remain at home to raise their families. Southern whites resented this decision to keep women out of the labor force, viewing it as insulting and illegal.

6. The Republican Congress refused to recognize the southern elected officials, and launched its own Reconstruction program. Johnson and Congress clashed so many times over Reconstruction issues that Congress finally began impeachment proceedings. The impeachment process failed to secure the necessary votes. After the mid-term Congressional elections, Republicans had sufficient votes in both houses to override the presidential veto.

7. The Freedman’s Bureau, assigned to help former slaves assume full citizenship rights in the South, failed in its task. The task itself was too large, there were too few staff members assigned to address the needs of so many, the budget was too small, and active and passive resistance efforts by white southerners were effective.

8. At the end of the war, the increasing number of Anglo Americans in the West gave them the power to ignore Mexican land grants and the provisions in Indian treaties protecting Indian land, water, and wildlife rights.

9. The Union army used total warfare to defeat independent Indian tribes and force them to move to reservations. Tribes faced great hardship trying to preserve their ways of life. In the end, Indian leaders accepted the reservation in order to ease the suffering of women, children, and the elderly.

10. The building of the transcontinental railroad proved a valuable link in uniting the East to the West Coast, and encouraged town-building and agricultural development in the interior territory.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Evaluate why Republican leadership protected the American dream for so few. Blacks found that rights provided by federal laws were not given the necessary support to make them a southern reality. Republican failure to enforce treaty guarantees meant that
Mexican families lost their lands and most of their citizenship rights. Republican Indian policy sent troops to defeat independent tribes residing in their homelands guaranteed by former treaties and forced them to accept small reservations, and sent scant funds to feed and clothe Indians on the reservations without the necessary safeguards to guarantee these funds were used appropriately.

2. Have each class member bring in information about at least one accomplishment or contribution made by southern blacks after the war.

3. Divide the class into five or more groups, each doing research on one tribe that was still independent at the close of the Civil War. Have students discuss and compare their findings.

4. Watch the second half of Gone With the Wind and discuss this version of southern Reconstruction.

Further Resources:


**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Learn more about the impact of the Freedmans’ Bureau.

2. Attend the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson.

3. Examine United States Indian Policy following the Civil War.
   [http://www.si.edu/nmai](http://www.si.edu/nmai)
CHAPTER 16

Standardizing the Nation:
Innovations in Technology, Business, and Culture, 1877-1890

Chapter Outline:

I. Andrew Carnegie

Andrew Carnegie, a protégé of Tom Scott, worked his way up from railroad superintendent to steel magnate. He accumulated a vast fortune and then gave much of it away. He was the son of impoverished parents, who immigrated from Dumferline, Scotland to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania when Carnegie was 10 or 11 years old. He worked briefly in a factory as a bobbin boy, but within a year he took a job with the O’Reilly Telegraph Company as a messenger boy.

On November 2, 1849, Carnegie found a $500 cashier’s check on the street. He immediately took the check to the Pittsburgh Gazette. The newspaper ran a heartwarming story about the event and “this honest little fellow.” The money belonged to Tom Scott, Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad’s Pittsburgh division. Scott hired Carnegie and by 1852, Carnegie was Scott’s private secretary.

When Scott was made Vice President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Carnegie succeeded him to the post of Superintendent. By 1868, Carnegie was investing in telegraph, sleeping car, and bridge companies and was earning $56,000 per year.

While employed by the railroad, he invested his savings in the iron industry. He launched the Union Iron Mills and soon became a major partner. In the 1870s, he decided to build his own steel mill—the J. Edgar Thomson Mills. He grasped the possibilities of making steel using the Bessemer process and, in the early 1880s, he bought the Homestead Steel Mills in Pittsburgh. He took over the steel rail business in Pittsburgh and he held down costs. By 1900 his mills were producing steel rails at a cost of $11.50 per ton. He was the first steel maker to establish the actual production cost per ton of steel.

He also had the reputation of being a robber baron. He asked for favors from his railroad-president friends and gave “commissions” to railroad purchasing agents. At one point, he even sent a letter to railroad presidents warning them about the rolling method of making steel. Most purchasing agents, believing that Carnegie knew everything about steel, bought their steel from him. Carnegie and his partner, Henry Clay Frick, ruthlessly broke strikes and successfully resisted the unionization efforts of his workers.

In his book, The Gospel of Wealth, Carnegie argued that inherited wealth was evil, a “stinking fish,” and he left only enough money for his wife and daughter to last them during their lifetimes. He donated more than $350 million to libraries, charitable institutions, and research foundations.
II. The New Shape of Business

Railroad Advances

By 1900, railroad companies had laid 193,000 miles of track across the United States. Railroad companies were awarded vast land grants. The U.S. government loaned the railroads $150 million, and bought stocks at approximately another $150 million. The Union Pacific received loans of $16,000 per mile for flat track and up to $40,000 per mile for mountainous terrain. The federal government gave the railroads 155,504,944 acres of land and the western states gave them over 49 million acres, totaling an area larger than the state of Texas.

The first transcontinental railroad was originally comprised of two separate railroads, the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific. The Union Pacific, commissioned west from Omaha, Nebraska, used Irish “paddies” as laborers. The Central Pacific, commissioned east from Sacramento, California, used Chinese laborers. The two rails met near Ogden, Utah in 1869 where the last spike, a golden one, was driven into the rail with a silver sledgehammer.

Four other transcontinental railroads were completed before the end of the nineteenth century: the Northern Pacific ran from Lake Superior to Puget Sound; the Southern Pacific ran from New Orleans to San Francisco; the Atchinson, Topeka and Santa Fe ran through the Southwest to the West Coast; and the Great Northern, a creation of James J. Hill, ran from Duluth to Seattle.

New Systems and Machines

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, U.S. manufacturing growth and efficiency expanded rapidly. Manufacturers could cut prices and still earn profits for financing even better equipment. Early manufacturing produced consumer goods, such as boots and shoes, foodstuffs, paper, and construction material. Jan Ernest Matzeliger developed a shoe-lasting machine that eliminated the need for hand lasters. Thomas Edison established the first scientific laboratory in the United States and began inventing items such as the electric light bulb, the motion picture camera, and the phonograph, which would transform American society. Edison patented 1,093 inventions before his death in 1931.

Engineers developed processes that benefited agriculture, such as harvesting machines and new irrigation techniques. Gustavus Swift adapted technology to transform meatpacking processes and make Chicago the center of the meatpacking industry. Frank J. Sprague used Edison’s ideas to develop the first electric streetcar system.
II. Innovations in Financing and Organizing Business

In the 1870s, railroad companies formed pools, or agreements, to divide the business in a certain area and share the profits. By the 1880s, the railroads and other large businesses had moved toward consolidation. Some corporations were integrated vertically; that is, they controlled all aspects of production and distribution. For example, Carnegie’s enterprises controlled the production of steel from the ore fields of the Mesabi Range to the final production of steel at the Homestead Mills. John D. Rockefeller’s Standard Oil Trust, on the other hand, was horizontally integrated, as he absorbed competing companies into one giant system. Standard Oil was also vertically integrated, eventually controlling over 95 percent of the oil refineries in the United States.

John Pierpont Morgan

J.P. Morgan made his money in the banking industry. Because he provided money to investors, his bonds paid interest, and he helped abolish stock watering, which made the investing in stocks and bonds less risky. He created the trust, or super-corporation, by engineering mergers of corporations whose cutthroat competition had scaled down profits. He merged firms, with Morgan partners on the Board of Directors, and then issued new “trust certificates” in place of the old stocks.

John D. Rockefeller

Between 1865 and 1882, Rockefeller created a monopoly, the Standard Oil Trust. He believed that monopoly created efficiency in business and was the way of the future. He bought tanker cars in which to ship his oil and negotiated a 10 percent rebate on the oil he shipped, as well as a special rebate on his competitors’ oil. When pipeline technology became possible, Rockefeller built a huge interregional pipeline to carry his oil. He used spies, cutthroat pricing, and almost every other tactic possible to drive his competitors out of business. He operated just to the windward of the law and he accumulated a fortune of more than $800 million.

III. New Labor Supplies for a New Economy

Between 1866 and 1915, about 25 million foreigners entered the United States. Some of the following factors contributed to this influx: (1) Contract labor laws and advertising; (2) better transportation that reduced the transatlantic crossing; (3) crop failures and agricultural competition on the world market; (4) political and religious persecutions, especially Russian pogroms; and (5) the desire for economic gain. These immigrants were poorer, less educated, and came in larger numbers than previous immigrants.
“New” Immigrants

The “new” immigrants were predominantly from southern and eastern Europe. A large number of Russian Jews immigrated as a result of pogroms, or attacks, that destroyed Jewish ghettos. Most immigrants entered through Ellis Island in New York City and most settled in the northeastern and north-central United States. Those who stayed in urban areas crowded together in small ethnic communities.

The “Science” of Factory Management

Frederick W. Taylor, engineer for the Midvale Steel Plant near Philadelphia, conducted a series of time and motion studies among workers in the 1880s. Although his recommendations for producing more by streamlining motion on the assembly line were not adopted, his ideas for “scientific management,” getting the most from both machines and humans, were used for establishing a compliant work force.

IV. Cities: The Birth of a National Urban Culture

Cities across the nation began to build more complex and sophisticated infrastructures. William LeBaron Jenney designed and built the first metal frame skyscraper in Chicago. It was 10 stories high. Central Park and the Brooklyn Bridge were completed in New York City in the 1880s.

Urban Growth

Cities had been commercial centers before the Civil War, but in the last decades of the nineteenth century, industrialization spurred urban growth. By 1890, one person in three lived in the city, and by 1910, one person in every two did.

Building the Cities

Growing cities faced many challenges. In 1865, cities were filthy. For example, Baltimore had no sewers. The influx of immigrants seemingly made matters worse. As slums grew in size, public health problems reached a new high, and gangs formed in urban areas.

Local Government Gets Bigger

Political “bosses” formed city “machines” to keep a particular party or faction in office. City machines controlled the jobs of thousands of policemen, firemen, sanitation workers, street crews, etc. The “ward captain,” or “ward heeler,” turned out the vote at election time, and the “boss” presided over the organization. The most infamous of New York City’s bosses was William Marcy “Boss” Tweed, who gave out 60,000 jobs and stole between $50 and $200 million from the city. He was convicted of fraud in 1873 and died in prison in 1878.
V. Thrills, Chills, and Bathtubs: The Emergence of Consumer Culture

As consumer culture emerged in the 1880s and 1890s, Americans in large numbers patronized amusement parks, athletic events, and traveling road shows. They also responded to mass advertising campaigns.

Shows as Spectacles

Boxing became a national, regulated sport in the 1880s, and John L. Sullivan won the national bare-knuckle event in 1882. Also in 1882, “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West” began touring the United States. The Wild West show featured re-creations of famous Indian battles, and stars such as Annie Oakley and Sitting Bull.

Entertainment Collides with Tradition

Many post-Civil War Americans sought new forms of entertainment such as circuses, but others with conservative religious beliefs objected to the bawdy humor of clowns, the presence of gambling, and the scantily dressed performers who performed for cheering crowds.

“Palaces of Consumption”

Department stores, such as Marshall Field’s, Macy’s, and Wanamaker’s, made shopping an exciting, urban experience. Advertising drove the emerging consumer economy in both mail order and retail sales.

VI. Defending the New Industrial Order

Although Democrats and Republicans divided bitterly over issues such as the tariff and the fact that many Democrats supported secession a generation before, most politicians of the Gilded Age shared a belief in laissez faire (“hands-off”) economics. They argued that government should remain aloof from interference in the economy. Of course, the government was not economically neutral, as it regularly supported big business ventures such as the building of the transcontinental railroad and even used troops to break strikes such as the railroad strike of 1877.

Social Darwinism and the “Natural” State of Society

A number of businessmen, clergy, and university professors defended the huge economic gap between the wealthy and the working class as God-ordained or “natural.” They used the theories of Charles Darwin to argue that life is lived in a “jungle,” and that it operated according to jungle laws; therefore, only the fittest survived.
Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Contrast the “builders” (those who contributed more than they took) from the “spoilers” (those who sought only self-aggrandizement) of American industry. Who were the “robber barons” and why are they called this?

2. Compare and contrast the lives and contributions of Thomas Edison, Andrew Carnegie, John Pierpont Morgan, and John Rockefeller. How and what did each of these men contribute to American culture? How did they rationalize their extreme wealth?

3. What were the characteristics of the “New Immigrants” who came to the U.S. in the last decades of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth centuries? Why were they seemingly more difficult to assimilate? Why did labor unions often oppose unlimited and unregulated immigration?

4. Describe the emergence of consumer culture and mass merchandizing in the last decades of the nineteenth century. What impact did this new culture have on American values?

5. Discuss the impact of urbanization on American life. How did the development of cities impact the growth of slums, rising crime statistics, and sanitation and health? How did the growth of cities change local politics? Give examples.

6. Describe the growth and impact of labor unions in the years following the Civil War. Discuss the impact of strikes and boycotts on these labor unions.

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. While English industry stagnated, inventors and entrepreneurs transformed American industry through invention and innovation in the decades following the Civil War.

2. Burgeoning industry and better transportation brought an influx of foreigners to the United States in the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

3. Both internal and external immigration contributed to the growth of cities in the post-Civil War decades. The growth of urbanization created problems in the cities and led to the creation of political machines.

4. A national culture emerged in the 1880s and 1890s, characterized by mass leisure activities, standardized products, and mass advertising.

Enrichment Ideas:

1. Divide the class into groups of 3-5 students. Have the leader of each group draw an entrepreneur from a hat. Ask each group to research the life of their entrepreneur, on- and
off-line. Each group will then present the life of their subject to the class, with special
attention given to the contributions (or lack thereof) made by their subject.

2. Using the Internet and documentary films, ask student groups to research histories of
shows and spectacles during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Ask students to
examine the lives and careers of individuals such as Annie Oakley, Buffalo Bill Cody,
John L. Sullivan, and Nevada Ned. Students may also examine the National Baseball
League and the Negro Baseball League.

Further Resources:

Books:

Degler, Carl N. *In Search of Human Nature: The Decline and Revival of Darwinism in


Russell, Don. *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill.* Norman, OK: University of

Suggested documentaries and films:

*America: A Personal History of the United States.* BBC Television. Paramus, N.J.
Part 9 – *Money on the Land*
Part 10 – *The Huddled Masses*

*American Business History.* University of Nebraska. Department of Independent Study
Part 4 – *Andrew Carnegie and Business Ideology*
Part 5 – *John D. Rockefeller and the Rise of Oligopoly*
Part 6 – *J. P. Morgan and Final Capitalism*

Web Site Assignments:

1. Ask students, either singly or in groups, to browse through the *Harper’s Weekly*
online collection of nineteenth-century advertisements
(http://advertising.harpweek.com/). Students may write a 1-2-page paper about the
advertisements on this site or, if the classroom is computer equipped, they may present
the advertisements for class discussion.
Connecting History: Advertising in American History

1. Divide the class into groups of three or four. Ask students in each group to locate the web site on the *Emergence of Advertising in America: 1850-1920* at http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/eaa. Assign each group one of the following categories found at that site: Advertising Emphemera Collection; Broadsides Collection; the Nicole Di Bona Peterson Collection of Advertising Cookbooks; Early Advertising Publications; J. Walter Thompson Company “House Ads”; Ellis Collection of Kodakiana; Lever Bros. Lux Soap (Flakes); R.C. Maxwell Company Collection; Ponds; Scrapbooks; Tobacco Advertising. Each group should summarize the information site, and describe their discoveries after browsing and searching their assigned category.

Interpreting History: Madame C. J. Walker

Sarah Breedlove was born on December 23, 1867, on a Louisiana cotton plantation. Her parents had been slaves who worked on Robert W. Burney’s plantation during the Civil War, the plantation that served as the Union Army’s staging ground for the siege of Vicksburg. Sarah was seven years old when both of her parents died during a yellow fever epidemic that swept through the area.

Sarah remained on Burney’s plantation until she was 10 years old, when she and her older sister, Louvenia, moved across the river to Vicksburg to take jobs as domestic servants. Sarah Breedlove married Moses McWilliams when she was 14. The couple had a daughter, A’Lelia. When Moses McWilliams died in 1888, his daughter was only two years old. Sarah Breedlove McWilliams took her daughter to St. Louis, where she worked as an agent for Annie Turnbo Pope Malone’s Poro Company, selling hair-care products.

In 1905, Sarah McWilliams moved to Denver, where she decided to make her own hair-care products. The following year she married Charles Joseph Walker, a newspaper sales agent who helped her design advertisements and establish a mail order business for her hair products company. Sarah B. McWilliams took Walker’s name and became Madame C. J. Walker. Walker claimed that her formula for making hair-care products came to her in a dream. She ordered herbs grown in Africa and advertised her product as a hair restorative.

Madame Walker and her husband also established a beauty parlor and training school for beauticians. In 1910, they moved the company to Indianapolis, and while the business prospered, the marriage did not. Walker and her husband soon divorced. Between 1912 and 1916, Madame Walker traveled throughout the United States and to Jamaica, Cuba, Haiti, Costa Rica, and the Panama Canal to promote her business. In 1916, she moved to Harlem, leaving her business enterprise in Indianapolis in capable hands. While living in New York City, she became politically and philanthropically active, lending her name and money to the civil rights movement. In 1918 she was the keynote speaker at several NAACP conferences, and she was recognized by the National Association of Colored
Women’s conference for her large contribution to that organization. She suffered from hypertension and died of heart disease on May 25, 1919. She is known as the first African-American woman millionaire.
CHAPTER 17
Challenges to Government and Corporate Power: Resistance and Reform, 1877-1890

Chapter Outline:

I. Resistance to Legal and Military Authority

In 1860, thousands of Indians were living on the Great Plains. Many had been removed from the East and had surrendered vast areas there, but not until they had received solemn promises from Washington that they would be left alone and receive annual gifts of food, clothing, and other supplies. At the end of the Civil War, the frontier line was wavering westward. The line of settlement ran through central Texas, north to the Canadian border. Between this line and settlements on the Pacific coast stretched the Great Plains. This rough square, one thousand miles on edge, was inhabited by Native Americans, with the exception of Mormons in Utah, trading posts, gold camps, and a few scattered Spanish-Mexican settlements.

Twenty-five years later, by 1890, the entire domain had been carved into states, except for four territories. European Americans came in droves to settle the Great Plains. Native Americans stood in their way. Internecine warfare followed, as white men openly seized Native American land and slaughtered the buffalo.

Native Americans were not the only vulnerable group to be assaulted during this period of expansion. African-American, Chinese-American, and Mexican-American groups also suffered at the hands of westward moving European Americans.

Chinese Lawsuits in California

Over 200,000 Chinese workers came to the United States between 1850 and 1880 as part of a worldwide Asia migration. Many left China as a result of poverty caused by overpopulation. They came under the credit-ticket system that enabled them to borrow money for passage, or the Contract Labor System that required them to work for the company that paid their passage. Few Chinese women came to the United States, and many who did were virtual slaves.

Whites founded several anti-Chinese organizations in California in the 1870s and 1880s. These organizations came from working class whites who resented Chinese demands for equal pay. The Knights of Labor joined local working men’s unions to lobby successfully for the Chinese Exclusion Act, which became law in 1882.

Chinese immigrants resisted discrimination by taking their grievances to court. For example, in 1855, Chan Young sued for citizenship and in 1862, Ling Sing legally protested the personal tax levied only on Chinese residents.
Blacks in the “New” South

Henry Grady, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, delivered a speech before the New England Society of New York, in which he described a “New South” that was ready and eager for industrialization. While some southern industries appeared, such as textile mills, James Buchanan Duke’s machine-made cigarettes, and Birmingham’s pig iron production, the reality of an industrialized South was at least one hundred years in the future.

Despite racial discrimination in the South, a new black elite appeared after Reconstruction. Members of this elite class were lawyers, physicians, landowners, insurance agents, and undertakers. To counter the economic power of this professional class, state and local laws required that public facilities be segregated. These laws were known as Jim Crow laws, after a minstrel show character.

The United States Army was also segregated. After the Civil War, in 1869, Congress created the 24th and 25th Infantries. The soldiers who served in these units were African American, although their officers were white. These units served in the West, where the Indians named them the buffalo soldiers. After their terms of service ended, many of these soldiers decided to settle permanently in the West, where they joined the “Exodusters,” or westward-moving black settlers from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee.

“Jim Crow” in the West

In 1869, Congress created the African-American infantry units that were called the buffalo soldiers. These soldiers were stationed in western outposts and were commanded by white officers. Although they often encountered hostility from white settlers, the buffalo soldiers built new roads and forts in the West, offered protection to wagons trains, and patrolled the U.S.-Mexico border. In the late 1870s, some of the soldiers who had been mustered out of the service joined the “Exodusters,” who were moving west to found all-black towns in Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, and New Mexico.

The Ghost Dance on the High Plains

In 1889, a Paiute Prophet named Wovoka claimed to have been taken into heaven where he met his ancestors and was told that very soon the buffalo would return, that whites would disappear, and that Indians would live in prosperity for one thousand years. Wovoka’s adherents fasted, prayed, and danced for up to five days, and many claimed to have met their ancestors. The new religion was especially attractive to Plains Indians such as the Sioux. Kicking Bear added a new twist to the religion when he claimed that if believers would wear specially anointed “sacred” shirts, they could not be killed by white men’s bullets.

Within a year, the Ghost Dance religion had found many adherents among the Sioux in the Dakotas. At first, Sitting Bull said he would not dance the Ghost Dance. Then he
changed his mind and announced that he had danced and had met his ancestors. His cabin on the Pine Ridge Reservation rapidly became a center for the movement.

In December 1890, Major James McLaughlin sent 43 Indian policemen to Sitting Bull’s cabin to arrest him. During the arrest, one of the policemen shot and killed Sitting Bull. Sitting Bull’s death caused great unrest among the Plains Indians. In the wake of Sitting Bull’s death, Big Foot and his band of Sioux decided to leave the Pine Ridge Reservation for refuge in Canada. The seventh cavalry, sent to capture them, found them camped near Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota. Soldiers mounted hotchkiss cannons and gattling guns. When a shot was fired, the soldiers opened fire, killing 146 of the 340 Indians, including seven babies. A blizzard began immediately after the massacre, and the soldiers were forced to retreat for cover at the nearest town.

II. Revolt in the Workplace

In 1886, Jay Gould reputedly stated: “I can hire one half of the working class to kill the other half.” Between 1860 and 1900, the number of industrial workers in the United States rose from 885,000 to over 3.2 million. The average wage of a worker in 1900 was less than the estimated subsistence wage of $500. Factory workers were often forced to sign Yellow Dog Contracts whereby they promised not to engage in strikes or join unions.

Despite the anti-union efforts of large corporations, workers in the post-Civil War era began to organize to establish unions. The first large union was the National Labor Union, founded in 1869 by William H. Sylvis. This union lasted six years and had a peak membership of 600,000 skilled and unskilled laborers.

The Knights of Labor also began in 1869 as a secret society under Uriah H. Stephens, but its membership grew under the leadership of Terence Powderley. This union sought to include skilled and unskilled labor, men, women, and at first, African Americans. It excluded only bankers, doctors, lawyers, stockbrokers, professional gamblers, and liquor dealers.

Adolph Strasser, Peter J. Maguire, and Samuel Gompers founded the American Federation in 1886. It was a league of unions representing workers in specific trades and was open only to skilled workers in specific trades. Unlike the National Labor Union or the Knights of Labor, it had no long-range utopian or political goals.

Trouble on the Farm

The family farm had become a business by the late 1870s. Farmers and farmhands were beset by troubles in the late 1870s and 1880s. A recession and the replacement of hired hands by machinery caused farmhands to react against landowners by breaking or burning threshers, reapers, and other farm machinery. In the 1880s, farmers faced declining wheat prices coupled with a prolonged drought and bitterly cold winters.
Farmers were ever deeper in debt to the banks and many left their farms to move back East.

Hamlin Garland’s book, *Main Traveled Roads*, captures the loneliness and hardships that these farmers and their wives faced in the decades of the 1880s and 1890s. In the 1880s, farmers formed Farmers Alliances, hoping that by banding together they could raise their standard of living through currency and taxation reform, government ownership of the railroads, telephone and telegraph lines, and through the unlimited coinage of silver. Most Farmers Alliances were regional and many reflected specific regional goals. These alliances included the following: the Northern Farmers Alliance, the Texas Farmers Alliance, the Southern Farmers Alliance, and because of segregation, the Colored Farmers Alliance.

**Militancy in the Factories and Mines**

In the post-Civil War years, there were no laws regulating private industry. Employers could therefore require laborers to work 60 to 70 hours for six days per week. When workers struck, owners often hired Pinkerton Detectives to break up strikes. In 1875, Detective James McParlan infiltrated the Molly Maguires union in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania. When the Mollies called a strike, their leaders were charged with waging guerrilla war, and McParlan testified against them. McParlan’s testimony led to the execution of 20 of the union leaders.

**The Haymarket Bombing**

There were a number of anarchists and radicals in Chicago at this time. Among the radical leaders were Albert and Lucia Parsons. On May 1, 1886, 350,000 workers in more than 11,000 businesses called a one-day strike. Among them were workers at the McCormick Harvest Company in Chicago. There was a lockout by management because workers were demanding an eight-hour workday and a $2 daily wage. On May 3, the company tried to bring in strikebreakers, or “scabs,” to end the strike. Workers attacked them and police fired on workers.

Radicals, including leader August Spies, called a protest meeting at Haymarket Square. Leaders of the Knights of Labor spoke at the meeting, as did the mayor of Chicago. After the meeting, phalanxes of policemen moved into the square to break up the rally. As the policemen marched into the square, someone threw a bomb into the midst of one of the phalanxes. One policeman died instantly, seven more died later, and there were 70 wounded. Eight anarchists were arrested, tried, and sentenced to die for the bombing. Four, including Albert Parsons, were hanged. Eventually, John P. Altgeld, governor of Illinois, pardoned the three remaining detainees. As many people incorrectly associated the Knights of Labor with the Haymarket bombing, the Knights experienced a precipitous decline in membership.
III. Crosscurrents of Reform

In 1890, a young Danish immigrant named Jacob Riis published a collection of photographs that documented the inhuman living conditions faced by millions of people who lived in New York City. Riis’s book galvanized a reform movement dedicated to cleaning up the slums in American cities.

The Goal of Indian Assimilation

A number of events and individuals worked toward Indian assimilation in the 1880s. Americans were shocked by the bloodshed on the Plains, and in 1881 Helen Hunt Jackson published *A Century of Dishonor*, a historical account of government injustice to Native Americans. The Women’s National Indian Association promoted “civilized Indian home-life” on reservations. In 1879, Richard Pratt founded the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania with its motto, “Kill the Indian and Save the Man.” Indian Schools dedicated to “civilizing” their wards sprang up across the United States. Finally, Congress acted by passing the Dawes Act in 1887. The Dawes Act provided for the distribution of 160 acres of reservation land for farming, or 320 acres of land for grazing, to each head of an Indian family. The remaining reservation land was to be sold to speculators and the money was to be used to buy tools for farming. The government was to hold the land in trust for 25 years, at the end of which Indians were to become U.S. citizens. Citizenship was postponed until the mid-1920s and much of the land that was redistributed did not go to aid the Native Americans. By the mid-1930s, the government recognized the dismal failure of the Dawes Act.

Transatlantic Networks of Reform

During the 1870s and 1880s, steamship transportation made an exchange of ideas across the Atlantic much more feasible. Many middle-class people could now afford to travel to Europe, now a 10-day trip, for about 30 dollars. Contacts between Europe and America enriched the intellectual life and reform impulses in the United States. For example, Jane Addams’ inspiration for Hull House came from her experience at Toynbee Hall in England.

Women Reformers: “Beginning to Burst the Bonds”

Much of the nineteenth-century reform movement came from missionary organizations. For example, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) came from the women’s missionary movement. It is best known for its anti-alcohol campaign, but this organization also worked to stop violence against women in general. Frances Willard served as the organization’s first president from 1879 until her death in 1898. Willard formed a world temperance organization and was an advocate of women’s suffrage. Although not all the members of the WCTU agreed with Willard, a number of western states began granting suffrage to women in the decade after the Civil War. In 1869, the territorial legislatures of Wyoming gave women the right to vote, followed by Utah
territory in 1870 and Washington territory in 1883. The states of Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah approved suffrage for women in the decade of the 1890s.

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Discuss the challenges facing labor in the 1880s and 1890s, and describe the attempts at unionization. Why was the American Federation of Labor a more successful union than its predecessors?

2. Why were Native Americans drawn to the teachings of Wovoka? Explain the reaction of the U.S. Calvary to the Ghost Dance religion.

3. Discuss the meaning of the Carlisle School’s motto, “Kill the Indian and Save the Man.” How successful were the numerous Indian schools in achieving their goals?

4. Discuss the founding of the Farmers Alliance movement, and explain how it developed into the Populist Party.

5. Describe several women reformers of this era and explain why they did not all agree on the issue of suffrage for women.

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. The decades of the 1870s and 1880s were a period of transition and unrest. While U.S. and Trans-Atlantic reform movements were organized in the 1880s, Native Americans suffered on the Great Plains, laborers went on strike in American cities, and frustrated hired farmhands broke machines in the Midwest.

2. Although the National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor did not survive the decades of the 1870s and 1880s, workers laid the foundation of the American Labor Movement.

Enrichment Ideas:

1. Ask students to view the video *Buffalo Soldiers*. Students are then to research at least one of the following web sites on the Buffalo Soldiers: [www.buffalosoldier.net/](http://www.buffalosoldier.net/) or [www.coax.net/people/lwf/portrait.htm](http://www.coax.net/people/lwf/portrait.htm). Ask students to write a 3-5-page paper comparing and contrasting their research on the web sites with the information contained in the video.

Further Resources:

Books:


**Suggested Documentaries and Films:**


*One Woman, One Vote.* PBS, 1995, 110 minutes.

**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Ask students to locate the American Labor History web site at [www.geocities.com/CollegePark/Quad/6460/AmLabHist](http://www.geocities.com/CollegePark/Quad/6460/AmLabHist). Each student is to choose a post-Civil War topic at this site to research. Ask each student to connect to at least four links from the topic chosen. Students should be prepared to discuss their links in class and/or to submit a 3-5-page paper on the topic chosen.

2. Ask students to locate the story of the Massacre at Wounded Knee at [www.bgsu.edu/departments/acs/1890s/woundedknee/WKIntro.html](http://www.bgsu.edu/departments/acs/1890s/woundedknee/WKIntro.html). Students are to connect to at least one link from this web site and be prepared to discuss the death of Sitting Bull and the events at Wounded Knee in class.

**Connecting History: Rural Protests and Rebellions**

Ask students to locate The Populist Party web site at [http://projects.vassar.edu/1896/populists.html](http://projects.vassar.edu/1896/populists.html). Divide the class into two groups for a debate on the Populist Party. Ask one group to defend the Populist Party platform of 1896 as a far-sighted document whose tenets have survived into the twenty-first century. Ask the other group to attack the absurd tenets of the platform, arguing that the reforms proposed by the Populists would have surfaced in the twentieth century without their articulation in 1896. Students will be expected to explore both the tenets and the personalities of the Populist Party of the 1890s.
Albert Parsons was born in Montgomery, Alabama on June 20, 1848. By the time he was 13, he was living and working in Galveston, Texas, learning the printing trade as an indentured apprentice at the Galveston Daily News. He entered the Civil War as a Confederate soldier, but returned to work as a typesetter soon after the war ended. By 1868, he was the editor of the Waco, Texas Spectator, and by 1872 he had become a Radical Republican.

Albert Parsons' wife, Lucy, claimed that her parents were a Mexican woman, Marie del Gather and a Creek Indian named John Waller. She stated that her parents died when she was three and that she grew up on the ranch of her maternal uncle, but research indicates that she may have been a slave in Texas. She married Albert Parsons in 1871 or 1872. Because Lucy was a person of color, the couple was forced to flee Texas to escape anti-miscegenation laws. They moved to Chicago where their two children were born, and where Albert became a typesetter and printer for the Chicago Tribune and Lucy became a dressmaker. Both became involved in the labor movement in Chicago, and in 1883, Lucy helped found the International Working People’s Association. Lucy wrote frequently for the IPWA weekly paper, The Alarm, for which she wrote her most well-read article, “To Tramps” in 1884. She also wrote on behalf of civil rights for African Americans. Her most significant article against racism was published in 1886 and was titled, “The Negro: Let Him Leave Politics to the Politician and Prayer to the Preacher.” While Lucy wrote for the weekly paper, Albert served as its editor.

After Albert Parsons was fired from his typesetting position for speaking against capitalism, he and Lucy both devoted much of their time to radical and labor causes. Albert joined the Knights of Labor when it was still a secret organization, and he was a founder of the Central Labor Union. The couple was close friends with other labor organizers and anarchists such as August Spies.

On May 2, 1886, striking workers at the McCormick Reaper Company factory in Chicago were fired upon by police when they tried to prevent strikebreakers from crossing a picket line. Labor leaders and anarchists called a meeting in Haymarket Square on May 4, and at the last minute, August Spies asked Albert Parsons to speak at the rally. Parsons spoke for almost an hour to the assembled crowd, and he left just before a deadly bomb took the lives of seven Chicago policemen. A warrant was issued for his arrest, and although he fled Chicago, he voluntarily returned to stand trial.

Eight labor organizers were brought to trial, and Lucy Parsons led in organizing their defense. Based on purely circumstantial evidence, seven were found guilty of murder and were sentenced to hang. Albert Parsons, along with August Spies, George Engel, and Adolph Fischer, was hanged on November 11, 1887. Albert Parsons wrote a farewell letter to his wife on the day of his sentencing, August 20, 1886. He wrote: “Our verdict this morning cheers the hearts of tyrants,” but he predicted that “the masses . . . will snap their petty chains like reeds in the whirlwind.” He urged Lucy to take no precipitous action that would endanger her or their children, but to “take up the great cause of
Socialism where I am compelled to lay it down.” He closed his letter with an avowal of his love for her, saying that “living or dead, we are as one.”

Lucy Parsons certainly took up the cause after her husband’s death, speaking and writing on behalf of workers, the homeless, women, and African Americans for the remainder of her life. In 1905, she helped found the Industrial Workers of the World, and in 1927, she became a member of the National Committee of the International Labor Defense. She joined the Communist Party in 1939, as a protest against the growth of Fascism. She died in a fire in her Chicago home in 1942 at the age of 89.
CHAPTER 18
Political and Cultural Conflict in a Decade of Depression and War

Chapter Outline:

I. Frontiers at Home, Lost and Found

In 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner delivered an address at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago that profoundly affected the historical interpretation of the settling of the American West. He stated that the West produced “new” men, that it made them more cooperative and creative, and that it offered a “safety valve” for discontented and/or maladjusted people in the East. In 1890, the frontier was declared officially closed and Americans embarked on a course that included assimilation of certain groups and discrimination against others.

Claiming and Managing the Land

On April 25, 1889, more than 60,000 settlers poured onto land that President Benjamin Harrison had opened in Indian Territory, now the present state of Oklahoma. Congress established the Territory of Oklahoma in 1890, and in 1893 more land was opened to white settlement. People who rushed in early to claim the Cherokee Outlet gave the state of Oklahoma its nickname, the “sooner” state.

Congress established land courts to handle land disputes in the West, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture provided information and services to farmers. For example, the Weather Bureau supplied forecasts and information about the weather to farmers. The government set aside forest reserves in the public domain, and Gifford Pinchot, as Chief of Forestry, worked to establish multiple land usage in the forest reserves. John Muir and members of his Sierra Club who sought to “preserve” the land, rather than “conserve” it, challenged Pinchot.

The Tyranny of Racial Categories

Scientists, scholars, journalists, and politicians sought to group people into racial categories such as “Caucasoid,” “Mongoloid,” and “Negroid.” Most Americans of Protestant, Anglo-Saxon heritage considered themselves superior to foreigners of different genetic backgrounds and religions. Scientists “proved” that blacks and Asians were inferior to white males, and that women were inferior in intelligence because their brains weighed less than male brains.

In the South, belief in white supremacy led to segregation of public and private facilities, Jim Crow laws, and disfranchisement of African Americans. In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court, in Plessy v. Ferguson, approved of segregated facilities with the provision that they were “equal.”
More than one hundred people, mostly black, were lynched in the last 20 years of the nineteenth century. Ida B. Wells, editor of the Memphis-based *Free Speech and Headlight*, began investigating the cause of lynching after three of her friends were killed. She discovered that most lynchings were the result of economic challenges to white supremacy. Ida B. Wells moved to Chicago, married Ferdinand Barnett, and became America’s great anti-lynching crusader. She chronicled the fight against lynching in *Crusade for Justice*.

**New Roles for Schools**

As immigrants poured into the U.S. from southern and eastern Europe in the last decade of the nineteenth century, schools were seen as the great equalizer. The Pledge of Allegiance was introduced into the classroom in 1890.

A number of schools were established to “civilize” and educate Native Americans and African Americans. Hampton Institute in Virginia educated both ethnic groups, but some schools were designed for one specific group. Indian schools included the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania and the Cherokee Female Seminary near Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Schools designed for African Americans included Howard University in Washington, D.C. and Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee.

Booker T. Washington was educated at Hampton Institute in Virginia. In 1881, he became the leader of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. He was a superb organizer and fund-raiser and he quickly became a recognized spokesman for his race. In 1895, he seemed to endorse growing segregation in his “Atlanta Compromise” speech.

**Connections Between Consciousness and Behavior**

Scholars who studied consciousness and behavior began to write about how people lived their lives. Psychologists such as Sigmund Freud investigated the human unconscious, while novelists such as William James, Stephen Crane, and Kate Chopin wrote about the inner lives of their protagonists.

**II. The Search for Alliances**

Disparate groups of Americans formed a number of alliances in the 1890s. The Populist Party brought together a number of different groups, while women from different classes and locales began to work together for common goals.

**Class Conflict**

In 1892, Carnegie steelworkers went on strike to protest a reduction in force and cut in wages. Henry Clay Frick, Carnegie’s partner, tried to break the strike with Pinkerton Detectives. Thousands of strikers attacked the detectives when they came down the Monongahela River on barges. The result of the riot was 10 deaths, 60 wounded, and
mob rule in the town of Homestead. Ultimately, the strike was broken, but it became a symbol of class conflict in America.

In 1894, Eugene V. Debs, head of the American Railway Union, led the strike against the Pullman Palace Car Company. The strike tied up rail traffic into and out of Chicago and was broken by troops authorized by Grover Cleveland. Debs was jailed for six months. When he emerged from prison, Debs had converted to socialism. He became the head of the Socialist Party of America.

The People’s, or Populist, Party of the 1890s emerged from the Farmers’ Alliances of the 1870s and 1880s. Populist Party candidates made their first appearances in state legislatures. In 1892, the Populist Party held its first national convention and ran James B. Weaver for president. The Populist Party advocated free and unlimited coinage of silver, direct election of senators, the vote for women, the secret ballot, initiative, referendum, and recall, and government ownership of telephone and telegraph companies.

**Rise and Demise of the Populists**

In 1896, William Jennings Bryan went before the Democratic National Convention in Chicago to give his pro-silver “Cross of Gold” speech, which ended with the words, “You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.” Democrats responded by choosing Bryan as their candidate for president. Deciding that the Democratic Party had captured the spirit of their platform, the Populist Party endorsed Bryan as their candidate and was thus absorbed by the Democratic Party. Many Americans believed that Bryan could not possibly lose the presidential race. Unfortunately for Bryan, the Republican Party poured its considerable resources, 16 million dollars, into the campaign for their candidate, William McKinley. William McKinley became president in 1897.

The ultimate demise of the Populists was caused by the party’s inability to sustain a biracial coalition in parts of the South. The White Man’s Union emerged in 1899, and dedicated itself to the destruction of the Populist Party. Southern Democrats united to fight the Republican-Populist fusion that threatened its power.

**Barriers to a U.S. Workers’ Political Movement**

In the years following the Civil War, a number of national labor movements were founded. The first, the National Labor Union, ended with the recession of 1872. The second, the Knights of Labor, dissolved after the Haymarket Square debacle. Other labor unions, the United Mine Workers and Industrial Workers of the World, met with limited success but were often branded radical. The American Federation of Labor, however, had limited goals and was basically conservative.
Challenges to Traditional Gender Roles

In 1890, the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association merged to form the National-American Woman Suffrage Association. The new organization met in 1890 and every year thereafter to plan strategies for gaining the vote for women. Some women, like Emma Goldman and Charlotte Perkins Gilman, challenged traditional gender roles for women and proposed changes to those roles. Gilman wrote the first feminist-utopian novel, *Herland*.

III. American Imperialism

Imperialism is defined by the *American Heritage* dictionary as “the policy of extending a nation’s authority by territorial acquisition or by the establishment of economic and political hegemony over other nations.” The United States became imperialistic in the 1890s. Alfred T. Mahan gave the U.S. a strategic cause in his book, *The Influence of Seapower on History*. He argued that in order to be great, a nation must have foreign trade, a merchant marine to carry this trade, a navy to protect its merchant marine, and bases to maintain its navy around the world. The final result, according to Mahan, was a far-flung empire of territories and markets that stretched around the world. Other causes for increased interest in foreign affairs included economic causes, religious causes, philosophical causes (Racial Darwinism), and Industrialism.

Cultural Encounters with the Exotic

Americans during the 1890s were fascinated with the foreign and the exotic. When Robert Peary returned from Greenland in 1897, he brought six Eskimos with him. The Eskimos and the artifacts that Peary brought back from his explorations fascinated Americans. Photographs of Africans, Asians, and Middle Easterners also fascinated Americans. The Columbian Exposition of 1893, appealing to popular taste, featured foreign dancers, music, and warriors.

Initial Imperialist Ventures

In 1895, Venezuela and British Guiana became involved in a boundary dispute between the two countries. This dispute was exacerbated by the discovery of gold on the disputed boundary line. The U.S. offered to arbitrate the dispute. The British reply was condescending, insisting that the Monroe Doctrine had no standing in law. Cleveland asked Congress to set up a commission to settle the disputed boundary and threatened to use force. The British were involved in the South African Boer War by 1897 and accepted the commission’s conclusions.

Great Britain, the United States, and Germany were all interested in Samoa. The U.S. had a treaty of peace and commerce at the port of Pago Pago. The U.S. also had power of mediation for Samoa. Germany and England were both interested in the territory and proposed a three-way split. The U.S. refused on the principle of isolationism and would not divide the land. In 1898, ships from all three nations lined up in Apia Harbor to
engage in battle, but a storm intervened. The U.S. relented, and a tri-partite conference set up a Triple Protectorate that divided Samoa into three portions.

The United States’ interest in Hawaii dates to the 1840s when President John Tyler announced that the U.S. had greater interest in Hawaii than anyone else did. By 1883, the U.S. had signed a treaty for Pearl Harbor, and by 1889, ninety-nine percent of Hawaiian exports went to the U.S. In 1890, a Hawaiian nationalist, Queen Liliuokalani, tried to reassert power over the American planters who essentially ran the government in Hawaii. These planters rose up in revolt, and, with the help of troops landed from the U.S.S. Boston, were able to overthrow her. The businessmen planters then created the Republic of Hawaii with Sanford Dole as president. President Harrison had a treaty of annexation drawn up before he left office, but the treaty did not clear the Senate before Grover Cleveland came to power. Cleveland withdrew the treaty, investigated the “revolution,” and discovered that it was not a popular revolt. In 1898, after the beginning of the Spanish-American War, the U.S. made Hawaii a territory.

The Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War of 1898

In 1895, Jose Marti led a rebellion of Cuban insurgents who were seeking to end colonial rule in that country. The rebels arouse popular sympathy in the U.S. when the Spanish commander in Cuba, Valeriano Weyler, began herding Cuban civilians into concentration camps in order to capture the rebels. The U.S. became directly involved in the conflict in 1898. William Randolph Hearst, owner of the New York World, and Joseph Pulitzer, owner of the New York Journal, sought to boost the circulation of their respective newspapers by publishing Cuban “atrocity” stories. On February 9, 1898, the Spanish minister, Dupuy De Lome, wrote a letter denouncing President McKinley. This letter was promptly printed in both newspapers. Then on February 15, 1898, the U.S.S. Maine, anchored in Havana Harbor, exploded and sank.

On April 29, 1898, the U.S. went to war against Spain. U.S. armed forces engaged in battle in the Philippines and in the Caribbean. Perhaps the most famous battle was that of San Juan (Kettle) Hill, the battle immortalized by Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders. The war lasted only 113 days and was characterized by Secretary of State John Hay as a “splendid little war.” After Admiral Cervera attempted to run the blockade at Santiago Harbor, the Spanish government sued for peace. The resulting Treaty of Paris, in 1898, gave the United States a little empire, including Guam, Puerto Rico, Guantanamo Base, and the Philippines. Although Congress had publicly declared that the U.S. would not annex Cuba in the Teller Amendment to the declaration of war, Congress chose to limit Cuba’s autonomy in the Platt Amendment to the Treaty of Paris.

When Filipinos realized that the United States planned to annex their country, they rose up in revolt under Emilio Aguinaldo. Over 125,000 soldiers served in the Philippines and over 4,000 died. Over 20,000 Filipino independence fighters died. U.S. soldiers committed atrocities against Filipinos, such as the “water cure,” and the burning of villages that had shocked Americans during the Spanish occupation of Cuba. Aguinaldo
was captured in 1901, but he continued to agitate for Philippine independence. The Philippines was finally freed in 1946.

Acquisition of the Philippines gave the United States an opportunity to trade with China. Secretary of State John Hay issued the first Open Door Note in 1899, urging European powers that had carved China into economic “spheres of influence” to respect the idea of fair competition. European nations were unwilling to agree to allow the U.S. open trade with China, but when the U.S. aided in quelling the Chinese nationalist Boxer Rebellion, Hay sent new notes in 1902 simply declaring China open to all nations for trade and commerce.

Critics of Imperialism

A Great Debate erupted between those who favored expansion and territorial annexation and those who did not. Anti-imperialists, represented by Andrew Carnegie, Mark Twain, Finley Peter Dunne, Jane Addams, Senator George Hoar, and other reformers, thought the idea of colonies or territories was unconstitutional, immoral, and expensive. Imperialists such as Theodore Roosevelt and Senators Henry Cabot Lodge and Albert Beveridge thought the United States was more than justified in its aims.

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. How did the U.S. Congress and governmental policymakers manage and develop western lands in the 1890s?

2. Discuss the major political campaigns, class conflicts, and party alignments of the 1890s.

3. Describe the rise and demise of the Populist Party. What were the major goals of the Populists and how many of those goals became reality?

4. Compare and contrast the various school systems established during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

5. Why did the United States abandon its isolationist stance in the 1890s? Give examples of changes in U.S. foreign policy, including the Spanish-American War, as well as Latin American and Asian interventions. Why did John Hay refer to the Spanish-American War as “a splendid little war”?


Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. Racial discrimination and violence at the turn of the century was countered by an anti-
lynching crusade and demands for civil liberties led by individuals such as Ida B. Wells and W.E.B. DuBois.

2. In the 1890s, the United States began to adopt a more expansive foreign policy, emulating the British Empire and actually challenging European powers in various parts of the globe.

3. The anti-imperialist debate that followed the Spanish-American War raised crucial constitutional issues concerning the morality and cost of acquiring and administering foreign territories.

Enrichment Ideas:

1. Ask students to read portions of Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s feminist utopian novel, Herland, and Kate Chopin’s novel, The Awakening. Students are to write a 3-5-page paper comparing and contrasting the two novels, and analyzing gender roles at the turn of the century. Students should also be prepared to compare and contrast the topics in class discussion. The instructor may also wish to show the PBS production of The Yellow Wallpaper.

Further Resources:

Books:


Films/Videos:

*Crucible of Empire: The Spanish-American War.* PBS Film: Great Projects Film Co., Inc., 1999.


Web Site Assignments:

1. Ask students to write a 2-3-page paper comparing and contrasting the lives and philosophies of W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington from online sources. Information on DuBois can be found at the following web sites: 
   http://members.tripod.com/~DuBois/biography.html
Information about Booker T. Washington can be found at the following web sites:  
   www.memory.loc.gov/ammem/aaohtml/exhibit/aopart6.html
   www.ushistory.net/toc/washington.html
   http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAbooker.htm

Connecting History: The Modern Olympic Games

The modern Olympic games began in 1896 in hopes of contributing to international understanding and world peace. Ask students to learn the history of the ancient and modern games by exploring the following web sites: 
www.perseus.tufts.edu/Olympics;
http://history1900s.about.com/library/weekly/Olympics/aa0810000a.htm;
Students are to be prepared to discuss the history of the games and reach a conclusion about the Olympic games’ contributions to world peace.

Interpreting History: Emilio Aguinaldo and the Proceedings of the Congressional Committee on the Philippines

Ask students to read the account of Aguinaldo’s life at  
www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/aguinaldo.html. They should be prepared to discuss Aguinaldo’s life and his part in the Filipino Revolt. Students should also read and be prepared to discuss the purpose of the Congressional Committee on the Philippines, as well as U.S. military actions in the Philippines.

In a 3-5-page paper and/or in a class discussion, students should be prepared to address the following:

1. Describe Aguinaldo’s background and his part in the Spanish-American war.
2. How did Aguinaldo react when the United States refused to recognize his authority as president of the Republic of the Philippines?
3. Discuss Aguinaldo’s leadership of the Philippine Revolt.
4. How was Aguinaldo captured in 1901?
5. Describe Aguinaldo’s political activities following the suppression of the Philippine Revolt.
6. Discuss the difficulties facing U.S. troops in fighting guerrilla warfare.
7. What was the “water cure”?
8. Did the U.S. face similar challenges while fighting in Vietnam 60 years later?
CHAPTER 19
The Promise and Perils of Progressive Reform, 1900-1912

I. Migration and Immigration: The Changing Face of the Nation

Between 1866 and 1915, about 25 million foreigners entered the United States. Most entered through Ellis Island in New York City. A number of immigrants also arrived from Asia.

The Heartland: Land of Newcomers

The greatest concentrations of newcomers from southern, central, and eastern Europe were located in the Midwest and Southwest. Settlers from central Europe and Italy joined farming and mining communities in the Midwest, specifically in the “iron range” area that had at one time been held by Native Americans.

The Southwest: Mexican Borderlands

The Mexican Revolution of 1911 increased immigration from Mexico into the Southwest. Nativists opposed the influx of Mexicans into Arizona and New Mexico and tensions often flared into violence.

Asian Immigration and the Impact of Exclusion

In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act prohibited most Chinese immigration to the United States. The population of Chinese immigrants in the U.S. fell by almost one-half. Wives and family members of immigrants already in the U.S. could enter, as could teachers, students, and merchants. As many as 40,000 Chinese entered the U.S. between 1900 and 1920. More than 300,000 Japanese also entered the United States between 1890 and 1920. Most of these people settled in California where they faced intense hostility and attempted school segregation. Because of the cost and distance, many Japanese immigrants married “picture brides,” after they had exchanged photographs.

Newcomers from Southern and Eastern Europe

These “new” immigrants came from southern and eastern Europe rather than Great Britain or Germany. They were poorer than earlier immigrants and were seemingly harder to assimilate. More than three and a half million Jewish immigrants arrived between 1880 and 1920. Many of the Jewish immigrants left eastern Europe because of anti-Semitic pogroms, or riots.
II. Work, Science, and Leisure

An important aspect of the Progressive Era was its emphasis on science and the application of scientific methods. Professional organizations proliferated as young professionals increasingly relied on science to solve social problems.

Reform and Science: An Uneasy Alliance

Lack of health and sanitation facilities were common in American cities in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The first public health nurse was not hired until 1900. Many common diseases were linked to the lack of sanitation and over-crowding that accompanied rapid urban growth.

One of the flaws in scientific research in this era was the belief that human stock could be bred to improve the intellectual and physical abilities of society. Roosevelt supported this pseudo-science of eugenics. Thousands of individuals were sterilized under state eugenics laws.

Scientific Management and Mass Production

Frederick Winslow Turner published *The Principles of Scientific Management* in 1911. The purpose of his study was to demonstrate how industry could become more efficient and more productive. His time and motion studies were never totally accepted, but his ideas about management were adopted across the country.

Henry Ford pioneered the production of affordable automobiles, making the car affordable for both rich and poor. In 1913, he introduced assembly line production that dropped the price of the Model T to only $360. Ford was an innovative and creative industrialist, but his view of society was narrow and bigoted. He pressured Ford dealers to subscribe to and distribute the *Dearborn Independent*, a virulently anti-Semitic publication.

New Amusements

Immigrants and people of color shaped popular culture in the first decades of the twentieth century. Although Thomas Edison invented the motion picture camera, he never understood its power. Jewish immigrants made Hollywood the center of a new and powerful industry that became a center of American popular culture. Working-class Americans flocked first to penny arcades and then to movie theaters that provided cheap entertainment to the masses.
“Sex O’Clock in America”

Sexual mores began to change in the early twentieth century. Middle-class couples were often allowed to go outside the home on unchaperoned dates, and individuals anticipated a marriage based on love and intimacy.

**Artists Respond to the New Era**

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, American artists and writers ceased to imitate European models and began to depict life “as it is.” The movement was known as realism. Artists such as William Glackens, Everett Shinn, and John Sloan painted urban scenes of immigrants, prostitutes, and nightlife that conveyed the reality of these people and situations. Writers such as Theodore Dreiser, Stephen Crane, and William James began to portray American scenes and situations that reflected true situations and lives led. Popular music also reflected this trend as African-American slave songs and musical traditions combined with European-derived music forms to produce the “New World” form and sound. Pioneers of this new musical form include Scott Joplin and W.C. Handy.

**III. Reformers and Radicals**

By the turn of the twentieth century, the United States had become an urban, industrialized nation of corporations, factories, cities, and immigrants. The Progressives believed that if they could change the law, they could affect change in the society. They were mainly white-collar workers, and urban dwellers; many of them were from middle-class backgrounds.

**Muckraking, Moral Reform, and Vice Crusaders**

Theodore Roosevelt, who likened them to the muckrakers in Paul Bunyan’s *Pilgrims Progress*, gave muckrakers their name. The muckrakers were novelists and journalists who believed they could right the wrongs of society by exposing them. They wanted to cleanse capitalism. Ida Tarbell wrote *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, exposing the ruthless business tactics of John D. Rockefeller. Upton Sinclair exposed the evils of the meatpacking industry in his novel, *The Jungle*.

**Women’s Suffrage**

Women’s rights leaders, inspired by British women suffragists, adopted more militant tactics after the turn of the century. Several western states granted women suffrage, and finally the movement united around the goal of a federal amendment to the constitution. Three-quarters of the states ratified the amendment in 1920, which gave women the right to vote.
Radical Politics and the Labor Movement

Emma Goldman was an outspoken supporter of radical causes such as birth control, women’s equality and independence, and union organization. Women were excluded from most unions until a number of young women began organizing among garment workers. Clara Lemlich led the 1909 strike of shirtwaist makers in New York. After the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire of 1911 that took 141 lives, Rose Schneiderman rallied women workers to join the International Ladies Garment Worker’s Union.

The Socialist-inspired union, Industrial Workers of the World, was organized in 1905. In 1915, William D. “Big Bill” Haywood became the head of the I.W.W. He led strikes in a number of states and recruited more than three million union members.

Resistance to Racism

W.E.B. DuBois, the first African American to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard University, taught from 1896 to 1910 at Atlanta University. In 1905, under DuBois’ leadership, a number of African-American leaders came together at Niagara Falls to form the Niagara Movement, a forerunner organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. DuBois was one of the first African Americans to call for equal civil liberties for all people. Other African-American leaders who shared this point of view included Ida B. Wells-Barnett, the great anti-lynching crusader, and William Monroe Trotter, editor of the Boston Guardian.

IV. Expanding National Power

The power of the presidency grew under Theodore Roosevelt. He was the first president since Abraham Lincoln to take real power into the office of the president and to make it what he termed a “Bully Pulpit.” Roosevelt did not want to destroy big business, but he did believe that corporations had to obey the law. He also believed that the United States should serve as a policeman of the Western Hemisphere and that the United States needed a strong military. His motto regarding foreign affairs was, “Speak softly and carry a big stick.”

Theodore Roosevelt: The “Rough Rider” as President

Theodore Roosevelt was born in 1858, just before the Civil War, into inherited wealth. He was a sickly child, and later probably overcompensated because of the frailty he suffered as a youngster. He graduated from Harvard University and wrote numerous books, publishing about 30 volumes. He published his first book, A History of the Naval War of 1812, when he was 24 years old. After his first wife, Alice Lee, died in childbirth, he went west and tried cattle ranching. He recruited many of the men who made up the Rough Rider contingent of the Spanish-American War from this period of his life. In 1888, he returned east and was appointed by President Harrison as Civil Service Commissioner. In 1896, McKinley became president, and he appointed Roosevelt as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. When the United States declared war
against Spain, Roosevelt resigned his post as Assistant Secretary, secured a commission as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Army, and fought in the war. After his victory at San Juan (Kettle) Hill, Roosevelt was elected governor of New York. He was McKinley’s running mate in the 1900 election, and became president upon McKinley’s assassination.

In 1902, Roosevelt helped end the anthracite coal miners strike in eastern Pennsylvania. He forced mine owners to consent to arbitration, and then he created the Department of Commerce and Labor. He then turned his attention to the Northern Securities Company. Northern Securities was a holding company of J. P. Morgan and James J. Hill that was monopolizing the railroads of the Northwest. Based on the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the case was taken to the Supreme Court and the holding company was dissolved. These cases made Roosevelt’s reputation as a “trust buster.” Roosevelt’s administration sued 43 other companies for violating the anti-trust law.

**Protecting and Preserving the Natural World**

Environmental matters were given first priority in Roosevelt’s White House. Roosevelt was both a conservationist and a preservationist. He set aside more than two hundred million acres of public land as national forests, and he created 53 wildlife preserves, 16 national monuments, and 13 new national parks, starting with Yellowstone Park. In 1905, Roosevelt named Gifford Pinchot to head the new U.S. Forest Service.

**Expanding National Power Abroad**

During Roosevelt’s administration, the United States suppressed a major revolution in the Philippines and aided in ending the Boxer Rebellion in China. In 1903, the United States sponsored a revolution against Colombia and quickly recognized the new Republic of Panama. The United States thus acquired the territory to build the Panama Canal and began construction in 1906.

Roosevelt believed that it was the duty of a great power to keep order in its part of the world. In 1904, the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine asserted that the United States would intervene if there was “wrongdoing” on the part of any Western Hemispheric nation.

**William Howard Taft: The One-Term Progressive**

In 1908, Roosevelt stood by his 1904 statement that he would not be a presidential candidate, and instead, chose a handpicked successor, William Howard Taft. In 1910, the Mann-Elkins Act strengthened the Interstate Commerce Commission’s rate-setting powers and extended its regulatory authority to the nation’s telephone and telegraph companies. Taft supported a number of regulatory measures and actually “busted” more trusts than Roosevelt, but he had a very different physique and personality and quickly allied himself with the conservative, or Old Guard, element of the Republican Party. Taft signed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff into law and he fired Gifford Pinchot.
Roosevelt left the country after Taft’s election to hunt big game in Africa and to receive his Nobel Peace Prize in Europe. In 1910, Roosevelt returned to the United States to find the Republican Party divided into Liberal (Insurgent) and Conservative (Old Guard) elements. Roosevelt announced that he would not take sides, but by the time of the midterm elections, he was campaigning for the Insurgents.

In February 1912, Roosevelt announced that his “hat was in the ring” for the 1912 presidential election. He called his program the “New Nationalism,” but the party machinery refused to recognize his delegates at the Republican Convention in Chicago. The convention nominated Taft for reelection. Roosevelt campaigned on the Progressive Party ticket, and Woodrow Wilson ran on the Democratic ticket. Eugene V. Debs ran on the Socialist ticket and polled almost one million votes. Woodrow Wilson won the presidential election, polling over six million votes to Roosevelt’s four million and Taft’s three and a half million.

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Describe progressivism and trace its rise in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America.

2. How did Theodore Roosevelt earn the title of “trust buster”? What was his philosophy regarding big business and other domestic issues?

3. Compare and contrast the presidential administrations and political philosophies of Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft.

4. Discuss the literary and artistic movement that focused on realism.

5. Describe the union movement of the first decade of the twentieth century. How did events like the Triangle Factory Fire impact unionization?

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. The reform activity in the decades between 1890 and 1920 was of such intensity that historians have named them the “Progressive Era.”

2. Women suffragists were extremely active during this era, agitating for full political participation in American democratic institutions.

3. Many of the institutions that Americans take for granted today came from the Progressive Era.

4. Although this era was marred by racism, a number of African Americans joined to agitate for equal rights, and the NAACP was formed in 1909.
5. Artists, musicians, and writers responded to the new era by creating art that reflected reality.

6. Between the end of the Civil War and 1915, about 25 million foreigners entered the United States, most of them through Ellis Island.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

Ask students to read *Thousand Pieces of Gold* by Ruthanne Lum McCunn, the true-life story of Lalu Nathoy, a Chinese woman who was sold into slavery in 1871 and then auctioned off in the American West. Students may then view the film production of this book on their own or in class. They are to prepare a 3-5 page paper comparing and contrasting the book and video. The instructor may also require a class discussion of the film and video.

**Further Resources:**

**Books:**


**Suggested Documentaries and Films:**

*One Woman, One Vote.* Produced by Educational Film Center. PBS Video, 1995.


Thousand Pieces of Gold. Facets Video, Hemdale Home Video, 1991 (1hr. 45 min.).

Interpreting History: The American Eugenics Movement

In a class or group discussion and/or written paper, ask students to compare and contrast modern genetics research with the eugenics movement at the turn of the twentieth century. Students should familiarize themselves with the Buck v. Bell trial and some of the state laws that provided for the sterilization of “feebleminded” individuals.

Students are to locate and research the Eugenics Archives at http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/eugenics/.

Students should address the following questions:

1. Describe the scientific and social origins of the eugenics movement.

2. Why did eugenicists lobby for social legislation to keep racial and ethnic groups separate and to restrict immigration?

3. How was the scientific research of eugenicists flawed?

4. Why did eugenicists seek to sterilize people who were “genetically unfit”?

5. What effectively ended the eugenics movement in America?

6. Compare and contrast the research methods used by eugenicists in the Progressive Era to those used by gene researchers today.

7. Are groups or individuals lobbying today for sterilization of certain groups or individuals?
CHAPTER 20
War and Revolution (1912-1920)

Chapter Outline:

I. A World in Upheaval

Americans living during the second decade of the twentieth century witnessed violence and upheaval at home and abroad. Many Americans were seeking to explore and improve their world, while tensions sharpened along class, racial, and gender lines. The last of the 48 continental states were added to the United States, and explorers filled in the blank spaces on the world map. Revolutions shook regimes in Russia and Mexico, and the world girded for the “Great War” that was to shatter long-established imperialistic regimes.

The Apex of European Conquest

In 1882, Germany, Austria, and Italy signed a mutual defense treaty and became known as the Central Powers. France then signed a treaty with Russia and Britain, calling it the Triple Entente (Allies). When the Ottoman Empire lost its hold in Europe, it left newly independent nations such as Romania, Bulgaria, and Serbia. The Austro-Hungarian Empire saw a chance to expand into the Balkan Peninsula and, in 1908, annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina on the border of Serbia. The two defense systems had similar designs on the Balkans, both were colonizing, and both wanted control of the Mediterranean Sea.

Confronting Revolutions Abroad

Nationalist movements in China, Russia, and Mexico overturned weak governments and contributed to the increasing global unrest.

In 1895, war broke out between Russia and China. Theodore Roosevelt mediated the peace between the two countries in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Russia’s defeat at the hands of the Japanese caused an abortive revolution and led to massive emigration from Russia.

In 1915, there were revolutions in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Wilson sent marines to both countries. The United States supervised elections in 1918 and suppressed resistance to U.S. rule. Marines remained in Haiti until 1934 and in the Dominican Republic until 1924. In 1917, the U.S. bought the Danish West Indies to prevent a possible German claim to those islands.

In 1911, Porfirio Diaz, the longtime dictator of Mexico who had supported the small ruling class of fewer than 1,000 landowners, was overthrown by a middle-class-based revolution led by Francisco I. Madero. Madero became president of the republic, but, within two years, died as the result of an assassin’s bullet. Mexican landowners and
foreign investors financed the assassination, afterwards installing Victoriano Huerta as President. European nations, such as Great Britain, immediately recognized Huerta’s government. Wilson was under great pressure from American business interests to do the same, but he stated that he refused to recognize a government “made by murder.” Wilson chose to support (with arms) Huerta’s opposition, Venustiano Carranza, the leader of the Constitutional forces. In 1914, Huerta was finally forced out of office as he was unable to obtain sufficient arms or credit from either the U.S. or Europe, and he fled the country. Unfortunately for Carranza, as soon as he was inaugurated, his “ablest lieutenant,” Francisco “Pancho” Villa, led a revolt against him. For the next five years, the people of Mexico suffered from intermittent war. Carranza defeated Villa militarily, but Villa resorted to banditry, invading the U.S. on several occasions, killing Americans, robbing trains, and shooting up border towns such as Columbus, New Mexico. General John J. Pershing was sent to pacify the border of Mexico. American troops, hoping to capture Villa, crossed the border on numerous occasions. Again, U.S.-Mexican relations were strained to the breaking point. In 1917, events in the Atlantic and Europe served to cool the overheated situation with Mexico.

Conflicts over Hierarchies at Home

From 1900 to 1920, there was an average of 75 lynchings per year in the U.S., many of them accompanied by sadism. In 1905, W.E.B. DuBois called a conference at Niagara Falls that began to meet annually. Inspired by the Niagara Movement, both whites and blacks met in 1909 to form the NAACP. The NAACP called for full political equality for African Americans and an end to all racial discrimination. By 1914, the NAACP claimed 6,000 members in 50 branches throughout the United States.

Although Woodrow Wilson had made a campaign promise to support African-American civil liberties, he did not fulfill that promise once he became president. Rather, he ordered the segregation of government facilities that had been open to both races in Washington, D.C. When the Boston editor, William Monroe Trotter, and W.E.B. DuBois called on Wilson to protest his policies, Wilson ordered them out of the Oval Office.

Alice Paul was the founder of the National Woman’s Party. She used the tactics of British suffragettes, like Emmeline Pankhurst, who used civil disobedience to call attention to their cause. Paul also advocated a constitutional amendment that would immediately give women in the United States the right to vote. Paul separated earlier from the National American Woman Suffrage Association led by Carrie Chapman Catt. Catt had opposed Paul’s confrontational tactics, but the two women temporarily united their organizations to campaign for a constitutional amendment that would give women the vote. The Nineteenth Amendment, granting the vote to women, was ratified in 1919.

Margaret Sanger was the leader of the birth control movement in the United States. She ran afoul of the Comstock Laws that labeled birth control pornography, and fled to Europe to avoid prison. She was jailed upon her return to America, but was not sentenced to a prison term. She continued her crusade, eventually founding Planned Parenthood of America.
Labor leaders struggled to unionize during the pre-war years. The Women’s Trade Union League was founded in 1903 and the Industrial Workers of the World was founded in 1905. Although membership in these unions was relatively small, leaders like William “Big Bill” Haywood, Joe Hill, Helen Gurley Flynn, and Margaret Sanger led workers in a series of spectacularly successful strikes in mining and textile factories.

In 1900, Victor Berger and Eugene V. Debs led the Socialist Party of America. Debs had led the American Railway Union in the Pullman Strike of 1894. He ran for president of the United States five times between 1900 and 1920. In 1920, he ran from a prison cell in Georgia after conviction under the World War I Sedition Act. In 1912, Berger was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives on the Socialist Party ticket. Between 1900 and 1920, the Socialist Party published 13 daily and 300 weekly newspapers.

II. The Great War and American Neutrality

In June 1914, Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife visited the city of Sarajevo in Bosnia. They were gunned down by a Bosnian who had connections with Serbian nationalists. Austria declared war on Serbia, and Russia declared war on Austria. Germany then declared war on Russia, and France on Germany. Britain stayed out of the war until Germany invaded Belgium and France. By late 1914, the world was at war, and the war had settled down to a stalemate characterized by trench warfare.

“The One Great Nation at Peace”

Wilson urged Americans to be neutral and promoted a “peace without victory.” Most Americans were determined not to be drawn into the conflict, but American capitalists discovered that trade with belligerents was profitable. American bankers extended huge loans to the allies, causing the United States to become a creditor rather than a debtor nation.

Reform Priorities at Home

The reform movement that came from this era, known as the Progressive Movement, was brought about by the many changes in American life after the turn of the century. The United States had become an urban, industrialized nation of corporations, factories, cities, and immigrants. Progressives believed that if they could change laws, they could affect change in the society as a whole. By the time Wilson had become president, the Progressive Movement was well underway.

Progressive legislation passed during Wilson’s first term of office included the Federal Reserve Act that established 12 regional banks and a Federal Reserve Board designed to regulate the currency, speed up currency flow, and set interest rates. The Underwood-Simmons Tariff provided the first real significant lowering of the tariff since the Civil War, and the Clayton Anti-trust Act exempted striking, boycotts, and peaceful picketing from the Sherman Anti-trust Act’s prohibition “in restraint of trade.” The Keating-
Owens Act barred from interstate commerce products manufactured by child labor. This law was later declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

**The Great Migration**

In 1900, the African-American population of the U.S. stood at 10 million. More than two-thirds lived in the rural South, working as sharecroppers and tenant farmers. By 1920, these demographics had changed as at least 500,000 African Americans moved from the South to cities such as Chicago, Detroit, and New York.

**Limits to American Neutrality**

Although Wilson urged Americans to be neutral “in thought as well as deed,” capital investment favored the Allied cause from the beginning of the war. U.S. bankers loaned the Allied powers $2.3 billion as opposed to only $27 million to the Central Powers. Also, the British had control of the Atlantic cable and kept a barrage of “Hun atrocities” pouring into the United States.

**III. The United States Goes to War**

The British navy vastly outnumbered that of Germany; therefore, the German navy concluded that the only way to win the war was unrestricted submarine warfare in non-neutral zones. In retaliation for a British blockade of mines and ships across the North Sea in 1915, Germany set up a submarine blockade around the British Isles.

Wilson announced that he would hold Germany to strict accountability for any damage to U.S. shipping. On May 7, 1915, the issue became acute when a German U-boat sank the British liner, Lusitania, off the coast of Ireland, killing 1,198 people (128 Americans). Wilson sent such a strongly worded note to Germany that the Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, resigned in protest.

In August 1915, another British passenger liner, the Arabic, was sunk with a loss of two American lives. Again, Wilson protested and Germany issued the Arabic Pledge, agreeing not to sink passenger and merchant vessels without warning. In March 1916, a German U-boat torpedoed and sank a French passenger steamer, the Sussex. Wilson offered to break diplomatic relations, but once more Germany issued a pledge not to sink passenger ships without warning.

On January 31, 1917, Germany announced to the world that they would wage unlimited submarine warfare in the Atlantic. Wilson broke diplomatic relations three days later, but decided to wait for “overt” acts of war before declaring war. Five U.S. vessels were sunk in the next five months.

Two other events moved the U.S. toward war with Germany. One was the Zimmermann note, a telegram from the German foreign minister, Alfred Zimmermann, to the German ambassador to Mexico. The telegram, which had been intercepted by British intelligence,
proposed an alliance among Germany, Japan, and Mexico, and contained the promise that if Mexico entered the war against the U.S., territory taken during the U.S.-Mexican War of 1848 would be restored. Finally, the democratic revolution in Russia in March 1917 enabled Wilson to argue that the coming war could be seen as a “crusade for democracy.”

The Logic of Belligerency

Wilson delivered his war message to Congress on April 2, 1917. He stated, “It is a fearful thing to lead this great and peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than the peace.” But he promised that it was a “war to end all wars,” and “a crusade for democracy.” Congress voted for war on April 6, with six senators and fifty representatives casting dissenting votes.

Mobilizing the Home Front

The War Industries Board, overseen by Bernard Baruch, was responsible for letting all government contracts, coordinating military purchasing, establishing production priorities, and convincing industrialists to work together. The Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation were given the responsibility of providing adequate shipping to carry out war responsibilities. New shipyards were constructed at Hog Island in the Delaware River, while ships were bought from neutral countries and from private sources. The Food Administration, overseen by Herbert Hoover, the Belgian relief hero, added to American farm acreage as farmers geared up to feed two continents. Hoover urged Americans to adhere to “meatless Tuesdays” and “wheatless Wednesdays” as part of his “gospel of the clean plate.” The Fuel Administration, overseen by Harry Garfield, urged Americans to conserve fuel, to adopt “Fueless Mondays,” and, as a wartime measure, put the U.S. on daylight savings time. The Railroad Administration was overseen by William Gibbs MacAdoo, Wilson’s son-in-law, who was considered by some as the “heir apparent to the throne.” The Railroad Administration took the railroads out of the hands of private individuals, arguing that the government could thus more effectively coordinate the movement of troops and munitions. The War Trade Board confiscated the goods and bank accounts of Central Power’s nations in the United States. The War Labor Board mediated between labor and capital and set hours and wages in some industries.

Ensuring Unity

Wilson commissioned a Committee on Public Information to sell the war to the American people. It was often called the Creel Committee after its director, George Creel. Creel commissioned pamphlets and leaflets that attempted to prove that Germany started the war and produced virulent anti-German posters designed to provoke anti-German sentiment. Creel also produced “hang the Kaiser movies” with titles such as “The Kaiser: the Beast of Berlin,” “To Hell with the Kaiser,” and “The Prussian Cur.” The movies and pamphlets, combined with Kaiser Wilhelm’s personal appearance, made the German leader the archetype of movie villains for the next decade.
On June 15, 1917, Congress passed the Espionage Act, authorizing a fine of $10,000 and 20 years of imprisonment for anyone who obstructed the draft or encouraged disloyalty. The Sedition Act of May 1918 extended the provisions of the Espionage Act to the spoken word, using “disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language” about the government, the Constitution, the flag, or the military. Eugene V. Debs was arrested and sentenced to 20 years in prison for discussing the economic causes of the war.

German Americans and dissenters were not the only Americans who were discriminated against during the war years. African-American civilians and soldiers often faced a hostile white majority. Soldiers in the 24th Infantry, who were stationed near Houston, Texas, and harassed by local whites, seized weapons from the armory and killed 17 whites. After a hasty trial, 13 African-American soldiers were hanged and 41 were imprisoned for life.

The War in Europe

Germany hoped to win the war before the United States could get enough troops to Europe to affect the outcome. U-boats were sinking nine ships per day, and in the spring of 1917 there were failed Allied offensives on the Marne and in Belgium. General John J. Pershing was put in charge of the American Expeditionary Force. The first U.S. soldiers arrived in France in June 1917 and on July 4 they paraded through the streets of Paris. By the end of the year there were more than 200,000 American soldiers in France. Admiral Sims developed the convoy system to enable soldiers and munitions to cross the Atlantic safely. In October, the Allies stopped a German offensive just 40 miles from Paris to stop the German advance. In March 1918, Germany launched an offensive along the Somme River, aiming for France's ports on the English Channel. The Allied counteroffensive began on July 18, 1918. Over 1,200,000 U.S. troops were used in the Meuse-Argonne offensive, the most titanic battle in U.S. history.

More than 260,000 African Americans served in a segregated military during World War I. The navy assigned African Americans only to menial positions, and the marines totally excluded them; therefore, most served in the army. Fifty thousand went to France, and while the vast majority served as mess boys, laborers, or stevedores, some served in combat units. The all-black 92nd Division fought in the Meuse-Argonne offensive, and one entire regiment, the 369th, received the French Croix de Guerre. Four units served under French command, and several hundred soldiers were given French decorations for bravery.

IV. The Struggle to Win the Peace

Wilson summed up his war aims in a 14-point speech to Congress in January 1918. The Fourteen Points may be summarized as follows: (1) an end to secret diplomacy, what Wilson called “open covenants, openly arrived at”; (2) freedom of the seas; (3) elimination of economic barrier between European nations; (4) systematic reduction of armaments; (5) adjustment of colonial claims by preference of the people in the
colonies—the “mandate system”; (6-13) territorial points, national boundaries based on the nationalities of the people within them, what Wilson called “self-determination”; and (14) the League of Nations. The League was the capstone of Wilson’s proposal. It was to be a general association of nations providing territorial integrity by relying on collective security by boycotting aggressor nations.

In October 1918, the Germans proposed an armistice based on Wilson’s Fourteen Points. At first, France indicated unwillingness but when Wilson threatened to make a separate peace with Germany, France agreed. The Kaiser abdicated his throne, and Germany established the Weimar Republic. The armistice was signed in Ferdinand Foch’s private railway car.

Peacemaking and the Versailles Treaty

Wilson insisted on going to Paris in person to participate in the writing of the treaty that was to end the Great War in 1919. The “Big Three” Allied leaders, Wilson of the U.S., David Lloyd George of Great Britain, and Georges Clemenceau of France, were instrumental in the composition of the treaty. Negotiations were held just outside Paris at the Palace of Versailles; in fact, the signing of the treaty took place in the Hall of Mirrors, the room designed by Louis XIV for such occasions.

The Treaty of Versailles was, at best, disappointing. In an attempt to secure its borders, France insisted that the German Rhineland, especially the Saar Valley, be taken from Germany. The “Polish Corridor” divided Germany, and both the German army and navy were reduced in number. Germany was assessed reparations of approximately $33 billion and was forced to sign a “war guilt” clause. German colonies were divided among the Allies. Much of the Tyrol went to Italy. There was no mention of disarmament, tariff reductions, or freedom of the seas.

Waging Counterrevolution Abroad

Russia left the war in 1918. On November 6, 1917, Leon Trotsky and Vladimir U. Lenin led a successful Bolshevik revolution. The new Soviet government, refusing to fight a capitalistic war, sued for peace with Germany. In March 1918, the Soviet Union took itself out of the war by concluding a separate peace under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

The Red and Black Scares at Home

According to journalist Frederick Lewis Allen, after World War I ended, “Americans stopped hating the Germans and started hating each other.” In 1920, as the United States began to disarm and reintegrate soldiers into a civilian economy, a number of labor strikes broke out in American cities. In addition to the inevitable violence that accompanied the strikes, a series of terrorist bombs exploded. Many people assumed that the strikes and bombs were part of a communist plot to further worldwide revolution. A number of bombs where discovered, and when a bomb exploded at the home of Attorney General Abe Mitchell Palmer, he reacted by ordering the arrest of up to 4,000 suspected
radicals. As these individuals were held in public buildings, such as the basements of schools, without charges being brought against them, the government violated their civil liberties. A number of aliens and a few citizens were deported on the U.S.S. Buford. Few guns and no bombs were discovered in the mass roundup; nevertheless, Palmer predicted mass violence on May Day, 1920. The day came and went without incident.

On September 30, 1919, a group of African-American sharecroppers met at a church at Hoop Spur, near the town of Elaine in Phillips County, Arkansas. They met to make plans to push their landlords to deal fairly with them regarding the price of their cotton crops. Many of them had joined the Progressive Farmers’ and Household Union and had begun buying land through a cooperative venture. Leaders of the organization were present at the meeting; they spoke on behalf of the union and signed up new members. A white railroad detective and posse broke up the meeting, and in a firefight that followed, the detective was killed. A reign of terror began, resulting in the deaths or shootings of scores of African Americans. Twelve black farmers were sentenced to death and 67 others were given prison terms up to 20 years. In 1923, the U.S. Supreme Court nullified the convictions on the grounds that the defendants had not received fair trials.

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Describe the events leading to war in Europe in 1914. How did the United States become involved in this war? How did the war abroad affect American government and society as a whole?

2. Discuss the technological advances made during World War I. How did these advances affect American life after the war?

3. Why did President Wilson fail to realize his vision of making the world safe for democracy and ending all wars?

4. Discuss the contributions of African-American soldiers during World War I. How and why did the attitudes of these soldiers change regarding their roles in American society?

5. Describe the challenges faced by African Americans in the aftermath of World War I. How do you account for the increase in the number of race riots and lynchings?

6. What did Frederick Lewis Allen mean by his statement that “Americans stopped hating the Germans and started hating each other” after the end of World War I?

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. A major theme of this chapter is world upheaval, revolutions, and changing mores at home and abroad. World War I literally changed the world. Major European empires were either destroyed or greatly weakened. The nature of warfare changed, as the concept of total war on the entire population was introduced. Great technological
developments in warfare were introduced, such as machine guns, tanks, airplanes, and gases, just as technology outran tactics.

2. The aftermath of the war brought disillusionment as the Treaty of Versailles failed to secure the peace that Wilson promised. Germany was saddled with harsh reparations that brought economic depression, while thousands of other Europeans were left homeless. Americans insisted on a return to isolationism as they struggled with fears brought about by the Bolshevik revolution abroad and labor movements at home. In addition, African Americans were no longer content with second-class citizenship and began fighting back when they were expected to resume their former places in society.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Assign a novel such as Erich Remarque’s *All Quiet on the Western Front* or a history such as Paul Fussell’s *Trench Warfare* in order to help students understand the battlefront nature of World War I.

2. Combine the film *Rosewood* with the historical text *Like Judgment Day* by Michael D’Orso, and ask students to view the film, read the text, and compare the film with the written history of the event. Students can either write a comparison of these two mediums or prepare for a lively class discussion.

**Further Resources:**

**Suggested documentaries and films:**

*Iron Jawed Angels* (tells the story of how Alice Paul and Lucy Burns put their lives at risk to secure the vote for American women, 124 minutes)

*Rosewood* (Warner Bros, 1996) (an account of the destruction of an African-American community, 120 min.)

*The Guns of August* (an account of the events leading to war in Europe in 1914 – famous scene of French army rescue by Parisian taxi cab drivers - 54 minutes)

*The Great War* (events leading to and consequences of World War I – 54 minutes)

*The Arming of the Earth* (technological developments during World War I – Bill Moyers’ Special – 60 minutes)

**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Students are to locate the “Elaine Riot Project: The Event” on the Internet: ([http://www.clt.astate.edu/sarahwf/elaint/elaevnt1.html](http://www.clt.astate.edu/sarahwf/elaint/elaevnt1.html)). After reading a description of the event itself, students should click on and read at least three of the newspaper accounts
of the riot. Ask students to write a 1-2-page description of the riot or to be prepared to discuss these accounts in class. A possible question for discussion: Do you think the newspaper articles revealed fair and unbiased reporting of the events?

Two other web sites that can enhance your class discussion of this topic are:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Progressive_Farmers_and_Household_Union_of_America
http://anythingarkansas.com/arkapedia/pedia/Progressive_Farmers_and_Household_Union_of_America.

For class discussion or a writing assignment on the Red Scare of 1920, ask students to locate the article, “Go to Work you Big Bum” from the Literary Digest (11/22/91), found at http://newman.baruch.cuny.edu/digital/redscare.

3. Students are to read and be prepared to discuss in class, or write 1-2 page-papers, on African-American participation in World War I. Relevant web sites are as follows: www.memory.loc.gov/ammem/aaohtml/exhibit/aopart7.html; photos of African Americans in the navy at www.history.navy.mil/photos/prs-tpic/af-amer/afam-usn.htm.

**Connecting History: The League of Nations and International Security**

According to the text, Woodrow Wilson’s plan for a League of Nations “represented a bold effort to come to terms” with the challenge posed by imperialistic nations who were struggling for colonies and power. The world had become an even more dangerous place as “new tools of warfare” threatened the lives of large populations.

Ask students to locate the Yale University web site that provides a full text of the League of Nations Covenant, as well as numerous documents relating to agreements between nations from the eighteenth to the twenty-first century. The web site address is www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/league/league.htm. You may want to ask students to read portions of the League Covenant, and then ask them to locate and read (for discussion or for a written paper) a document that was influenced or mediated either by the League of Nations or the United Nations. If this exercise is used for class discussion, you may want to divide students and ask half to analyze a League-related document while the other half analyzes a United Nations document.

**Interpreting History: African-American Women in WWI - Addie Hunton**

Addie D. Waits was born in Norfolk, Virginia on June 11, 1866. She was the oldest of the three children of Adeline Lawton and Jesse Waits. After graduation from the Spencerian College of Commerce in Philadelphia in 1889, she taught in public schools in Virginia. She also taught at the college level and served as the principal of the State Normal and Agricultural College in Normal, Alabama.

In 1893, she married William Alpheaus Hunton and the couple moved to Atlanta, Georgia. Hunton was the first African-American secretary for the YMCA, and his career may have introduced Addie to the work of the organization. The couple had four
children, but only two lived to adulthood. In addition to her roles as wife and mother, Addie focused her energies on “uplift” for African-American women. She wrote a number of articles of interest to African-American women that appeared in magazines such as the *Atlanta Independent*, the *Voice of the Negro*, the *Colored American Magazine*, and the *Crisis*.

Addie attended and participated in the founding of National Association of Colored Women in 1895. She served as president of the Alabama and Georgia chapters of the organization. In 1906, the Hunton family left the South in the wake of the Atlanta race riot, establishing their permanent home in Brooklyn, New York. Addie served as a national official for the YWCA from 1907 to 1915. Her husband died in 1916, and, after a period of mourning, Addie returned to public life. In 1917 and 1918, she went with two other women to work with African-American troops during World War I. She and Kathryn Johnson wrote of their experiences in *Two Colored Women with the American Expeditionary Forces* (1920).

During the 1920s, she worked as a field secretary for the NAACP, again focusing on rights for African-American women. She became a member of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, and served as president of the Empire State Federation of Women’s Clubs. She died of diabetes in Brooklyn on June 21, 1943.
CHAPTER 21
The Promise of Consumer Culture: The 1920s

Chapter Outline:

The decade of the 1920s ushered in the modern era, but the era was Janus-faced, truly an age of paradox and rising tensions. Americans witnessed great cultural, economic, and political changes during this era, and looked eagerly toward a progressive future. At the same time, many other Americans clung to the past, trying to preserve bygone eras and values that were rapidly slipping away. While American culture in the 1920s embraced urban, fast-paced, and materialistic values, many Americans publicly eschewed these values.

I. The Business of Politics

President Calvin Coolidge was an ideal businessman’s president. He once reportedly stated, “The man who builds a factory builds a temple, and the man who works there, worships there.”

Warren G. Harding: The Politics of Scandal

According to Frederick Lewis Allen, Warren Gamaliel Harding, a machine-made candidate of the National Republican Party, was not intellectually capable of being an effective president. Lewis notes Harding’s lack of command of the English language; his campaign motto, “Return to Normalcy” evinces his “suffix trouble.” With the exception of three excellent cabinet appointees, Harding brought his friends to Washington and passed out jobs, disregarding qualifications. His Secretary of the Interior, Albert Fall, issued leases to big oil companies in return for $400,000. Fall went to prison for a year. The head of the Veteran’s Bureau, Charles Forbes, swindled the government out of over $200 million worth of hospital supplies. Harding met Forbes while he was on vacation in Hawaii. In a similar manner, Harding made his missionary brother-in-law Superintendent of Prisons. Harding died in 1923 while returning from a trip to Alaska just before the numerous scandals connected to his administration became public (see The Mysterious Death of President Harding).

Calvin Coolidge: The Hands-Off President

Calvin Coolidge was visiting his father’s Vermont farm when news of Harding’s death arrived. Coolidge’s father, a justice of the peace, administered the Presidential Oath in the parlor of his farmhouse. Coolidge has been criticized for his lack of presidential leadership and his seeming reluctance to prosecute the scandals of the Harding administration. His administration is known for his hands-off attitude toward big business. In reaction, Senators Robert M. LaFollette and Burton K. Wheeler formed a new Progressive Party. The Democrats nominated John Davis for president in 1924.
Coolidge ran on the Republican ticket, on the motto of “Keep Cool with Coolidge,” and won the election.

**Herbert Hoover: The Self-Made President**

When Coolidge announced that he did not choose to run for president in 1928, the Republicans turned to Herbert Clark Hoover. Hoover was born of Quaker parentage in West Branch, Iowa. His parents were both dead by the time he was 10 years old, and he was raised in bitter rural poverty by aunts and uncles. He worked his way through Stanford University, and became a mining engineer and a very wealthy man. He headed the Food Administration during World War I and was Secretary of Commerce under Harding. He ran against Democrat Al Smith on the prosperity ticket. Smith came from Irish immigrant parentage, was raised in New York City, and rose to become reform governor of New York. Southern voters rejected him because of his Catholicism and urban roots, and Hoover was elected president.

**II. The Decline of Reform**

**Women’s Rights in the Aftermath of Suffrage**

During the decade of the twenties, the women’s political movement splintered into a number of groups. The League of Women Voters emerged as a more conservative group that accepted the fiction that political parties were open to women.

In 1923, Alice Paul, at the head of the National Woman’s Party, began to work for an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution to end state and national laws that discriminated against women. The League opposed the ERA, as did a number of other women’s groups, because they argued that it would prohibit special legislative protection for women. Although the ERA was introduced into Congress two decades later and was later submitted to state legislatures for ratification, it has not been ratified.

Women sought public office in the 1920s. Adelina Otero Warren ran as a representative for the U.S. House of Representatives. When the public was informed that she was divorced rather than widowed, she was forced to drop out of the race.

**Prohibition: The Experiment That Failed**

The Eighteenth Amendment prohibited the manufacture or sale of alcohol. The Volstead Act of 1919 established a Prohibition Bureau in the Treasury Department. It was under-budgeted, and the Volstead Act did not outlaw the possession of alcoholic beverages, only their commercial manufacture, sale, and distribution. Alcohol was still legal for medicinal and religious purposes, and people could manufacture alcohol in their private homes.

Prohibition led to the gangster empires of Al Capone and others. Capone alone was making profits of up to 60 million dollars a year. Merchants were forced to pay
protection money, and the profit of the underworld was possibly in excess of 18 billion dollars per year. In Chicago there were 550 gangland killings in the 1920s.

**Reactionary Impulses**

In May 1920, the South Braintree, Massachusetts paymaster and guard of a shoe company was robbed and murdered. Two men, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Italian immigrants and admitted anarchists, were arrested for the murder. They were brought to trial and convicted of the murder on purely circumstantial evidence. The judge and jury were probably prejudiced to some degree. The story was covered in the Italian newspapers and liberals rallied to their cause. The case dragged on for six years, but the two men were finally executed in 1927.

Congress set the first quota on immigrants with the Emergency Quota Act of 1921. This law cut immigration from 800,000 to 300,000 in a single year. A quota was set on newcomers. Only three percent of the persons of their nationality living in the U.S. in 1910 were to be admitted. Then, the Johnson-Reid Act of 1924 cut immigration from three percent to two percent and pushed the year back to 1890. This law cut immigrants outside the Western Hemisphere to a mere 165,000 per year.

One of the most reactionary American organizations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the Ku Klux Klan. The first Ku Klux Klan in the U.S. (founded in 1870) had been regional and had declined in the years after Reconstruction. In 1915, the Klan was reestablished by an ex-Methodist minister named William Simmons. It was then taken over by a Dallas dentist named Hiram Evans. The new Klan grew quickly due to the novel *The Clansman* and its movie version, *The Birth of a Nation*. By the mid-1920s, Klan membership had been estimated at five million. The Klan opposed any challenges to “traditional” values and was open only to white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Women could join only through auxiliaries. Although the Klan of the 1920s could target any minority group, it focused its anger particularly against African Americans, Jews, Catholics, foreigners, and divorcees.

**Marcus Garvey and the Persistence of Civil Rights Activism**

Marcus Garvey, who was born in Jamaica, brought his Universal Negro Improvement Association to New York in 1916. He used modern publicity techniques, skilled musicians, and a flamboyant pulpit style to build a following of approximately 80,000. He advocated black economic cooperation and founded a chain of grocery stores, the Black Cross Nurses, and the Black Star Steamship Line. He encouraged African Americans to “return to Africa,” but his movement began to fall apart in 1923 when Garvey was convicted of mail fraud in connection with the Black Star Steamship Company. In 1927, after two years in prison, he was deported to Jamaica, and the movement collapsed.
III. Hollywood and Harlem: National Cultures in Black and White

During the decade of the 1920s, cultural innovations and creativity centered on the two coasts—in Hollywood on the West Coast and in Harlem on the East Coast.

Hollywood Comes of Age

Hollywood films and stars reached an entire generation of Americans in the 1920s and produced our first mass culture. One of the first feature-length films, *The Great Train Robbery*, was produced in 1903, and by the mid-1920s, the film industry grossed $80 million per week.

Ironically, while Congress was closing its doors to immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, Hollywood stars, like Rudolph Valentino from Italy, drew audiences across the United States. Movies in the early 1920s were silent, but in 1927, Al Jolson starred in the first “talkie,” *The Jazz Singer*, the story of a young Jewish man who opposes his parents’ wishes and becomes a jazz singer rather than a cantor.

The Harlem Renaissance

The Harlem Renaissance was a flowering of black culture in the 1920s, including literature, the visual arts, and the performing arts. The outpouring of creativity known as the Harlem Renaissance reflected the cultural heritage and traditions of African Americans. Harlem was an area in upper Manhattan that had become the center of black cultural life, an area that drew artists from all over the United States and the West Indies. Poets like Arna Bontemps and Langston Hughes, writers like Zora Neale Hurston, musicians like Ethel Waters, and filmmakers like Oscar Micheaux expressed the “exotic” as well as the revolutionary aspects of African-American culture.

Radio and Autos: Transforming Leisure at Home

In November 1920, Pittsburgh station KDKA broadcast news of the Harding landslide. Soon, sports and entertainment were being broadcast into millions of homes. By 1923, there were approximately five hundred radio stations in the U.S., and by 1927, the National Broadcasting Company was established.

During the 1920s, the car became the transportation of both the rich and the poor. By 1930, Americans owned almost 30 million cars. Henry Ford made the car available for almost all Americans by standardizing parts and creating a truly economical mode of transportation. Fords by the mid-1920s could be bought for as little as $260.
IV. Science on Trial

Scientific projects in the 1920s did not always benefit human beings, and challenges to scientific theories continued to reverberate throughout the twentieth century.

The Great Flood of 1927

Engineers began building levees along the Mississippi River in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The levees were intended to allow farmers to settle and farm the rich floodplains of the river. In 1927, torrential rains caused the river to burst across the levees and force more than 900,000 people out of their homes.

The Triumph of Eugenics: *Buck v. Bell*

Pseudo-scientific theories of race “proved” that the white race was superior to all others, and that men were intellectually superior to women. Eugenics, a pseudo-scientific discipline consistent with Social Darwinist theories, provided evidence of racial and gender superiority that contributed to immigration restrictions and sterilization laws. Carrie Buck, a teenage who was labeled “feebleminded” because she had borne a child out of wedlock, was sterilized in 1927. The following year, Carrie’s sister, Doris, was also sterilized. By the decade of the 1930s, over 30 states had compulsory sterilization laws.

Science, Religion, and the Scopes Trial

Many Americans in the 1920s believed that the teaching of the theory of evolution was responsible for a breakdown in manners and morals. Three states passed laws forbidding the teaching of evolution in their public schools. In March 1925, the Tennessee legislature adopted a measure making it illegal for any public school teacher “to teach any theory” not in accord with the Biblical account of creation. The American Civil Liberties Union offered free legal counsel to any teacher willing to challenge the law. A young biology teacher in Dayton, Tennessee accepted the challenge and the stage was set for the infamous “Monkey Trial.” Scopes was found guilty and fined $100, but the case was appealed and dismissed by a higher court on a technicality.

V. Consumer Dreams and Nightmares

The United States became a mass consumption society in the 1920s. Americans sought mass-produced pleasure and spent enough to produce the first million-dollar gates at sporting events. Americans went ever deeper into debt, buying new electrical gadgets and consumer products, and even food on “time.”
Marketing the Good Life

Advertisers, aided by Madison Avenue, tried to make Americans chronically discontented with their paltry possessions. Americans were conditioned to want more and more. The first advertising and public relations firms appeared before World War I, but they truly became successful in the decade of the twenties. In 1925, Bruce Barton published a best-seller called *The Man Nobody Knows*. Its thesis was that Jesus Christ was the greatest ad-man of all time, a man who “picked up twelve men from the bottom ranks of business and forged them into an organization that conquered the world.”

Writers, Critics, and the “Lost Generation”

A number of writers and artists, disgusted with the shallowness and materialism of American culture in the 1920s, chose to live abroad. The poet T.S. Eliot actually became a British citizen and a convert to the Anglican Church. Others, such as F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway, kept their U.S. citizenship, but chose to live in places like Paris or the French Riviera, while writing perceptive novels about American life and Americans abroad. Gertrude Stein described the Americans who gathered at her Paris salon as a “lost generation.”

Some writers, known as “debunkers,” chose to remain in the United States. Writers such as Sinclair Lewis wrote about America’s obsession with material gain. In *Main Street*, Lewis describes the stultifying, conformist atmosphere of small-town America.

Poverty Amid Plenty

Not all Americans were prosperous during the decade of the twenties. Tenant farmers and sharecroppers were especially hit hard, and many chose to join the Southern Tenant Farmers’ Union. Industrial workers also suffered in the twenties, as many labor unions had been crushed in the wake of World War I.

The Stock Market Crash

In 1925, the market value of all stocks stood at about $27 billion. By October 1929, the value was up to $87 million. As many as nine million Americans were buying stock, and many were buying on margin, or credit. In July 1928, the Federal Reserve tried to slow the inflation of stocks by increasing the interest rate on Federal Reserve notes, but speculation continued, even with rates as high as 20 percent. In September, the Fed tightened credit again. This time the stock market crashed. On Tuesday, October 29, 1929, more than 16 million stocks changed hands. By mid-November the loss in the market value of stocks stood at $30 billion.
Sample Discussion Questions:

1. The twenties have been described as “Janus-faced,” after the Roman god with two faces, one that could see into the past and one that could see into the future. Discuss aspects of the twenties that clung to the past while other aspects looked to the future.

2. Discuss the consumer culture that emerged in the twenties, tracing its impact from the advertising empire of Madison Avenue to Hollywood, Harlem, and major sporting events. How did technological innovations affect mass consumption and the standardization of American culture?

3. Discuss the presidential politics and political philosophies of the 1920s. What were the cultural implications and outcome of the election of 1928?

4. Discuss the rising tensions between rural and urban and traditional and modern America in the 1920s. Describe how these tensions culminated in the stock market crash of 1929.

5. Describe the onset and the reactions to the onset on the Great Depression. What were the underlying causes of the Depression, and how did Herbert Hoover react to the economic situation?

6. Describe some of the numerous contributions made by African-American writers and artists during the Harlem Renaissance. Was the Harlem Renaissance a true revival of black artistic activity or merely a continuation of a rich tradition?

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. The decade of the 1920s has been called the first modern decade; however, it was an era of deep division as many Americans sought to connect with and preserve a past era, while other Americans eagerly embraced new manners and mores.

2. While the twenties are viewed as an era of prosperity, for many Americans the decade was one of depression. Farmers, especially tenant farmers and sharecroppers, were almost immediately plunged into hard times as the world commodities market dropped to new lows. Labor also suffered in the twenties, as strikes were broken and salaries rose very slightly.

3. The decade of the twenties was characterized by numerous technological advances that linked regions and people across the United States and that contributed to the creation of a mass consumption, standardized culture.

4. The spread of Hollywood-born culture, the debunking and criticism of the Lost Generation, and the outpouring of creativity from Harlem all contributed to the making of a national mass culture.
5. The seeming prosperity of the twenties masked a number of underlying weaknesses in the economy, weaknesses that contributed to the inability of the stock market to recover from the crash of 1929.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. The following short list pairs videos with books. Ask students to choose a video and book, and write a 3-5-page paper comparing the video with the book.

   Video: *Rosewood*

   Video: *Saving Sister Aimee*

   Video: *Inherit the Wind*

**Further Resources:**

**Books:**


**Suggested documentaries and films:**


*Jazz: An American Classic.* Produced by University Media Resources, University of Minnesota. Published by University of Mid-America, 1979.


**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Ask students to locate the Schomburg Collection on the Harlem Renaissance at [www.si.umich.edu/CHICO/Harlem](http://www.si.umich.edu/CHICO/Harlem) Students then need to click on “exhibit.” Each student is to choose one topic from the exhibit on the Harlem Renaissance. There are numerous topics and individuals from which to choose; for example, James Reese Europe, Fletcher Henderson, The Frogs, The Silent Protest Parade, *The Brownie Book*, Zora Neale Hurston, etc. Students are to write a 1-2-page paper on their chosen topic and then deliver a short synopsis to the class.

2. Ask students to locate the history of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s at [www.assumption.edu/ahc/1920s/Eugenics/Klan.html](http://www.assumption.edu/ahc/1920s/Eugenics/Klan.html) or [www.geocities.com/crazyoglala/pahasapa_K1920s.html](http://www.geocities.com/crazyoglala/pahasapa_K1920s.html). Students are to read at least two of the links from this site and then write a 2-3-page paper discussing the Klan’s activities in the 1920s (for example, the above site focuses on the Klan’s role in restricting immigration). Other informative sites are located at [http://www.kkkklan.com/](http://www.kkkklan.com/), [www.splcenter.org](http://www.splcenter.org) and [http://search.eb.com/blackhistory/micro/329/99.html](http://search.eb.com/blackhistory/micro/329/99.html).

**Interpreting History: Zora Neale Hurston**

Just as Mario Puzo offers his readers insight into the world of the Italian immigrant, Zora Neale Hurston offers her readers an insider’s glimpse of the world of an African-American woman.

Hurston was born in the African-American town of Eatonville, Florida in about 1891. Her mother died when she was nine years old, causing some dramatic changes in
Hurston’s life. Her father quickly remarried, but Hurston did not get along with her stepmother. As a result, Hurston left home at the age of 14. She worked as a lady’s maid for a soprano in a traveling Gilbert and Sullivan operatic troupe. When the soprano, Miss M, left the troupe to marry, Hurston found herself unemployed. With her brother’s help, she enrolled at Morgan Academy in Baltimore and then went on to Howard University in Washington, D.C. She received an Associate’s Degree from Howard and studied off and on at the university until 1924. In 1925, she arrived in New York City with $1.50 in her pocket. There, she became an integral part of the Harlem Renaissance. Soon after her arrival in New York, she received a scholarship to attend Barnard College. There she met Franz Boaz, the professor who later directed her work at Columbia University.

Hurston describes the important events of her life in her official autobiography, *Dust Tracks on a Road* and *Mules and Men*, but she best reveals her emotional life and personal commitments in her novel, *Their Eyes Were Watching God*. Hurston wrote the novel over a seven-week period when she was in Haiti on a Guggenheim Fellowship collecting anthropological data. The novel tells the story of Janie Starks Wood’s loves and losses and is Hurston’s masterpiece.

Hurston’s books went out of print in the 1950s, and Hurston returned to Florida where she taught school, substituted, and eventually was reduced to working as a domestic servant. She died alone and forgotten in 1960 and was buried in a pauper’s grave. Alice Walker traveled to Florida in the 1980s, located what she thought was Hurston’s grave and placed a marker on it, calling Hurston her literary foremother. In the past decade, Hurston’s numerous books, short stories, and plays have been reprinted and her work critically reevaluated.
CHAPTER 22
Hardship and Hope in the 1930s: The Great Depression

Chapter Outline:

I. The Great Depression

The Great Depression defined the decade of the 1930s and molded an entire generation of Americans.

Causes of the Crisis

In 1925, the market value of all stocks stood at about $27 billion. By October 1929 their value was $87 billion. Up to nine million Americans were buying stock, and many were buying on margin. In July 1928, the Fed tried to slow the inflation of stocks by increasing the interest rate on Federal Reserve notes, but speculation continued, even with rates as high as 20 percent. In September 1929, the Fed tightened credit again—this time the stock market crashed. On October 24, 1929, Black Thursday, the market collapsed. Prices dropped so drastically that stocks became worthless pieces of paper. After a weak rally, on Friday the market took another plunge. By Tuesday, October 29, sixteen million stocks changed hands—by mid-November the loss in the market value of stocks stood at $30 billion.

Historians and economists agree on most of the following as causes of the Depression: 1) overproduction of goods and food; 2) overexpansion of credit, especially buying of stocks on margin; 3) excessive profits and unequal distribution of wealth; 4) decline in farm prices in the 1920s—industry was lagging technologically; 5) the collapse of the banking system was a result of Federal Reserve System policies; and, 6) the U.S. depression occurred within the context of a global depression. Europe never recovered from WWI and remained indebted to the U.S.

“We Are Not Bums”

In 1930, six million Americans were unemployed, and by 1933, thirteen million Americans were unemployed.

In 1932, the national output was nearly 50 percent of what it had been three years before, below the 1913 level.

Surviving Hard Times

Over 200,000 young men who had no job prospects were “riding the rails” by 1933. On March 25, 1931, a group of five young white male transients got into a fight with several young African-American men on a freight train that was traveling from Chattanooga to Memphis, Tennessee. The white men, who lost the fight and were thrown from the train,
went to a local sheriff and complained. The sheriff wired ahead to the authorities in Scottsboro and when the train stopped there, nine black men were taken from the freight and arrested on charges of assault and battery. During their search of the boxcars, the Scottsboro police discovered two young women dressed as men, as transient women often did. The women immediately claimed to have been raped by all nine black men, and the men were immediately charged.

All but one of the young men were teenagers. One of them, Leroy Wright, was only 13. Their first trials were swift, in spite of conflicting testimony on the part of the alleged rape victims and the lack of any forensic evidence at all. Eight of the defendants were quickly found guilty; the ninth, Leroy Wright, escaped conviction when the judge declared a mistrial because the jurymen could not agree among themselves whether a 13-year-old should be given life imprisonment or the death penalty. The other eight were one by one sentenced to die.

The NAACP had hesitated to become involved in this case because it did not want to threaten the organization’s credibility with its large contingent of white supporters. Eventually the NAACP realized that the charges against these young men were ridiculous, but by that time, the Communist party had taken the case.

On April 10, 1931, the CPUSA announced that it was putting the resources of its legal arm, the International Labor Defense (ILD), at the disposal of the Scottsboro Boys. The two women who accused the men of rape were Ruby Bates and Victoria Price. Ruby Bates recanted her story of rape and apologized; she worked to achieve the release of the men. In the end, the charges against four of the men were dropped. Five others were convicted and sentenced to long terms (four of these would later be pardoned and the fifth escaped and was never recaptured).

Mexican-American families struggled to survive on the low wages paid to laborers, and many were deported. Thousands of farmers lost their farms. In 1933, over five percent of the nation's farms were foreclosed on because they could not pay the taxes on their property. In 1931, Midwestern farmers organized the Farmers' Holiday Association to try to force prices up. They withheld grain and livestock from the market, and dairy farmers dumped thousands of gallons of milk in Iowa and Wisconsin to protest the price that had dropped to two cents a quart.

The Dust Bowl

Farmers across Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico suffered as an extended drought and “dust storms” caused the topsoil in the region to blow away. Thousands of “Okies” packed their meager belongings and left for “greener” pastures in California. Their tale was told by John Steinbeck in *The Grapes of Wrath*, while Dorothea Lange and Woody Guthrie captured their plight in photographs and music.
II. Presidential Responses to the Depression

Herbert Hoover seemed unable to respond to the Depression. He kept saying, “prosperity is just around the corner.” But soup lines stretched around the corner. He believed that offering welfare to the suffering would destroy their “rugged individualism.” Because of the deepening depression, and Hoover’s seeming unresponsiveness, the Democrats swept Franklin Roosevelt into power by a landslide victory in 1932.

**Herbert Hoover: Tackling the Crisis**

Hoover summoned business leaders to the White House soon after the crash and won pledges from them to maintain wages and employment. He also called on municipal and state governments to create public-works projects. In October 1930, he set up an Emergency Committee for Employment to coordinate the efforts of voluntary relief agencies. In 1931, he persuaded the largest banks to set up a private lending agency, the National Credit Corporation, but things only got worse. The Republicans lost control of the House of Representatives and also lost seats in the Senate in the midterm elections. By 1932, Hoover finally responded, but it was too little, too late.

Hoover helped establish the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which made loans to major economic institutions like banks, insurance companies, and railroads. By July 1932, the RFC had pumped $1.2 billion into the economy. The idea was to save the banks, railroad, and building and loan companies, but it put no money in hungry people’s pockets.

Hoover grudgingly signed legislation authorizing a two billion dollar public works program. The Hoover Dam was started as a public works project, but Hoover opposed the Morris Muscle Shoals Bill that was designed to dam the Tennessee River (later TVA) because he opposed the government selling electricity in competition with its own citizens in private companies.

**Franklin Delano Roosevelt: The Pragmatist**

Roosevelt was born to great, old wealth on January 30, 1882 near Hyde Park, New York. He attended Groton and Harvard University and attended, but did not graduate from, Columbia University Law School. While at Groton he wrote a paper entitled “The Roosevelt Family in New Amsterdam Before the Revolution,” and in it attributed the decline of most of the old Dutch families that had once ruled the region to a lack of “progressiveness and the true democratic spirit.” He was a great admirer of his third cousin, Theodore Roosevelt, and consciously patterned his political career after him.

In 1905, he married TR’s niece, Eleanor, and TR gave the bride away because Eleanor’s father was dead. FDR first ran for and won two terms as state senator (TR had served in the Assembly). Then, in 1913, Woodrow Wilson appointed him Assistant Secretary of
the Navy (also held by TR), and after the war he ran as James Cox’s vice presidential running mate in the election of 1920 (TR had been McKinley’s running mate).

His defeat in the election of 1920 was followed by an attack of polio that nearly killed him and left his legs useless. He did not let this “temporary setback” stop him for long. He was always searching for a cure. In 1924, he went to Warm Springs, Georgia where he swam every day in the pools. Did his disability change his political beliefs? His liberalism developed gradually over the years and his correspondence with fellow sufferers broadened his sympathies with the underprivileged. His fight against polio culminated in the March of Dimes.

“Nothing to Fear but Fear Itself”

Roosevelt sought to reassure the American people on the day of his inauguration. On inauguration day, March 4, 1932, FDR “walked” down the ramp to the microphone to deliver his message to the people. “So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance.” Roosevelt called Congress into session, closed the nation’s banks, and delivered his first radio “fireside chat” to reassure Americans that the banks would reopen and would “take care of business.”

III. The New Deal

The New Deal grew out of Progressive ideas. FDR used the ideas brought to him by his advisors, intellectuals, politicians, bureaucrats, reformers, educators, planners, analysts, journalists, sociologists, economists, and labor organizers, as well as the hundreds, then thousands, of worker bees who swarmed into D.C. Columnist Anne O’Hare McCormick wrote in April 1933, “You never saw before in Washington so much government or so much animation in government. Everybody in the administration is having the time of his life.”

The First Hundred Days

After his inauguration, Roosevelt immediately went to work. In the first one hundred days of his administration, Congress was bombarded with proposed legislation. Congress passed every bill presented, almost without question. One legislator stated, “The house is burning down.” The Twenty-first Amendment was ratified by the states, repealing prohibition. Congress created the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. In October 1933, the administration established the Civil Works Administration under the direction of Harry L. Hopkins. Within two weeks, 800,000 people were working in a program that had a payroll of $7.8 million. Congress provided another $460 million to carry the CWA to the spring of 1934.

Congress passed the Federal Emergency Relief Act, creating FERA on May 12, 1933. Ten days after its passage, FDR administered the oath of office to Harry L. Hopkins. Hopkins believed that the government could and should actively assist in providing immediate relief to the needy and temporary employment to the unemployed. He spent
the money in two ways: first, matching dollar grants, one federal dollar for every three state-supplied dollars, and second, direct grants to states when a governor could prove the state could not provide matching dollars.

In early March 1933, FDR began to design and implement a program that enlisted young, unemployed men in a kind of volunteer “army.” The young men were to work in the national forests, national parks, and on other federal public lands. When he went to Congress for authorization for such a program, he called the program the Civilian Corps Reforestation Youth Rehabilitation Movement, but soon changed it to simply the Civilian Conservation Corps, the CCC. Congress authorized the president to create the program and structure as he saw fit by executive order. The men would be paid $30 per month, and anywhere from $23 to $25 of it would be sent to their families.

The National Industrial Recovery Act created the National Recovery Administration, a body designed to get prices and wages under control. All federal anti-trust regulations were suspended for two years and industry-wide panels were authorized to work with the NRA to develop price and wage codes and establish working hours and conditions to which all businesses within each industry would agree to adhere across the board. These agreed-upon codes would acquire the force of law, once approved by the President. Section 7a of the act also guaranteed laborers the right to organize and bargain collectively, and a National Labor Board was set up to negotiate disputes.

When FDR signed the TVA into existence in May 1933, he reopened a Progressive Era debate over public versus private development of natural resources. The Tennessee River runs through seven states with its tributaries, and it runs through some of the most disadvantaged areas of the country.

The Indian New Deal was embodied in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which repealed the Dawes Severalty Act. The allotment of tribal lands to individual Indians was ended and the Indian Office was authorized both to consolidate previously allotted land into tribal ownership and to purchase lands for Indians who had none. Indian tribes were empowered to adopt constitutions that would enable them to govern themselves free from bureaucratic meddling and the paternalism of the Indian Office.

Monumental Projects: Transforming the Landscape

Much of the American landscape was transformed by the huge construction projects of the New Deal. The TVA built a number of dams in the Tennessee Valley region, and work on the Hoover Dam near Las Vegas began in 1931. The Grand Coulee Dam project in Washington state provided electricity and irrigation to much of the Northwest region. Woody Guthrie wrote “Roll On Columbia” to celebrate the dam’s completion. Other Depression-era projects included the Golden Gate Bridge, the Empire State Building, and the portraits of four presidents on Mount Rushmore in South Dakota.
Protest and Pressure from the Left and Right

Roosevelt’s administration was criticized and challenged from the political left as well as the right. Many branded him a socialist, while others called him a dictator. The numbers of the Communist Party USA swelled to new heights during the decade of the thirties, while many turned to right-wing demagogues for answers to the Depression.

Francis Townsend was born in rural Illinois, worked as a farm laborer and a school teacher, and then earned a medical degree at the age of 36. He practiced medicine in the Black Hills of South Dakota from 1903 to 1919. He moved to Long Beach, California, for his health. In California, he speculated in real estate and practiced medicine intermittently until 1930. In January 1934, Townsend founded the Old Age Revolving Pensions Limited with a former partner. The plan called for all persons over 60 to retire from work and to receive from the federal government a monthly pension of $200 on the condition that the money was spent in its entirety. This plan, Townsend claimed, would open the job market to the young unemployed, increase total cash flow in the economy, and give the elderly both security and a sense of participation. The Roosevelt administration’s support for the Social Security Act of 1935 was to some degree influenced by Townsend’s pressure for a national pension.

Charles E. Coughlin was a Catholic priest and radio personality who first embraced FDR’s policies and then turned against him. He was born to parents of Irish descent in Hamilton, Ontario, and from a very early age, he was surrounded by and immersed in the institutions of the Catholic church. In 1923, he moved to Michigan and began work as a parish priest. There, he was harassed by the local KKK and by the financial insolvency of his new Shrine of the Little Flower, and, in October 1926, he arranged with a local radio station to broadcast one of his Sunday sermons. By 1930 he had developed a phenomenal popularity. His weekly Sunday program was called “The Golden House of the Little Flower” and his radio audience was estimated at 40 million. His program became increasingly reactionary. He denounced the New Deal as a Communist conspiracy and the president as a dangerous dictator. In 1938, he became anti-Semitic, and he began to express admiration for Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. His political move to the right led to the cessation of his radio broadcasts in 1940. In 1942, after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, his newspaper was banned from the mail, and his bishop ordered him to cease all political activities. For the next 24 years, he tended to his parish duties in Royal Oak and, after 1966, lived in retirement in a nearby suburb where he died of a heart attack in 1979.

Huey Pierce Long, Governor of Louisiana, U.S. Senator, dissident leader, and Roosevelt antagonist during the first years of the New Deal, came from the poor hill country of northern Louisiana (although his own family was fairly prosperous). He preached the populist sentiments of that region. He was largely self-educated, but became a successful lawyer and served eight years as a member of the Louisiana Public Service Commission. In 1928, he was elected governor, as champion of the common people against the oil interests and planter elite. He concentrated state power in his own hands.
and won national renown as the “dictator of Louisiana,” and within the state as the “Kingfish.”

In 1932, he resigned as governor to assume a seat in the U.S. Senate to which he had been elected two years earlier. He chose an ally to succeed him in the statehouse. Long established the Share Our Wealth Society. Every American family was to be guaranteed a “homestead of $5,000 and an annual income of $2,500.” In September 1935, he returned to Louisiana to supervise a special session of the state legislature. There, he was fatally shot while walking down a corridor in the state capitol in Baton Rouge. The assassin was a young doctor, Carl Austin Weiss, who was immediately gunned down by Long’s bodyguards. After his death, his organization collapsed and the Long political machine in Louisiana made peace with Roosevelt.

Eleanor Roosevelt: Activist and First Lady

Eleanor Roosevelt was born in 1884. She came from an influential New York family and was a debutante at the turn of the century. As a young woman, she worked at the Rivington Street Settlement, and joined the National Consumers’ League, then led by Florence Kelley. She married in 1905 and between 1906 and 1916 had six children. She settled into the role of upper-class matron and volunteer but was a bit more active during WWI, when she organized a Washington canteen, managed a recreation room in a naval hospital, and began a household food-saving program.

She did not vote in 1917 when New York first gave women suffrage. In 1918, however, she learned of her husband’s affair with Lucy Mercer, and from that began to seek her own sphere of action. In 1921, when FDR was stricken by polio, she began to take an even larger role in public affairs to keep her husband’s name in the news. In 1920 she joined the League of Women Voters and by 1921 was lecturing at league conventions and addressing league chapters and women’s clubs about the need for welfare legislation.

Eleanor Roosevelt truly transformed the role of the first lady. She was an activist who had far-reaching effects on the lives of American women. She allowed only women reporters to interview her while she was in the White House. She first met Lorena Hickok on March 4, 1933, when she became mistress of the White House. They became best friends, and soon others such as Ruby Black and Bess Furman joined their circle. In her early conferences with news reporters, ER told about her daily schedule, discussed the prints on the White House walls, explained the use of homegrown herbs, and gave out recipes. News reporters soon pushed her to respond to the plight of women and minorities, and soon her “sessions in the Red Room” broadened in scope. Eleanor Roosevelt became political and by the end of 1933, she was defending low-cost housing, the subsistence homestead program, the need for women’s jobs, equal pay for equal work under the NRA, old age pensions and the minimum wage.

Then, Eleanor Roosevelt began to introduce special guests such as foreign notables, but most of the guests were women. The Red Room reporters met Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins; Ellen Woodward, the head of women’s projects at the Civil Works.
Administration; Mary Harriman Rumsey of the National Recovery Administration consumers’ advisory board; and Molly Dewson, head of the Women’s Division of the Democratic National Committee. Eleanor Roosevelt created a nationwide schoolroom out of these meetings.

She was one of the most popular first ladies in American history. She not only spoke on behalf of women’s rights, but she advocated tirelessly for equal rights for African Americans. She resigned her membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution organization in 1939 when they refused to allow Marian Anderson to sing in Constitution Hall. Eleanor Roosevelt then arranged a concert for her at the Lincoln Memorial. By 1933, she had received 301,000 pieces of mail, sometimes as many as 400 a day. She personally answered as many as 50 per day. She remained active throughout World War II, traveling throughout the world. She helped in the adoption of the United Nations’ Declaration of Human Rights, and was involved in politics throughout the 1950s, until her death in 1962.

The Second New Deal

Because earlier New Deal programs had not solved the persistent unemployment problem, Roosevelt and his advisors began proposing more far-reaching legislation in 1935. Although Roosevelt refused to challenge southern whites who supported segregation, his programs were more sensitive and inclusive of African Americans and other minorities.

The Social Security Act provided a pension plan for the elderly. One part of the law provided workers with unemployment insurance, while another part provided relief for the needy, the widowed, the orphaned, and the handicapped.

The Works Progress Administration was created by executive order on May 6, 1935. Harry L. Hopkins served as its administrator until December 1938, when he resigned to become Secretary of Commerce. The WPA was organizationally complex with central offices in Washington and administrations in each state that possessed dual authority over the projects and the people who did the work. State administrations dominated the hiring, firing, and supervision of workers, as well as the designing of projects.

The Federal Art Project was led by Holger Cahill. His agency sponsored the eventual completion of 2,566 murals and 17,744 pieces of sculpture that adorned the walls, halls, and niches of public buildings all over the country. Most of these tended to be neutral, idealizing depictions of American life, history, and industry in the classical tradition. A few highly political artists borrowed freely from the radical and communist visions of Diego Rivera and other revolutionary symbolists and took the opportunity to denigrate capitalism in various subtle ways.

The Federal Theater Project was led by Hallie Flanagan, who wanted to make theater arts a functioning part of the national life, and to that end launched thousands of productions in church basements, school auditoriums, and civic arenas.
FDR’s Second Term

The mandate of 1936 convinced Roosevelt that he should respond to the problem he was having with the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court struck down the NRA and the AAA and was threatening to invalidate more New Deal legislation. Roosevelt sent a proposal to Capitol Hill that would enable him to add a Supreme Court justice to the court for every justice over 70 who would not retire. Roosevelt’s proposal could have enlarged the court to a possible total of 15 justices. Although the U.S. Constitution does not specify the exact number of the justices, tradition has set the number at nine. Furthermore, the American public perceived Roosevelt’s proposal as a plan to “pack” the court, and public opinion forced Roosevelt to abandon his plan. Justice Roberts, perhaps in response, began to cast votes more sympathetic to the New Deal, causing one newspaper reporter to quip, “A switch in time saves nine.”

IV. A New Political Culture

The culture that emerged from the decade of the thirties and the New Deal was more inclusive and egalitarian.

The Labor Movement

In 1935, the Wagner Act guaranteed labor’s right to organize and to engage in collective bargaining. In November 1935, John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman founded the Committee for Industrial Organization within the American Federation of Labor. The CIO’s first major strike was in Akron, Ohio in 1936 where a “sit-down strike” was organized. In 1936, strikes against General Motors erupted in Atlanta, Kansas City, Cleveland, and Flint, Michigan. In Flint, workers used the sit-down strike tactic to good effect, occupying the plants and refusing to leave. The Women’s Emergency Brigade, organized by Genora Johnson Dollinger, supported the workers in the GM plants with soup kitchens and first-aid stations. The strike at Flint ended after 44 days, with GM recognition of the United Auto Workers Union.

The New Deal Coalition

Franklin Roosevelt brought a number of disparate groups together to form a powerful Democratic coalition. He supported the labor movement and brought unionized and non-unionized workers into the party. African Americans abandoned the party of Mr. Lincoln to join ranks with the Democrats, and southern whites continued to vote Democratic. Immigrants from Europe and Latinos became Democratic voters. Nonetheless, Roosevelt was bitterly criticized by business interests who resented the intrusion of government into their affairs, and he was criticized by leftists for “patching” rather than transforming the capitalist system.
A New Americanism

Americans created a new identity during the decade of the 1930s. Movies portrayed it as the decade of the common people who triumphed over the rich and powerful. Characters played by movies stars such as Katharine Hepburn, Rosalind Russell, and Bette Davis challenged traditional gender mores, and sports heroes such as Joe DiMaggio and Joe Louis demonstrated the nation’s diversity. Amelia Earhart was the first woman to fly solo across the Atlantic and the first to attempt an around-the-world flight.

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. After studying the background of Herbert Clark Hoover, discuss his political and economic philosophies. Can you explain how his value system hampered his ability to deal with the onset and depth of the Great Depression?

2. Describe the major programs of the New Deal and discuss how the New Deal responded to the demands of both the political right and left by using legislation to restore confidence in business and reduce the suffering of the poor.

3. Compare the first hundred days of the New Deal with the “Second New Deal.” Explain the far-reaching consequences of the Second New Deal programs, as well as their impact on minority groups in the United States, specifically Native Americans, Latino Americans, and African Americans.

4. How did Eleanor Roosevelt influence the New Deal as First Lady? What was the impact of individuals such as Mary McLeod Bethune and other members of Roosevelt’s Black Cabinet?

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. Some historians labeled the New Deal a real break with the past, but the Great Depression itself was an event like no other, and was something Americans had never experienced. The financial system of the United States was on the verge of collapse when Roosevelt became president.

2. While the New Deal did not bring the United States out of the Depression, it provided a sense of forward motion that enabled Americans to survive the hard times.

3. Roosevelt refused to risk southern censure on racial issues, but he moved toward more inclusiveness by gathering a group of African-American advisors known as his Black Cabinet. His wife was also one of his closest advisors, and she worked for equal rights for blacks and for women.

4. New Deal programs paved the way for more government intervention in the economy as well as protection for vulnerable groups within that economy.
Enrichment Ideas:

1. Assign a book or novel dealing with the Great Depression or New Deal. Show a corresponding movie, then ask students to discuss the historical content of the novel and movie. Then compare and contrast the content and impact of the novel and movie in both a class discussion and in a written paper. Suggested pairs of novels/movies for this project are as follows:

Video: *The Grapes of Wrath*

Video: *All the King’s Men*

Video: *Eleanor and Franklin*

Video: *The Scottsboro Boys*

Further Resources:

Suggested Documentaries and Films:

*The Great Depression.* (PBS documentary of the 1930s, with focus on the New Deal in New York City under Mayor LaGuardia, 120 minutes)

*Life in the Thirties.* (Produced by Henry Salamon – cultural and political essay of the decade of the thirties, including the rise of totalitarian governments in Europe and Asia – two volumes, 54 minutes total).

*Eleanor Roosevelt.* (PBS production, part of *The American Experience,* about the life of Eleanor Roosevelt)

*Franklin D. Roosevelt* (PBS production of the life of FDR – multi-volumed)

Web Site Assignments:

1. Ask students to examine one of the Works Progress Administration’s Cultural Programs and write a 1-2-page paper describing the program and analyzing its impact on American art and culture. They may locate a wide range of cultural programs at www.wwcd.org/policy/US/newdeal.html, an exhibit of New Deal artists at

Connecting History: Presidents and the Media

1. Divide the class into two groups. Ask one group to research Franklin D. Roosevelt’s use of the media by accessing and examining key fireside chats. These fireside chats can be located at www.mhric.org/fdr/fdr.html. Each student is to choose one of the fireside chats to analyze for class discussion. Each student should be prepared to discuss the cause and the focus and the outcome of the fireside chat chosen. The other group is to examine Richard Nixon and the media. Richard Nixon’s speeches can be located at http://watergate.info. Each student in the second group is to choose one of Nixon’s speeches, analyze the speech and discuss its cause, focus, and outcome. If the class is too large to allow each student to analyze and discuss his/her speech, each group may choose one or two speeches for analysis, and then students may submit a 2-3-page speech analysis. Overall, class discussion should compare and contrast the underlying motivations and outcomes of the use (or abuse) of media sources by these two presidents.

Interpreting History: Huddie Ledbetter

On January 15, 1888, Huddie Ledbetter was born to a childless, middle-aged couple, Wes and Sallie Ledbetter, near the town of Mooringsport, Louisiana. Ledbetter—also known as Leadbelly or Lead Belly—demonstrated his musical talent at a very early age, singing and playing the accordion and the mandolin before he was six years old. Ledbetter left school at the age of 14, working during the week on his father's farm and performing at country dances on the weekends. When he was 16, he fathered a daughter, Arthur Mae. After refusing to marry the baby's mother, Ledbetter moved to Shreveport where he performed in many of the clubs on Fannin Street, the center of Shreveport’s nightlife.

By 1915, Ledbetter had moved back to the vicinity of Marshall, Texas where he was to have his first serious brush with the law. He was accused of attacking a woman in Marshall, but he was ultimately convicted of carrying a weapon and sentenced to 30 days on the county road gang. Only three days into his sentence, he managed to escape, taking refuge with relatives in Bowie County, Texas. There he changed his name to Walter Boyd and began work as a sharecropper near the town of DeKalb. On December 17, 1917, Ledbetter's neighbor, Will Stafford, was killed. The man known as Walter Boyd was arrested, tried, and found guilty for his murder. Ledbetter faced a seven- to 30-year sentence that began in the Texas penal system at Shaw Prison and ended at Sugarland Prison. In January 1924, Texas Governor Pat Neff made a tour of various prison camps. Ledbetter, who had already established himself as an entertainer within the prison system, was asked to sing for the governor. His song was an eloquent plea for freedom. Governor Neff responded to this plea by signing a full pardon for Ledbetter on January 16, 1925.
Between 1925 and 1930, Ledbetter spent most of his time between Houston and Shreveport, supporting himself as a driver and maintenance worker while building a reputation as a musician. On January 15, 1930, he was charged with assault upon a well-known Shreveport citizen, Dick Ellet. Ledbetter was brought to trial, and sentenced to six to 10 years in prison. He was sent to the notorious prison at Angola, Louisiana to serve his time. Ledbetter proved to be a model prisoner at Angola. Although he hoped for early release in 1934, he was informed that he would probably not be released until 1936.

In 1936, Mary Elizabeth Barnicle, a professor at New York University, became Leadbelly's manager. In 1938, she began making extensive recordings of over 50 of his new songs. Through Barnicle and other activists, Leadbelly forged tenuous links with the left-wing labor movement. Although he sang for the Worker's Alliance, the Workers' International Relief, and the Young Communist League, he really never developed strong political beliefs that led to a permanent alliance with any of these groups. The only political issue he felt strongly about was civil rights, but his willingness to perform for radical left-wing organizations caused the FBI to start a file on him in the 1940s.

In 1937, while in Washington, D.C. for a recording session with Alan Lomax at the Library of Congress, Leadbelly wrote a song indicting Washington as a racist city, "The Bourgeois Blues." Upon his return to New York City, Leadbelly sang on behalf of the Scottsboro Boys, recording "The Scottsboro Boys Shall Not Die." He warned inhabitants of Harlem, "Don't you ever go to Alabama," adding that the Scottsboro Boys "can tell you what it's all about." On March 5, 1939, Leadbelly was arrested in New York City for assault. The details of this incident remain unclear, as Leadbelly may have been acting in self-defense. Leadbelly's friends and supporters cast about for ways to raise money for his defense. A commercial record deal was set up with a new company called Musicraft. As a result, Huddie Leadbetter recorded 13 songs, including old favorites such as "Frankie and Albert," "DeKalb Blues," and "The Bourgeois Blues." Despite the efforts of friends and legal counsel, he was sentenced to serve eight months at Riker's Island prison.

In 1940, Leadbelly recorded a number of songs for the nation's largest record company, RCA Victor. The songs, which were issued in an album entitled The Midnight Special and Other Prison Songs, became a landmark in African-American folk music. Throughout 1941, Ledbetter made a series of radio appearances and audition programs at the local and national levels. Next to "Goodnight, Irene," the most oft-requested song of this era was his "Good Morning, Blues." In 1945, Leadbelly spent a year in California, recording for Capitol Records and playing engagements in a number of cities. After he returned to New York, he wrote songs such as "Jim Crow Blues" and "Equality for Negroes," which focused on the need for civil rights. In May 1949, while in Paris for a series of concerts, he was diagnosed with amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, Lou Gehrig's disease. He had time for a few more concerts, but his health declined rapidly. He died in Bellevue Hospital in New York City on December 5, 1949.
CHAPTER 23
Global Conflict: World War II, 1937-1945

Chapter Outline:

I. Mobilizing for War

The Rise of Fascism

Benito Mussolini came to power with his “March on Rome” in 1922. Adolf Hitler emulated Mussolini’s tactics by organizing a “Beer Hall” putsch in 1923. The putsch failed and Hitler was sentenced to a term in Landsdorff Prison. There he wrote his book, Mein Kampf, or “My Struggle,” in which he condemned the Treaty of Versailles and proposed his infamous “Final Solution” for European Jewry. After his release from prison, Hitler decided to work within the law in order to seize governmental power. His Nazi, or National Socialist, representatives were elected to the Reichstag, and by 1933, Hitler had become Chancellor of Germany under its president, Paul Von Hindenburg. Upon the death of the president, Hitler became the Fuhrer (Leader) of the Third Reich.

Aggression in Europe and Asia

In 1936, Hitler marched a drafted army (in violation of the Treaty of Versailles) into the Rhineland, an area that France had controlled since World War I. In March 1938, he annexed Austria in a relatively bloodless coup, proclaiming in this Anchluss (togetherness) that the Austrian and German people were in reality the same.

After the Austrian coup, Hitler occupied the Sudetenland, that area of Czechoslovakia in which many Germans resided. In September 1938, he demanded that Czechoslovakia cede him the area, thus providing Germany the Lebensraum, or “living space,” that it needed. On September 29, Hitler met with other western European leaders (excluding the Czechs), Mussolini, Daladier, and Chamberlain, in the Munich Conference. The French and British leaders agreed to allow Hitler to take the Sudetenland in return for his promise to annex no more territory. This policy of “appeasement” was attributed, somewhat unfairly, to Neville Chamberlain, who assured the British people that the Munich Accords would guarantee “peace in our time.”

In March 1939, Hitler marched his Wermacht into the remainder of Czechoslovakia and began making threats against Poland. France and Britain assured Poland that they would declare war if Hitler invaded. In August 1939, Hitler signed a non-aggression pact with his old enemy, Josef Stalin. The two leaders agreed to invade Poland and to divide the territory between them, with Warsaw going to the Germans.

Japan also had been following a course of aggression. In 1931, Japanese military leaders staged a coup and took control of foreign policy. By 1932, Japanese troops had occupied the Chinese province of Manchuria. They installed a puppet government and gave the region a Japanese name, Manchukuo. In 1937, Japan broadened its aggression by
attacking China’s five Northern provinces. In December 1937, Japanese warplanes sank a U.S. gunboat, the *Panay*, which was anchored in the Yangtze River. Americans were angered, but when Japan apologized, saying that it was an accident, the incident blew over. On September 1, 1939, Hitler launched an invasion against Poland. Two days later, Britain and France declared war on Germany. World War II had begun.

The Neutrality Acts of 1935 and 1937 were legislative attempts to prevent the circumstances that led to World War I. U.S. citizens could not book passage on the ships of countries at war. Also, when the president recognized the existence of a war between two nations, certain items (such as munitions) were to be placed on an embargo list. When Japan invaded China in 1937, Roosevelt refused to invoke the provisions of the Neutrality Act because there was no formally declared war.

After war was declared in 1939, Congress passed a third Neutrality Act, the “cash and carry” law that made provisions to sell munitions to Britain and France, but the provisions stipulated that those nations must pay cash for the goods and carry them back to Europe in their own ships.

With the coming of war, a great debate erupted in the United States in the summer of 1940 in regards to the best course of action. Two pressure groups represented two main points of view. The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, led by William Allen White, urged Americans to help keep England in the war. White advocated using all available means short of war, as he believed that once Hitler had conquered England, he would attack the United States. The isolationistic America First Committee, on the other hand, argued that America should become a fortress, and that Americans should retreat behind their oceanic moats. General Robert E. Wood, former CEO of Sears, Roebuck, led the America First Committee.

II. Pearl Harbor: The United States Enters the War

On December 8, 1941, President Roosevelt addressed the nation, stating that the attack on Pearl Harbor was a day that would “live in infamy.” Congress voted to declare war on Japan with only one dissenting vote, that of pacifist Jeanette Rankin.

**December 7, 1941**

At 7:55 a.m., on December 7, 1941, Japanese bombers attacked the United States naval base at Pearl Harbor. The planes had taken off from aircraft carriers hundreds of miles from their target. Even though the United States knew that Japan was preparing for war, no one seemed to believe that Japan was capable of an attack on the Hawaiian Islands; therefore, U.S. forces were totally taken by surprise. More than 2,000 U.S. soldiers and sailors were killed in this action, the largest number of Americans killed in a surprise attack prior to September 11, 2001.
Japanese American Relocation

In 1942, more than 100,000 people of Japanese descent were rounded up and placed in internment camps for the duration of the war. In February 1942, Roosevelt authorized the internment by executive order and created the War Relocation Authority (WRA) to oversee the process of internment. About one-third of those interned were first-generation immigrants (Issei), but two-thirds were native-born American citizens (Nisei). Conditions in the internment camps were not brutal, but were certainly uncomfortable for the many middle-class families placed in them (no flush toilets, showers, or privacy). In 1943, conditions improved for some as people began to leave the camps to attend colleges, take service jobs, or serve in the military. In 1988, Congress voted to compensate all Japanese Americans interned during World War II in the amount of $20,000 each.

Foreign Nationals in the United States

The Smith Act of 1940 required the registration and fingerprinting of all foreign-born residents. Although German and Italian residents were not generally incarcerated as were the Japanese, several thousand who belonged to suspect organizations were arrested and given hearings. Some German and Italian residents were asked to relocate from designated coastal areas.

Wartime Migrations

African Americans migrated in large numbers from the South to work in war industry plants. Most moved to northern cities such as Detroit and Chicago, but a number also moved to West Coast cities such as Los Angeles. Braceros came from Mexico, working mainly as agricultural and seasonal employees in Arizona, California, and Texas. They were to be guaranteed adequate wages, medical care, and suitable living conditions, but most came as illegal aliens. Many Chicanos shifted from agricultural jobs to jobs in defense plants, but both braceros and Chicanos remained in segregated communities.

III. The Home Front

The U.S. truly became "The Arsenal of Democracy." Automobile manufacturers retooled to produce planes and tanks, a merry-go-round factory switched to fashioning gun mounts, and the U.S. switched to making synthetic rubber since Japan had cut off supplies in Indochina. The United States became the greatest manufacturer of armaments, producing more war materiel than the Axis combined. Henry Kaiser built Liberty Ships using prefabrication techniques and reduced the time to complete a ship to less than two weeks. By 1945, Henry Kaiser and fellow shipbuilders were completing a cargo ship a day. Americans experienced almost full employment during the war years.
Building Morale

Roosevelt created the Office of War Information in June 1942. It was headed by Elmer Davis, who used various media outlets to crusade for total victory. Hollywood helped by portraying American soldiers as freedom-loving heroes and vilifying Axis troops.

“Rosie the Riveter” and “Victory Girls”

Women went to work by the thousands. More than six million women entered the labor force during the war. They worked in shops and factories, tended blast furnaces, operated cranes, drove taxis, loaded shells, and built airplanes, tanks, and ships. Unfortunately, women laborers received only 65 percent of the pay men received. Women were seen as emergency replacements, to be used until soldiers returned to civilian life to resume their regular jobs. A War Department brochure stated: "A woman is a substitute, like plastic instead of metal." Women comprised well over 33 percent of the work force by 1945. Seventy-five percent were married, and 33 percent had children under 14.

IV. Race and War

In 1944, Gunnar Myrdal published *An American Dilemma*, calling on Americans to live up to their ideal. Jackie Robinson refused to take a seat in the rear of a segregated bus during the war, and soon after the war, he became the first African American to play on a major league baseball team. Such actions and publications foreshadowed the coming struggle for civil rights.

The Holocaust

U.S. government officials learned of Nazi efforts to exterminate European Jews early in 1942. Many individuals discounted the stories, however. Not until 1942 did the State Department acknowledge the existence of genocide.

Racial Tensions at Home

Asa Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, suggested the idea of a march on Washington to protest discriminatory hiring practices in the defense industry. In response to the plans for a march, on June 25, 1941, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, stating that “there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries because of race, creed, color, or national origin.” Roosevelt also set up the FEPC, the Fair Employment Practices Commission to receive and investigate complaints in violation of the order.
Fighting for the “Double V”

Two million African Americans worked in the war industry, and 200,000 worked for federal service. The proportion of African Americans in war-production work rose from three percent to nine percent. One million served in the armed forces, including the all-black 761st Tank Battalion. The 99th Pursuit Squadron won 80 Distinguished Flying Crosses. In 1944, both the army and navy began experiments in integrating their training facilities on ships and on the battlefield. Most blacks, however, served in segregated service units commanded by white officers, and the Red Cross maintained separate black and white blood banks even though Dr. Charles Drew, an African American, had invented the process of storing blood plasma.

Twenty-five thousand Native Americans served in the armed forces. Many worked in combat-communication teams and used Indian languages to confuse the enemy.

V. Total War

War in Europe

George C. Marshall, as Army Chief of Staff, supported the plan for an Allied invasion into France in the spring of 1943. He was opposed by Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who insisted on invading the “soft underbelly of Europe” before launching an attack on Germany through France. Roosevelt sided with Churchill, and in 1942, Operation Torch landed 100,000 American and British troops at Oran and Algiers in Algeria, and at Casablanca in Morocco. The combined Anglo-American offensive drove the Germans from Africa in May 1943 (250,000 Germans surrendered).

Germany and the USSR lost many men on the eastern front. German troops were never able to capture Moscow, thanks to an early Russian winter and the “scorched earth” policy of the Russians. The Battle of Stalingrad was the turning point of the war in the East. In February 1943, the German troops began slowly withdrawing. The Soviet offensive began as Soviet troops retook towns and cities.

In the summer of 1943, the Allies seized control of Sicily, and on September 8, Italian leaders deposed Mussolini and surrendered to the Allies. Mussolini was temporarily rescued by German troops, who fought to retain every inch of territory in Italy. In 1943, round the clock bombing of Germany began, with more than 60,000 civilian lives lost in Hamburg alone. On June 6, 1944, Operation Overlord, or D-Day, began on the beaches of Normandy. Commanded by General Dwight David Eisenhower, this combined land-sea-air assault on France landed 150,000 men on five beaches with a million more Allied soldiers to follow in the weeks ahead. In July, the Allies began their march across France under George Patton and reached the German border by September.

At this point, Hitler threw his reserves into the Battle of the Bulge, a “bulge” that was only temporary, however. By the end of April 1945, U.S. and Soviet troops met in victory
at the Elbe River. On May 7, 1945, Germany surrendered unconditionally at Reims, France. This day is celebrated as V-E Day (Victory in Europe).

The War in the Pacific

The Philippines fell to the Japanese in mid-May 1942. MacArthur left Corregidor for Australia, leaving 12,000 American and 64,000 Filipino soldiers to surrender on the Bataan Peninsula. In May 1942, U.S. forces achieved a victory at the Battle of the Coral Sea, thus stopping the Japanese advance on Australia. In June 1942, the Japanese navy turned toward Midway Island, in hopes of completely destroying U.S. fleets in the Pacific. The U.S. signal corps, however, had deciphered the plans for Midway. Thus, Admiral Chester Nimitz knew the plans and location of the Japanese ships. Again, the U.S. was victorious, and from this point on, the Japanese were on the defensive.

On August 7, 1942, Marines went ashore at Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands, but it took another six months to force the Japanese off the island. MacArthur’s forces took New Guinea, and in the fall of 1943, the U.S. began a two-pronged attack across the Pacific. General MacArthur began a “leapfrogging” movement across the southern Pacific, and Admiral Nimitz moved across the central Pacific, taking key islands from which U.S. aircraft could bomb Japan. By late 1944, with the capture of the Mariana Islands, U.S. B-29s were bombing the Japanese homeland.

The End of the War

Truman, who succeeded Roosevelt to the presidency in April 1945, learned at the Potsdam Conference of the successful explosion of an atomic bomb in the desert in New Mexico. When Truman became president, he did not know about the top-secret Manhattan Project to build an atomic bomb. Once he was informed of the explosion, however, he quickly made the decision to first warn Japan of its impending doom, and then if Japan did not surrender, to drop the bomb. On July 26, 1945, Truman and Churchill issued a warning to Japan in the Potsdam Declaration, but Japan rejected it.

The Enola Gay dropped the first atomic bomb over Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. Eighty thousand people died immediately and thousands more later of radiation poisoning. Japan did not surrender immediately, and a second bomb was dropped two days later on Nagasaki. On August 14, Japan accepted the terms of surrender that left the emperor on the throne but made him and all Japanese subordinate to the U.S. commander of the occupation, Douglas MacArthur. MacArthur formally accepted the Japanese surrender on board the U.S.S. Missouri on September 2, 1945 (V-J Day).

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Trace the rise to power of dictatorships in Europe and Asia during the 1930s. What events and philosophies paved the way for totalitarian governments?
2. How and why did the United States become involved in World War II and what were the effects of that war on the United States?

3. How did U.S. military and industrial activities affect the outcome of World War II? Did the U.S. truly become the “arsenal of democracy”?

4. What were the social and cultural effects of World War II on the United States?

5. Was it necessary to use the atomic bomb against Japan at the end of the war? How and why have more recent historians questioned Truman’s decision to drop the bomb?

**Significant Themes and Highlights:**

1. The events that brought the United States into World War II, specifically the attack on Pearl Harbor, brought Americans together as never before. Americans quickly shifted from an isolationist stance to an acceptance of the necessity to defeat totalitarian aggression in the world. Few people even questioned the role that the United States was to play in the war. Even Jeanette Rankin, who had cast the lone vote against the U.S. Declaration of War, stated that she was not so much opposed to the U.S. defending itself, but did not believe a democracy should go to war unanimously.

2. During World War II, the U.S. truly became “The Arsenal of Democracy,” the world’s greatest manufacturer of armaments. An automobile manufacturer retooled to produce planes and tanks, while a merry-to-round factory switched to making gun mounts. An alliance formed between the defense industry and the military, with the ten largest defense industries receiving over 30 percent of the dollar total of all defense contracts. World War II ended unemployment. There was a real shift in the distribution of U.S. income, the only real shift in the twentieth century, as the bottom fifth of workers’ wages rose by 68 percent and the size of the middle class doubled.

3. The end of the war ushered in a new era of atomic energy, a new threat to American security. Scientists and politicians debated the possibility and efficacy of locking away the secrets of the bomb in an international setting, perhaps Geneva. Scientists and politicians could not reach consensus on the issue; therefore, for a short period in the late 1940s, the United States remained the sole possessor of weapons of mass destruction.

4. World War II profoundly changed the political and economic configuration of power around the globe. European colonial empires began to collapse as people throughout the globe agitated for independence. Global awareness also affected the consciousness of American minorities, as people of color began demanding full citizenship and civil liberties.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Assign portions (stories of women’s lives) from Sherna Berger Gluck’s *Rosie the Riveter Revisited*; then, show in class or ask students to view the documentary film, *The*
Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter. Students should prepare to discuss or write a 1-2-page analysis of the changing role of women during World War II. Use the following questions for class discussion: Describe the backgrounds of these women. What labor segregation did they experience? How did the propaganda films connect women’s lives and women’s work to domestic labor? What were the overall results of women’s war work? What were women expected to do after the war?

2. Divide the class into two (or more) teams. Using selected Internet resources and documentary films listed below, ask students to discuss the history or the development of the bomb, the debate about the decision to drop the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the current proliferation of nuclear weapons in the world today.

Further Resources:

Suggested documentaries and films:

The Atomic Café. (Examination of the propaganda films and news stories regarding atomic power from the late 1940s through the early 1960s).

Franklin D. Roosevelt. (PBS production of the life of Roosevelt, multi-volumes) 60 minutes each.

The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter. (PBS video, “American Experience” series). 60 minutes.


The World at War (documentary of all aspects of the war, coverage of the Holocaust is excellent, 12 volumes). 60 minutes.

Web Site Assignments:

1. Students are to read and be prepared to discuss in class or write 1-2-page papers on Japanese American relocation camps during World War II. An excellent site for documents on the topic is www.archives.gov/digital_classroom/lessons/japanese_relocation_wwii/japanese_relocation.html.

2. Ask students to locate a World War II document from the Avalon Project at the Yale Law School (www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/20th.htm). Students may choose from a number of important documents, including agreements, the UN declaration, or famous speeches. After choosing a relevant document, students are to analyze the document and be prepared to present it to the class.
Connecting History: The Atomic Bomb

Ask students to locate documents on the decision to use the atomic bomb at www.peak.org/~danneng/decision/decision.html, and choose a document or personal account on the decision for either class discussion or for a short written assignment describing the chosen document. In addition to the first document, students should locate a second document from one of the following web sites: http://oncampus.richmond.edu/academics/education/projects/webquests/wwii/ or www.atomicmuseum.com/tour/decision.cfm. In their paper or class discussion, students will compare and contrast conflicting views on the decision to use the bomb.

Interpreting History: Maya Angelou

Maya Angelou was born on April 4, 1928 in St. Louis, Missouri. Her mother named her Marguerite Johnson, but she shortened her given name to Maya. After her parents divorced, they sent Maya and her brother, Bailey, Jr., to live with their paternal grandmother, Annie Henderson, in Stamps, Arkansas. Angelou’s grandmother was the first of a number of strong women who impacted and shaped her life.

When Angelou was seven years old, she went to stay with her mother for the summer vacation. Her mother’s boyfriend raped her during the visit. The man was tried and sent to prison, but the trauma of the assault caused Angelou to remain mute for five years. After graduating from the eighth grade, Angelou and her brother went to live with their mother in San Francisco. Angelou attended high school and, at the age of 16, gave birth to a son. During World War II, she decided she wanted to be a streetcar conductor and fought racial discrimination to attain the job. She also worked as a nightclub waitress and a cook during those years.

When she was 22, she married Tosh Angelou, but left him and became a professional dancer. In 1954, she was cast in a production of Porgy and Bess. During this period, she and Godfrey Cambridge wrote a revue called Cabaret for Freedom. The revue was used as a fundraiser for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

By the early 1960s, Angelou was writing poetry, short stories, and songs. In 1961, she and her son went to Cairo with Vusumzi Make. She parted with Make after several years, and she and her son moved to Ghana, where Angelou worked as a journalist and taught at the University of Ghana. In 1966, Angelou returned to the United States, and in 1970 she published her first book, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings. Since that time, she has written four other volumes of her autobiography: Gather Together in My Name (1974); Singin’ and Swingin’ and Getting’ Merry Like Christmas (1976); The Heart of a Woman (1981); and All God’s Children Need Traveling Shoes (1986). She has written several volumes of poetry and has received numerous awards and honors. In 1981, Angelou accepted a lifetime appointment at Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
CHAPTER 24  
*Cold War and Hot War (1945-1953)*

I. The Uncertainties of Victory

On April 12, 1945, Vice President Harry S. Truman received the news that Franklin D. Roosevelt had died earlier that day from a cerebral hemorrhage. After he was sworn in as President, he stated that he felt “as if all the stars and planets” had fallen on his head.

**Global Destruction**

Around 60 million people died during the World War II conflict. Large portions of Europe, Asia, and northern Africa were left in ruins, and Japan was devastated by the firebombing of cities like Tokyo and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The only major combatant to escape serious homeland injury was the United States. The United States actually emerged from the war stronger than it was at the beginning, as Americans spent the war working to supply war materiel and supplies to the Allies.

**Vacuums of Power**

Communist and Socialist governments came to power in many European countries after World War II. Even Great Britain replaced the conservative government of Churchill with a Labor Party government. Stalin wanted to make sure that the USSR was never vulnerable to invasion again. He insisted on a buffer zone of nations friendly to the Soviet Union along its western flank. He installed governments under the direction of Moscow in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania. He barred free elections in Poland while suppressing the Polish democratic parties.

**Postwar Reconversion**

After World War II, the United States military was rapidly demobilized. By 1948, the military was reduced to fewer than 1.5 million individuals. In 1944, Congress passed the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act, also known as the GI Bill of Rights. The law gave veterans the opportunity to study in colleges and universities throughout the country, as well as medical care and low-cost loans to buy homes. More than 2.3 million veterans took advantage of the benefits provided by the GI Bill.

**Contesting Racial Hierarchies**

African Americans who served in the armed forces during World War II returned to the United States determined to resist Jim Crow laws and racial discrimination in employment. In the first years following the war, integration efforts were met with violence and lynching. The Supreme Court, however, validated a number of NAACP strategies by outlawing segregation in voting primaries, in interstate transportation, and in the sale of homes. The major baseball leagues were integrated, as was the music world.
Native Americans and Mexican Americans also faced discrimination in post-war America. Navajo Indians were prevented from voting in Arizona until 1948, and Private Felix Longoria, killed in World War II combat, was denied burial in an all-white cemetery in Texas. Senator Lyndon B. Johnson arranged to have him buried in Arlington National Cemetery. The League of United Latin American Citizens emulated NAACP strategies in fighting against educational discrimination.

Class Conflict

Labor unions suffered a series of setbacks in the wake of World War II. In 1946, 1.8 million workers were out on strike. Widespread strikes and anticommunist sentiments helped turn the tide against labor. In 1947, Congress responded with the Taft-Hartley Act, weakening unions and requiring union officials to take anticommunist oaths.

II. The Quest for Security

In the aftermath of World War II, Soviet-backed revolutions broke out in Greece and Turkey, and Soviet soldiers moved into northern Iran. Truman sent part of the sixth fleet to the Black Sea and threatened to send in American combat troops. However, Americans wanted an end to hostilities, and Truman formulated a policy that became known as “Containment.”

Redefining National Security

American businessmen were determined to reestablish the global trade system that had been damaged by the Great Depression and disrupted by World War II. Americans needed to sell the products they were producing to avoid recession and perhaps depression. In the years following World War II, the term “national security” became synonymous with the belief in a capitalist world order. The Soviet Union was a threat to that order, and Americans were frightened by its occupation of eastern Europe and threat of world revolution.

Conflict with the Soviet Union

The main threat to national security in the late 1940s came from Josef Stalin’s insistence on a buffer zone of nations friendly to the Soviet Union along the western flank. In addition to its activities in the Middle East, the USSR installed governments under the direction of Moscow in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania. Governments friendly with Moscow had already been established in Albania and Yugoslavia. Furthermore, the Soviet Union barred free elections in Poland and suppressed the Polish democratic parties.

The Policy of Containment

On March 5, 1946, former Prime Minister Winston Churchill traveled with President Truman to Fulton, Missouri, where he warned that an “Iron Curtain” had descended across Europe. Truman agreed that Stalin’s activities were a cover for the spread of
communism. The U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, Averell Harriman, urged Truman to take a tough stand on communism. He argued that the division of the world into spheres of influence had caused World Wars I and II, and that the Soviet Union’s activities could lead to another war. Truman’s advisors also cautioned that only working within the structure of the United Nations could attain peace. With the help of his advisers, Truman developed the doctrine of Containment, a policy designed to force the Soviets to pull back from their expansionist tendencies. George F. Kennan actually articulated the idea of containing communism.

Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed providing massive aid to rebuild European countries to prevent them from becoming communist. Between 1948 and 1952, the United States provided $13 billion to fund this program. In enunciating the Truman Doctrine, the president stated that the United States must support free peoples everywhere who were “resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities.” The Truman Doctrine laid the foundation for American Cold War policy for the next 40 years.

In May 1949, the United States, Britain, and France ended the occupation of Germany and approved the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany. One month earlier, these countries had formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a mutual defense alliance.

Colonialism and the Cold War

The non-white majority of the world’s peoples began to throw off the chains of colonialism in the late 1940s and 1950s. Revolutions occurred in Africa, India, and other parts of Asia. The United States withdrew from the Philippines in 1946 and the British left India in 1947. In 1948, Britain withdrew from Palestine and the U.S. supported the formation of the nation of Israel.

The Impact of Nuclear Weapons

In 1945, the United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan and ushered in the atomic age. In 1946, Congress passed the Atomic Energy Act, establishing the Atomic Energy Commission to control nuclear development and to focus nuclear energy on civilian purposes. In 1949, the Soviet Union exploded an atomic device, heightening Cold War tensions.

III. A Cold War Society

In 1947, the United States entered a 25-year period of unprecedented economic expansion. Americans also began going ever deeper into debt.

Family Lives

Many white Americans moved to housing developments in the suburbs, where they could have larger yards and new houses. By 1944, construction had begun on over 114,000 houses, and in 1949 alone, the developers of Levittown outside of New York City sold 1,400 houses. The government insured low-cost home loans through the Veteran’s and
the Federal Housing Administrations. New highway construction and tax benefits for homeowners also encouraged homebuyers.

Women were encouraged to remain at home in the post-war years, but African-American women often did not have such a choice. Families became children-centered, as a “baby-boom” began in the aftermath of World War II.

The Growth of the South and the West

Military action in the Pacific brought thousands of U.S. soldiers into contact with Hawaii and Alaska and set those territories on the road to statehood. The war also spurred industrial growth across the continental United States. The postwar center of the aircraft industry moved to southern California. The population of Los Angeles grew by over 440,000. As new cities formed from former suburbs, a considerable portion of American industry began moving from “rustbelt” cities in the Northeast to the South and Southwest.

Harry Truman and the Limits of Liberal Reform

Harry Truman campaigned for reelection in 1948 on a platform of civil rights for all Americans, even though he had angered Congress and labor leaders and was not expected to win. The Republicans ran Thomas Dewey, certain that he would defeat Truman. Southern Democrats, angry at Truman’s anti-poll tax and anti-lynching stand, formed a third party, the Dixiecrat Party, and ran Strom Thurmond. Finally, liberal Democrats pulled out, resurrected the Progressive Party, and ran Roosevelt’s former vice president, Henry Wallace. Voter polls in October showed that Truman could not possibly win, and some newspapers prematurely proclaimed Dewey the winner before all the votes were counted. Truman had campaigned vigorously for reelection, denouncing his “do-nothing” Congress and explaining his Fair Deal Program, an amplification of the New Deal. When the votes were finally counted, Truman emerged as the winner, a man of moderate, centrist politics.

The Cold War at Home

In 1947, Truman helped set the tone for a domestic communist witch-hunt by establishing a federal employee loyalty program. The Attorney General, Tom Clark, supplied a list of subversive organizations to the FBI and CIA.

Truman’s efforts were not thorough enough for the Republican Party, however. Republicans “red-baited” throughout Truman’s term as president, calling his Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, “Red” Dean. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), led by Richard M. Nixon, investigated and questioned liberal Democrats, Hollywood, the television industry, and professors in American universities. Nixon made a national reputation by investigating charges that a State Department official, Alger Hiss, had been a member of a spy ring in the 1930s. While direct evidence of Hiss’s alleged spying could not be found, he was convicted of perjury in 1950.
Fear of communism was exacerbated by revelations that the Soviet Union had received aid from American spies in order to build an atomic bomb. The stage was set for the rise of Joseph McCarthy. McCarthy, a Wisconsin senator seeking reelection and speaking before the Wheeling, West Virginia Republican Women’s Club, announced that he had a list of 205 members of the U.S. State Department who were also Communists. McCarthy “red-baited” for the next four years, accusing the Truman administration of being “pink.” He even incited the burning of books, and developed mandatory loyalty oaths. He finally went too far when he attacked the Secretary of the Army. Eisenhower privately ordered him stopped, and the Senate censured him in December 1954.

Who is a Loyal American?

The NAACP and many African Americans were anticommunist, but some leaders, such as W.E.B. DuBois and Paul Robeson, refused to denounce communism. As a result, both leaders had their travel and incomes restricted, and Robeson’s name was erased from the list of All-American football players for 1917 and 1918. Native Americans faced challenges in the post-war years also. In 1946, Truman set up a claims bureau to help Native Americans recover money for lands taken from them, but the administration also closed a number of reservation schools and withdrew money from traditional cultural activities while beginning an urban relocation program. Immigrants also received mixed messages as the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 allowed Asian immigrants not born in the U.S. to become citizens. Congress did not, however, remove the quota system that was established in the 1920s.

IV. The United States and Asia

Japan overran large portions of China, Indochina, and the Dutch East Indies before and during World War II, and thus unwittingly opened the door for the end of Asian colonialism. When Japan withdrew from these territories at the end of the war, large vacuums of power enabled nascent nationalists, such as Ho Chi Minh, an opportunity to establish independent nation-states.

The Chinese Civil War

American missionaries and businessmen had long established interests in China. Before and after World War II, the U.S. supported the nationalist regimes of Sun Yat Sin and his successor, Jiang Jieshi. Mao Zedong’s Chinese Communist Party challenged Jieshi’s nationalist regime, and in 1949 the CCP successfully ousted Jiang’s government from mainland China. Americans were frightened by this successful coup, and continued to support Jiang on the island of Formosa (Taiwan) for the next 23 years, while withholding recognition of communist China.
Creation of the National Security State

In 1949, just one week before Mao’s success in China, President Truman announced that the Soviet Union had exploded an atomic bomb. Truman then asked for a reevaluation of the nation’s foreign policy. He received a top-secret document (NSC-68) that reoriented the governmental worldview. The U.S. entered an era of permanent crisis. The National Security Act of 1947 and its 1949 amendments created the Central Intelligence Agency and the Department of Defense. Henceforth, the U.S. was to increase military expenditures in accordance with war readiness.

War in Korea

After World War II, American troops remained in occupied Japan. In order to prevent Korea from becoming communist, the Soviet Union and the U.S. divided Korea along the 38th parallel. The line had become a political frontier between the Soviet-backed People’s Democratic Republic in North Korea and the American-supported Republic of Korea. On June 24, 1950, North Koreans swept across the dividing line and invaded the U.S.-backed Republic of Korea. Truman believed that Stalin was testing the U.S. containment policy. He called Korea “the Greece of the Far East.” Without consulting Congress, Truman sought the backing of the UN Security Council to repel this attack. As the Soviet Union was boycotting the Security Council to protest the United States’ refusal to recognize Mao Zedong’s government in China, Truman got a unanimous UN approval to stop the invaders.

Truman appointed Douglas MacArthur, commander of the occupation forces in Japan, to command the UN effort in Korea. Korea was officially a UN “police action,” but most of the naval and air support, and almost one-half of the troops, were from the U.S. North Koreans pushed the UN forces back to the southeastern tip of the peninsula. But on September 15, 1950, MacArthur’s troops landed at Inchon, near Seoul, and forced the North Koreans back across the 38th parallel. As UN forces approached the border between North Korea, 200,000 Chinese “volunteers” poured across the river to drive American soldiers all the way south of the 38th parallel. MacArthur wanted the power to use the atomic bomb against Manchuria, and his growing insubordination caused Truman to remove him from command. Military forces stalemated near the 38th parallel while the two sides negotiated for two more years before signing a cease-fire in 1953.

Conclusion

Throughout the Korean conflict, the Republican Party accused the Truman administration and its policy of containment of being “soft on communism.” The attack from the Republican right, coupled with several minor scandals involving his advisors, convinced Truman to withdraw as a Democratic candidate in the election of 1952. The Republican Party ran former General Dwight David Eisenhower; the Democrats ran Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson, and the Republicans swept into the White House.
Questions for Discussion:

1. Describe the development of Truman’s containment program and the methods the United States took to limit the spread of Soviet influence throughout the world.

2. Describe the activities of the House Un-American Activities Committee in the postwar United States. How did the tensions of the postwar world encourage the reactive methods and policies of the HUAC?

3. Discuss the rise and fall of Joseph McCarthy. What were the factors that led to his rise and why was he censured by the Senate?

4. Discuss the impact of global changes on domestic policies and even the American family in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

5. How did global politics and the struggle with the Soviet Union affect the economic and political positions of African Americans and other minority groups in the United States?

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. United States and Soviet Union relations deteriorated in the aftermath of World War II, as Josef Stalin sought to build a protective buffer of nations in southern and eastern Europe.

2. The Marshall Plan bolstered flagging European economies and stopped the spread of communism into western Europe.

3. In 1949, the Soviet Union exploded an atomic device and the Chinese Communist Party took control of mainland China. These two events dramatically heightened Cold War tensions.

4. Harry Truman alienated portions of the Democratic Party with his liberal centrist policies and his advocacy of civil rights for African Americans; nevertheless, he surprised political analysts by winning the 1948 presidential election.

5. Truman worked within United Nations’ policies to stop North Korean aggression and refused to allow Douglas MacArthur to escalate the war by using nuclear weapons.

Enrichment Ideas:

1. Ask students to view one of three movies: *Fail Safe, Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956 version), or *Dr. Strangelove, Or How I Stopped Worrying and Learned to Love the Bomb*. Ask students to discuss in class what these films reveal about American culture during the era of the Cold War.
2. Ask students to locate and view one of the TV sitcoms from the early 1950s (Ozzie and Harriet, Father Knows Best, Leave it to Beaver or I Love Lucy). Ask students to discuss what these sitcoms reveal about gender and parental relationships, and what they reveal about life in the 1950s.

Further Resources:

Books:


Suggested Documentaries and Films:


The Atomic Café (1982), a documentary exploration of the United States government’s propaganda promoting the atomic bomb.


Invasion of the Body Snatchers. (1956). Reveals the fear of “outside” attack that pervades American life in the 1950s.

This is Korea. 50 minutes/Color/1954. John Ford’s film is one of the best on the Korean War.
Web Site Assignments:

1. Ask students to read two interviews with George Kennan found online at www.pbs.org/newshour/gergen/kennan.html and www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/coldwar/interviews/episode-1/kennan1.html. Also ask students to read longer excerpts from the *Long Telegram – Telegraphic Message from Moscow of February 22, 1946* at www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/longtel.html. Students are then to write a 3-5-page paper on Kennan’s description of the Soviet Union’s methods and goals. Students should also discuss Kennan’s long-term view of Soviet-American relations, including how accurate his belief that Soviet subversion and aggression made the Cold War inevitable.

Connecting History: Origins of the Cold War: Gar Alperovitz and Gabriel Kolko

Historians of the 1950s and 1960s accepted the governmental premise that the aggression of the Soviet Union was responsible for the Cold War, but two revisionist historians, Gar Alperovitz and Gabriel Kolko, have caused Americans to reassess the causes of the Cold War. Students should be aware that these New Left historians write from a Marxist point of view that often includes, but is not always limited by, the doctrine of economic determinism.

**Gar Alperovitz** is a revisionist historian and political-economist, who has served as the president of the National Center for Economic and Security Alternatives in Washington, D.C. and as a research professor at the University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland. He has also served as Legislative Director in the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate. In addition, he has served as a special assistant to the Department of State and President of the Center for Community Economic Development.

Alperovitz’s *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb* (1995) demonstrates that the use of bombs on Japan was not necessary in order to defeat the Japanese militarily. He has also written *Rebuilding America* and *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam*, as well as numerous journal articles.

**Gabriel Kolko** has spent the past 30 years revising the view of modern warfare. He is currently Distinguished Research Professor Emeritus at York University in Toronto. He has published 10 books that examine the underlying reasons for modern warfare. He has repeatedly demonstrated the often-positive impacts of war on the expansion of American capitalism.


For an essay challenging Kolko’s theses, ask students to located Roger Donway’s essay, “The Limits of Credulity,” at www.libertyhaven.com/theoreticalorphilosophicalissues/economichistory/limitscredulity.html.

Interpreting History: NCS-68

1. For a thorough examination and understanding of NCS-68, divide students into groups of three to five. Ask each group to locate NSC-68 online at www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm. Each group is to choose a section of the document to present to the class. Each group should also read and be prepared to discuss in the larger class setting the conclusions and recommendations at the end of the document.

2. Assign a 1-2-page paper asking students to compare and contrast the information and arguments assembled by George Kennan with the information contained in NSC-68. Students will also be expected to discuss these documents in regard to their implications for current world conditions.
CHAPTER 25
Domestic Dreams and Atomic Nightmares, 1953-1963

Chapter Outline:

I. Cold War, Warm Hearth

In the years following World War II, Americans bought homes in unprecedented numbers. The demand for housing came from the GI Bill, which helped returning soldiers buy houses, as well as a baby boom. Although housing areas remained segregated throughout the 1950s, Americans of all races and classes embraced family life as the “American way.” In 1959, Vice President Richard Nixon debated Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev over the merits of American household devices and other “family-oriented” consumer goods. Nixon’s argument was that America’s Cold War superiority was located in prosperous families who were living the good life.

Consumer Spending and the Suburban Ideal

National income increased more than 60 percent during the 1950s, and Americans began to spend freely. Many people bought homes, while spending on domestic appliances, televisions, cars, and recreation more than doubled. Nuclear families moved to suburbs. Scientists, industrialists, and politicians supported this decentralization of the U.S. population because a scattered population provided a less concentrated target for nuclear attack. The Interstate Highway Act of 1956 provided for building 41,000 miles of national highways designed to crisscross the United States.

Race, Class, and Domesticity

Federal Housing Authority subsidies and other low-cost loans allowed a large number of white immigrant families to move to the suburbs. Contracts for the sale of suburban houses often contained restrictive “covenants” that prevented Jews and minorities from buying homes in certain neighborhoods. While most suburban neighborhoods excluded non-whites, there were some suburban “communities of color.” Two exceptions to whites-only suburbs were Shaker Heights, Ohio, where the residents made a conscious decision to racially integrate their neighborhood, and the city of Claremont, California, which established an interracial housing cooperative.

Women: Back to the Future

The nuclear family ideal of the 1950s was a backward step for women, especially as increasing numbers of American women worked outside the home. Women were expected to maintain their homes, while caring for children and husbands. Many women worked part-time and were thus able to meet their responsibilities at home. Others felt bored and empty, feelings that Betty Freidan characterized in 1963 as “the problem that has no name.”
II. The Civil Rights Movement

Segregation proved to be quite an embarrassment for the United States during the Cold War era. Jim Crow laws legalized segregation throughout the South, while *de facto* segregation prevailed throughout much of the rest of the country.

**Brown v. Board of Education**

The *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1896 provided that public facilities could be segregated as long as they were equal. The NAACP dedicated itself to fighting the *Plessy* decision and segregation through the court system. In 1954, the NAACP filed suit on behalf of Linda Brown, a black child in Topeka, Kansas, who could not attend her neighborhood school because it was segregated. Thurgood Marshall argued the case before the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Earl Warren, an Eisenhower appointee, wrote the decision overturning *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Eisenhower later stated that appointing Warren was “the biggest damn fool mistake” he had ever made.

**White Resistance, Black Persistence**

In 1955, a 14-year old boy named Emmett Till was murdered for allegedly making a “fresh” remark to a white woman in Money, Mississippi. Till was from Chicago and was spending the summer with his great uncle, Mose Wright. An all-white jury found his murderers not guilty.

Although Eisenhower remained silent about the Till tragedy, he could not avoid involvement in the Little Rock, Arkansas crisis. Nine black students had enrolled for the fall 1957 semester at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. Governor Orval Faubus ordered the National Guard to block the entry of these students. As one student, Elizabeth Eckford, attempted to attend class, she was mobbed. Eisenhower was forced to federalize the National Guard, and he sent a thousand paratroopers into Little Rock. Each of the nine students was assigned a guard for his/her own protection for the remainder of the school year.

**Boycotts and Sit-Ins**

In December 1955, Rosa Parks, a seamstress and secretary of the local NAACP chapter, sat in the first row of the “colored” section of a Montgomery, Alabama bus. As the bus filled with passengers, she was told to give her seat to a white passenger. She refused and was arrested.

For the next year, African Americans in Montgomery refused to ride the buses. Martin Luther King, Jr., pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, led the bus boycott. Finally, the Supreme Court ordered the buses integrated. King and other African-American leaders formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
On February 1, 1960, four African-American students in Greensboro, North Carolina sat at the lunch counter of a local Woolworth store and refused to leave when they were refused service. These students inspired sit-ins across the United States.

In May 1961, members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized Freedom Rides. They took two integrated buses across the South to New Orleans. Both buses were stopped and their riders were assaulted. One bus continued to Jackson, Mississippi, where the riders were arrested and jailed.

III. The Eisenhower Years

Dwight Eisenhower gave little or no support to the Civil Rights Movement. A State Department that supported hard-line dictators and repressive regimes as long as they opposed communism also marred his administration. Eisenhower gave his energy to major matters only.

The Middle of the Road

Dwight David Eisenhower was born on October 14, 1890, in Denison, Texas. He grew up in Abilene, Kansas, and graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1915. He was appointed primary aide to Army Chief of Staff, General George Marshall, five days after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. In 1942, he directed the American invasion of North Africa, and in 1944 he assumed the post of Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces on the western front. After World War II, he retired from the army and accepted the post of President of Columbia University in New York City. Both the Democratic and the Republican Parties courted Eisenhower as a presidential candidate. After a short hesitation, he chose to run on the Republican ticket. He had a warm smile, he seemed grandfatherly, and he ran on the motto “I Like Ike.” He defeated Adlai Stevenson in the presidential races of 1952 and 1956.

Eisenhower called his program “Dynamic Conservatism.” He stated that he intended to be “conservative when it comes to money and liberal when it comes to human beings.” He followed a middle of the road policy, following a pro-business agenda while simultaneously agreeing to expand Social Security and increase the minimum wage of working Americans. He had planned to reduce military spending, but the launching of Sputnik I in 1957 caused him to increase funds for military, scientific, and educational spending.

“What’s Good for General Motors . . .”

Eisenhower appointed three top auto manufacturers to his cabinet, including Charles E. Wilson of General Motors. These appointments caused Adlai Stevenson to quip, “The New Dealers have all made way for the car dealers.” Eisenhower’s pro-business policies damaged the environment. He allowed state governments access to offshore oil resources, and allowed businesses to expand with little or no government intervention. He also supported the Interstate Highway Act of 1956, inspired by the perceived need to
allow the swift movement of military supplies, which created the interstate highways that currently span the United States.

**Eisenhower’s Foreign Policy**

During Eisenhower’s presidency, the United States and the Soviet Union solidified their mutual defense pacts. The United States joined with western European nations in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the Soviet Union organized eastern European countries into the Warsaw Pact. Josef Stalin died in 1953 and was succeeded by Nikita Khrushchev. Khrushchev called for peaceful coexistence with the United States, and arranged for two summit meetings, one in 1955 and one in 1959. Just before the 1959 summit meeting, a U-2 spy plane was shot down in Soviet airspace. Eisenhower denied the existence of a spy plane but was embarrassed when the Soviets produced both the plane and its pilot, Gary Powers.

Eisenhower allowed his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, to pursue a foreign policy marred by bribery and support of hard-line dictators. The State Department made use of the CIA and methods marred by bribery to back governments friendly to the United States. For example, the CIA helped overthrow an elected government in Iran and helped place Shah Reza Pahlavi on the throne. In 1979, the Shah was ousted by Muslim fundamentalists. In 1959, Fidel Castro overthrew Cuba’s dictator, Fulgencia Batista, and forged an anti-American alliance with the Soviet Union. Eisenhower’s government sided with Abdel Nasser when Israel, Britain, and France landed troops when Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. Congress approved the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957, a pledge to defend Middle Eastern countries who were threatened by communism.

**IV. Outsiders and Opposition**

While the 1950s are remembered as years of conformity and political placidity in the United States, white Americans were rebelling against the status quo in many ways and in many areas.

**Youth, Sex, and Rock ’n’ Roll**

Authorities worried that juveniles were out of control. Movies such as Rebel Without a Cause and The Wild One, and books such as The Catcher in the Rye only increased such fears among the adult population. Rock ’n’ roll music, with its roots in African-American music forms, was a symbol for many of an out-of-control, sensuous, and rebellious youth culture.

**Rebellious Men**

According to C. Wright Mills’s White Collar and David Reisman’s The Lonely Crowd, white males were being dehumanized by their ever-demanding jobs and the need to provide for their families.
Mobilizing for Peace and the Environment

Rachel Carson wrote a number of books about the pollution of the environment. In *The Sea Around Us*, she described the damage that insecticides had done upon the environment. Women Strike for Peace led the crusade against the testing and proliferation of nuclear weapons. In 1962, the House Un-American Activities Committee questioned leaders of WSP. Many of those questioned brought their children with them to the hearing, refusing to be intimidated.

V. The Kennedy Era

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was born in 1917 to Joseph P. and Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy. Joseph Kennedy, a wealthy financier, Hollywood executive, and former ambassador to England, had political ambitions for his four sons. John served as a PT-boat captain during World War II, saving his men when they came under Japanese fire. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1946 and in 1952 became a senator from Massachusetts. In 1960, he ran for reelection to the Senate and for president of the United States. To quell fears about his Catholicism, Kennedy openly assured a group of Protestant clergymen that he believed in separation of church and state. Just before the election, Kennedy arranged to have Martin Luther King, Jr. released from prison in Georgia, thus garnering the African-American vote. He won by a narrow margin.

Domestic Policy

In his inaugural address, Kennedy captured the popular American imagination by stating, “Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country.” Although Kennedy supported corporate tax cuts to stimulate the economy, he also proposed a number of legislative initiatives that were important to his working-class constituents. He supported increases in minimum wages, health care for the elderly, and increased Social Security benefits. He forced steel magnates to honor a negotiated contract, and he supported a space program that would land a man on the moon before the decade was over.

Foreign Policy

As president, Kennedy tried to support nationalist movements to overthrow colonial governments, as long as these nationalist movements could be used to contain communism. One of Kennedy’s most popular programs was the Peace Corps, a program that sent young people throughout the world on development projects.

Kennedy considered the conflict in Vietnam a threat to the containment policies of Truman and Eisenhower. He increased the number of advisors to the regime of President Ngo Dingh Diem. On April 17, 1961, U.S.-backed anticommunist forces landed at the
Bay of Pigs on the southern coast of Cuba. Fidel Castro’s forces were expecting the invasion, and they quickly killed or captured the invaders. The Kennedy administration was embarrassed by the fiasco. Another crisis erupted when Nikita Krushchev demanded that the U.S. withdraw from East Berlin and threatened to put the power of the Soviet Union behind his demand. Kennedy refused to withdraw and traveled to West Berlin to demonstrate his support for Berliners. The East German government began construction of the Berlin Wall that was to seal in East Berliners.

The most serious crisis of the Kennedy years occurred in October 1962. U-2 photos revealed that the Soviet Union was installing intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Cuba. Kennedy put the military on full alert, set up a “quarantine” around Cuba, and then informed Krushchev that an attack from Cuba would be considered an attack from Moscow. Soviet ships carrying missiles hesitated just outside the quarantine area. Finally, Krushchev offered to remove the missiles if the United States would not invade Cuba. Kennedy privately promised to remove U.S. missiles from Turkey.

A Year of Turning Points

In 1963, the Commission on the Status of Women documented widespread discrimination against women in jobs, pay, education, and the professions. Kennedy ordered the Civil Service to hire people on the basis of ability, not gender, and he supported the Equal Pay Act of 1963.

In Birmingham, Alabama, Chief of Police “Bull” Connor’s forces assaulted peaceful demonstrators with guard dogs, water hoses, and electric cattle prods. Governor George Wallace stood in the doorway of the University of Alabama to prevent the admission of two African-American students. On June 10, 1963, Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard and appeared on television to support civil rights for all. On August 28, Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his classic “I Have a Dream” speech at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. to an audience of more than 250,000 people. Kennedy was shot and killed just three months later on November 22, 1963, while on a political peace-making tour of Texas.

Conclusion

The nation was extremely prosperous during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations. These were the baby boom years and the years of rigidly defined gender roles. Although these years were idealized as “The Happy Days,” they are remembered as an era of conformity and fear of nuclear holocaust.

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Describe the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and early 1960s; then, discuss the reactions and attitudes of both Eisenhower and Kennedy to the movement.
2. Compare and contrast the domestic and foreign policies of Eisenhower and Kennedy. In what ways were they markedly different?

3. Compare the impulse to conformity with the cultural undercurrents of the decade of the 1950s.

4. Discuss the beginning of the women’s rights movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s. What was the “problem that has no name”?

**Significant Themes and Highlights:**

1. Although the 1950s are remembered as an era of conformity and repression, activists and outsiders were gearing up for the cultural rebellion that emerged in the 1960s.

2. The grassroots expression of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s came from the tragedies and legal revisions that occurred in the 1950s.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

1. Ask students to read *Eyes on the Prize* (which may be made a recommended or required supplemental text for the course). After reading the book, have students view one or more of the videos that correspond to the written text. Students are to write a 4-5-page paper utilizing both these written and visual sources. Students will first write a 1-2-page overview of the book. Then, students will complete the paper by focusing on one aspect of the Civil Rights Movement and comparing and contrasting one of the videos with one of the chapters in the book.

**Further Resources:**

**Books:**


**Suggested Documentaries and Films:**


**Web Site Assignments:**

1. Ask students to locate the 35 documents relating to the “Little Rock School Integration Crisis” at: [www.eisenhower.utexas.edu/dl/LittleRock/littlerockdocuments.html](http://www.eisenhower.utexas.edu/dl/LittleRock/littlerockdocuments.html). Assign one document to each student in the class and ask that student to read and be prepared to describe the role of that document in the Little Rock crisis.

**Interpreting History: Rachel Carson**

Rachel Carson was born on May 27, 1907, in Springdale, Pennsylvania. She graduated from Pennsylvania’s Chatham College in 1929 and then studied at the Woods Hole Marine Biological Laboratory. She received a Masters Degree in Zoology from Johns Hopkins University in 1932.

In the early 1930s, she wrote radio scripts for the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries and also wrote articles for the *Baltimore Sun*. In 1936, she took a civil service position and eventually became editor-in-chief of all publications for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. During her tenure with the federal government, she wrote pamphlets on conservation of natural resources and edited scientific articles.

In 1941, she published her first book, *Under the Sea-Wind*, and in 1952 and 1955 respectively, she published her two ocean biographies, *The Sea Around Us* and *The Edge of the Sea*. In the 1950s she also published several articles about the beauty and wonder of nature, including “Help Your Child to Wonder” and “Our Ever-Changing Shore.”

In 1962, Carson published *Silent Spring*, her warning about the long-term effects of the misuse of synthetically produced chemical pesticides. She also challenged the practices of agricultural scientists and the widespread use of those pesticides. The chemical industry attacked Carson’s research. She testified before Congress in 1963, calling for new governmental policies to protect the health and well being of Americans. Ironically, she died only a year later, after a long battle with breast cancer.
Connecting History: Anticommunism and the HUAC

1. Ask students to locate the House Un-American Activities web site at www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAhuac.htm. Students are to read the entire history of the HUAC and the Red Scare of the 1940s and 1950s and are to be prepared to discuss that history in class. In addition, students are to choose a link from this web site and write a 1-2-page paper describing the link (person or organization) and demonstrating how that link related to the HUAC.
CHAPTER 26
The Nation Divides: The Vietnam War and Social Conflict (1964-1971)

Chapter Outline:

I. Lyndon Johnson and the Apex of Liberalism

Lyndon B. Johnson grew up among rural poverty in the Texas hill country west of Austin. During the New Deal, he was head of the National Youth Administration and a great supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He was Senate majority leader from 1954 to 1960 and vice president from 1961 to 1963. He was the nation’s first Texan president. As president, he retained Kennedy’s cabinet and advisors, and in some ways was even more liberal than Kennedy.

Johnson wanted to perfect American society and called his program the Great Society. In 1964, he campaigned for president against Barry Goldwater, the Republican contender. Unlike Johnson, Goldwater believed in a minimal role for federal government in every aspect but the military. Goldwater advocated using nuclear weapons to stop communism.

The Great Society: Fighting Poverty and Discrimination

As part of his Great Society program, Johnson first declared “War on Poverty.” Johnson and his Congress increased money for food stamps to the needy through the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program and raised Social Security payments. The Head Start program offered pre-school education and meals for children. The Job Corps provided employment, and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) served as a domestic Peace Corps.

Johnson urged Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964, making desegregation legal and outlawing discrimination in employment and public facilities. He also pushed the Voting Rights Act through Congress, outlawing poll taxes and providing federal voting registrars in states that refused to allow African Americans to register to vote.

The Great Society: Improving the Quality of Life

Johnson also pushed the Medicare Act through Congress, then traveled to Missouri to sign it into law, as Truman had originally proposed health care for the elderly. Rachel Carson’s Silent Spring alerted Americans to the consequences of environmental pollution. In 1963, Congress passed the Clean Air Act and in 1964, the Clean Waters Act, setting federal guidelines for reducing smog and preserving public drinking sources. In 1964, Congress also passed the Wilderness Act, preserving certain lands as wilderness areas.
The Liberal Warren Court

The Warren Court continued to make decisions that protected the rights of human beings. In 1963, *Gideon v. Wainwright* established the right of indigent prisoners to legal counsel. In 1964, *Escobedo v. Illinois* granted prisoners the right to legal counsel during interrogation, and in *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), police were required to inform anyone they were arresting of their rights. In 1962 and 1963 decisions, the Supreme Court limited the practice of prayer in public schools. In 1967, in *Loving v. Virginia*, the court overturned the remaining 16 state laws that outlawed interracial marriages. Finally, in 1967, President Johnson appointed Thurgood Marshall as the nation’s first black Supreme Court Justice.

II. Into War in Vietnam

United States’ involvement in the Vietnam conflict was, at first, a slow process; however, once ground troops were sent into the country, the war became more brutal. Atrocities were committed on both sides, and Americans at home became deeply divided. The situation became a quagmire that the United States could not easily exit.

The Vietnamese Revolution and the United States

The United States first became involved in Vietnam in the late 1940s. French forces moved into Indochina to retake territory occupied by Japan during World War II but were challenged by nationalist forces led by Ho Chi Minh. These nationalist forces at Dienbienphu surrounded the French army in 1954, and they surrendered. French and Vietnamese diplomats met in Geneva in 1955 and divided Indochina into two countries along the seventeenth parallel, the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh and the Republic of South Vietnam first under Emperor Bao Dai and then under President Ngo Dien Diem.

The United States supplied money and advisors to the French during Truman’s administration. After French withdrawal, U.S. aid to South Vietnam continued, as President Eisenhower argued that if Vietnam fell to Ho Chi Minh’s communist forces, all of Southeast Asia would fall to the communists “like a stack of dominoes.” John F. Kennedy did not argue with Eisenhower’s “domino theory,” but he did attempt to contain the war in Vietnam. He began a “strategic hamlet” program to secure villages friendly to the United States.

Johnson’s War

In February 1964, Johnson ordered the Pentagon to prepare plans for air strikes against North Vietnam. In May, his advisors drafted a congressional resolution authorizing an escalation of American military action, and in June, the president
appointed General Maxwell Taylor as ambassador to Saigon. Then, in early August, North Vietnamese patrol boats allegedly clashed with two American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, a substitute for a declaration of war. Johnson compared the resolution to “grandma’s nightgown,” as it “covered everything.”

Between 1965 and 1968, in Operation Rolling Thunder, the United States dropped 800 tons of bombs daily on North Vietnam. The amount of explosive tonnage was three times the amount that had been dropped on all of Europe, Africa, and Asia during World War II. Under Operation Ranch Hand, Americans used defoliants such as Agent Orange to remove ground cover to destroy one-seventh of South Vietnam’s arable land. In March 1965, the first marine landed at Danang in South Vietnam. The war had been “Americanized.”

1968: The Turning Point

On January 31, 1968, on the first day of Tet, the Vietnamese New Year, the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese attacked more than one hundred towns and provincial capitals in South Vietnam. They also attacked Saigon and the American embassy in that city. U.S. forces quickly retaliated and drove the attackers from South Vietnamese cities and towns. General William C. Westmoreland even announced that “the enemy is on the ropes,” but Americans were shocked by the success and ferocity of the attacks. Many people questioned President Johnson’s assertions that the United States was winning the war.

III. The Movement

The war in Vietnam overshadowed the protest movements of the 1960s, radicalizing people who had once been optimistic about societal reform. By the end of the decade many people distrusted traditional authority. Their motto was “Trust no one over thirty.”

From Civil Rights to Black Power

By 1966, the Civil Rights movement had split into factions. The movement realized some important successes, but a colorblind society was not among them.

Civil rights workers, black and white, poured into the state of Mississippi during the summer of 1964 to register African-American voters. SNCC workers called it Freedom Summer. Two white workers, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, along with their black co-worker, James Chaney, were murdered and their bodies were buried in an earthen dam near Philadelphia, Mississippi. This murder and the intimidation and violence experienced by many workers radicalized the movement. Lyndon Johnson alienated many by refusing to recognize the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlanta.

Destructive riots broke out in black ghettos located in the neighborhood of Watts in Los Angeles; Detroit, Michigan; and Newark, New Jersey. These riots were expressions of the frustration and hopelessness felt by many African Americans. In 1967, ninety people died and 4,000 more were injured in riots across the nation.

Most African Americans supported Lyndon Johnson and the Voting Rights Act to pursue their goals of civic equality. In 1966, Carl Stokes of Cleveland became the first black mayor of a major American city. In 1972, Andrew Young of Georgia and Barbara Jordan of Texas became the first southern blacks to be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives since Reconstruction.

**The New Left and the Struggle Against the War**

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was formed in Michigan in 1962. The Port Huron statement, or charter, for this new organization called for political rejuvenation of the United States. After 1965, the main goal of the SDS was to end the war in Vietnam, and SDS organized the first major antiwar protest on April 15, 1965. SDS became more radicalized in the late 1960s and splintered. One radical faction, the Weathermen, went underground and declared war on the United States government.

**Cultural Rebellion and the Counterculture**

Unlike the New Left, who wanted to reform and perhaps destroy parts of American society, the counterculture, or “hippies” wanted to create an alternative society. Many of these people identified with traditional Native Americans, while others promoted health foods and cooperative movements. Many lived in communes where they shared their earthly belongings. Others tried drugs to expand their minds and consciousness, experimenting with drugs such as LSD, marijuana, peyote, hashish, etc.

As spirituality was considered by many in the counterculture an important path to consciousness, they sought religious experiences. Membership in the counterculture was loose by definition and many young people in the 1960s dabbled in it to some extent. Perhaps the most memorable expression of the movement in the late 1960s was the Woodstock music festival in upstate New York in August 1969.
Women’s Liberation

In 1966, Betty Friedan and other liberal feminists founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) to lobby on behalf of women. NOW lobbied for women in areas such as employment, wages, education, etc. The new wave of feminism raised debates regarding gender, women’s ways of knowing, and women’s uniqueness or lack thereof.

The Many Fronts of Liberation

Cesar Chavez led the effort to build farm workers’ unions in California and the Southwest. He led national boycotts on grapes and iceberg lettuce, and he helped win recognition for the United Farm Workers Union (FWU) and better pay for workers. By 1970, younger Mexicans had appropriated the term Chicano, and many began demanding the inclusion of Latino Studies in the schools.

In 1968, Native-American activists formed the American Indian Movement (AIM). On November 20, 1969, seventy-eight Indians seized the island of Alcatraz and held it for a year and a half. During this period, they took the opportunity to publicize grievances regarding anti-Indian prejudice and discrimination. In 1973, armed members of AIM took control of buildings at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in an unsuccessful effort to bring down the conservative Oglala government on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Gay men and lesbians also began to construct political coalitions in the late 1960s. Like other oppressed groups, they were demanding tolerance and respect.

IV. The Conservative Response

The majority of Americans had mixed feeling about the protests that rippled across America in the 1960s. Most people wanted an end to the war in Southeast Asia, but what they considered a lack of respect for and appreciation of the nation’s virtues and successes angered many conservative Americans. A backlash followed.

Backlashes

The rise of nonwhite militancy angered and shocked many white middle-class Americans. Conservatives reacted to anti-war protestors and “hippies” who proposed alternate lifestyles. Their attitude was summed up in the bumper sticker: “America! Love It or Leave It.” Americans especially reacted against the counterculture and anti-war protesters.
The Turmoil of 1968 at Home

The turmoil of the 1960s reached its apex in 1968. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated on April 4. African Americans demonstrated and rioted across the nation. Forty-six people died in clashes with the police.

Robert Kennedy entered the presidential race, and unlike Eugene McCarthy, attracted support from a wide variety of Americans. On June 5, he was shot and killed by Sirhan Sirhan because of his pro-Israel policies.

Anti-war activists poured into Chicago in August 1968, some to support Eugene McCarthy and others to disrupt the Democratic National Convention. Mayor Richard Daley mobilized the police, who clubbed and tear-gassed protestors and innocent bystanders alike. Hubert Humphrey emerged from the convention as the Democratic nominee. The Republicans met in Miami, Florida, and chose Richard M. Nixon as their candidate. The governor of Alabama, George Wallace, courted the backlash vote as the candidate for the American Independent Party.

The Nixon Administration

Once Richard Nixon was in the White House, he earned the reputation as the most liberal Republican since Theodore Roosevelt. Although he did not take the lead in promoting environmental conservation, he allowed Congress to pass a number of ecologically friendly laws. Nixon, in opposition to anti-war protestors, appealed to the great “silent majority” to supported his war efforts. Nixon also opposed court-ordered busing to desegregate American schools.

Escalating and De-escalating in Vietnam

Nixon promised to “Vietnamize” the war in South Vietnam by supplying the Army of the Republic of Vietnam with munitions and training. His Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, began negotiations with North Vietnamese officials and secured the release of a number of prisoners of war before the 1972 election. The return of these prisoners aided Nixon’s campaign, as did Nixon’s announcement that the draft would cease in mid-1973.

Conclusion

Violence and dramatic changes characterized the decade of the 1960s. The radicalization of the Civil Rights movement and anti-war protests divided Americans. The Vietnam war became increasingly unpopular as Americans realized that victory was eluding them.
Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Discuss the events in the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations that contributed to United States’ involvement in Vietnam. How did Nixon propose to extricate U.S. troops from Vietnam, and did he provide “Peace with Honor” at the end of the conflict?

2. Analyze the successes and failures of Johnson’s Great Society programs. Johnson believed that these programs represented a completion of Roosevelt’s New Deal policies. How accurate was his assessment?

3. How did the Civil Rights movement become the Black Power movement? Discuss the personalities and events that transformed the Civil Rights movement.

4. Compare and contrast the backgrounds and philosophies of Martin Luther King, Jr., Stokeley Carmichael, and Malcolm X.

5. Discuss the many fronts of liberation, the counterculture, and the backlash to these various movements.

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. Lyndon B. Johnson hoped to end poverty and improve the quality of life for all Americans in the 1960s. His Great Society programs ranged from Head Start and Job Corps programs for the underprivileged to Medicare to aid the elderly. Johnson saw his programs as a completion of the New Deal begun by Franklin D. Roosevelt.

2. The United States entered the 1960s in a mood of optimism and existed in a quandary of protests and pessimism. The Civil Rights movement and anti-war protests became radicalized and resulted in a backlash from right-wing elements in American society.

3. As Vietnam became a quagmire from which the United States could find no easy means of extrication, Americans divided into “hawks,” who favored the war and “doves,” who demonstrated against it. Johnson’s administration was a casualty of this division, and in March 1968, Johnson announced that he would not seek or accept his party’s nomination for re-election in 1968.
Enrichment Ideas:

Further Resources:

Books:


Documentaries and Videos:


*In a Dark Time.*  PBS, 1991.


*Martin Luther King, Jr.: I Have a Dream.*  MPI Home Video, 1986.
Web site Assignments:

Ask students to locate and read at least three of the 20 documents relating to the Vietnam War online at http://vietnam.vassar.edu. Students are to take notes on the three documents they have chosen to read and are to be prepared to discuss the impact of those documents on the American public and the war in Vietnam.

Connecting History: Comparing Wars in the Twentieth Century

Ask students to read the information about wars in the twentieth century at the two following web sites: http://militaryhistory.about.com/cs/wars/20thcentury/ and http://dir.yahoo.com/arts/humanities/history/by_time_period/20th_century. After reading the information on these web sites, students are to write a 3-5-page paper addressing either the similarities and differences between Korea, Vietnam, and the Gulf Wars, or the similarities and differences between World War I, World War II, and the Yugoslav wars of the twentieth century. Students may also wish to discuss how nations get into war and what constitutes a “good” peace.

Interpreting History: Martin Luther King, Jr.

As early as July 2, 1965, Martin Luther King was convinced that the war in Vietnam “must be stopped.” He urged a negotiated peace with Vietnam and continued to speak against the war, even though several members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Board questioned whether he should address “international” questions.

In 1966, he decided to take a “much stronger stand” against the war in Vietnam. He believed that racism and militarism were interrelated, and that that the SCLC was “merely marking time in the civil rights movement if we do not take a stand against the war.” King felt a moral duty to take a stand against the war.

According to David Garrow in Bearing the Cross, “King called for the Johnson administration to take five specific actions to end the war: Halt all bombing, North and South; declare a unilateral cease-fire; curtail military activities in Thailand and Laos; accept a Viet Cong presence in peace negotiations; and set a date by which all foreign troops would be out of Vietnam.” King also called for all young men to declare themselves conscientious objectors when drafted (553). Although King was harshly criticized in the press and the FBI wiretapped him at home and in motels, his call for withdrawal from Vietnam was widely supported by both black and white Americans. The anti-war pressure he brought to bear on
the Johnson administration undoubtedly hastened the end of the American presence in Vietnam.
CHAPTER 27
Reconsidering National Priorities, 1972-1979

Chapter Outline:

I. Twin Shocks: Détente and Watergate

While Richard M. Nixon and Henry Kissinger manipulated events abroad to bring about a lessening of cold war tensions, Nixon conducted the presidential election of 1972 in a similar manner. His Committee for the Reelection of the President (Art Buchwald called it CREEP) smeared opponents and even broke the law as they sought to eliminate viable opponents, such as Edmund Muskie of Maine, during the election. In 1971, Daniel Ellsberg leaked secret information regarding the blunders and deceptions of the Vietnam War. In response, Nixon created a “plumbers unit” to “stop all leaks.” Nixon carried 61 percent of the popular vote in the election and all the states except Massachusetts and the District of Columbia.

Triangular Diplomacy

Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger tried to drive a wedge into the growing tension between the Soviet Union and Red China in the early 1970s. Kissinger and Nixon kept their diplomacy secret, excluding the press, the Congress, and even the State Department. In February 1972, Nixon announced that he would visit China. His visit led to an opening of trade with China and important cultural exchanges between the two countries.

In May 1972, Nixon went to Moscow for a summit meeting with Leonid Brezhnev. His visit led to a policy of détente between the two nations, a lessening of cold war tensions. As a result of the better relations with the Soviet Union, the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) was signed in 1972 and the two superpowers agreed to limit nuclear weapons and anti-ballistic missiles.

In 1973, fearing that Chile’s democratically elected Socialist president, Salvador Allende, might turn into another Fidel Castro, the CIA funded a military coup that led to the death of Allende and made Augusto Pinochet the hard-line dictator of Chile. Nixon and Kissinger also supported white leaders in South Africa and autocratic leaders such as Shah Reza Pahlavi of Iran.

Scandal in the White House

On June 17, 1972, a security guard at the Watergate office-apartment complex in Washington, D.C. foiled an attempted wiretapping of Democratic National Headquarters. James McCord, security coordinator to CREEP (Committee for the Reelection of the President), and several other burglars were arrested. A White House cover-up began immediately. While Nixon was publicly proclaiming that “no one in the administration was involved in this bizarre incident,” he ordered key staff members to buy the silence of
the burglars for $400,000. He also used the CIA to halt the FBI’s investigation of the break-in. He kept the cover-up and deceptions a secret for almost a year.

The Watergate case began to crack, thanks to Judge John Sirica, who pressured the burglars in court, and to Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, Washington Post reporters, who kept the story of the burglary in the news. Woodward and Bernstein also received secret information from an informant known only as “Deep Throat,” after a porn movie of the era.


Congress began impeachment hearings and passed two bills of impeachment. Meanwhile, the Supreme Court ordered Nixon to turn over the tapes, and he reluctantly complied. One of the tapes revealed him giving orders to cover up the burglary. He resigned the office of president on August 9, 1974.

The Nation After Watergate

A number of Nixon’s closest advisors, including H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, went to prison. Vice President Spiro Agnew was forced to resign his office because he had taken bribes while governor of Maryland, non-Watergate-related offences. Gerald Ford was sworn in as president the day of Nixon’s resignation. Within a month, Ford gave Nixon a complete pardon for any crimes he may have committed. In April 1975, the South Vietnamese government fell to the forces of the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese soldiers, as U.S. forces were evacuated by helicopter from the embassy in Saigon. Then, the government of Cambodia seized a U.S. merchant ship, the Mayaguez. Ford ordered a rescue team to free the 39 hostages taken in the seizure, but lost 41 soldiers in the process.

II. Discovering the Limits of the U.S. Economy

By 1973, the American standard of living began to slip as Americans saw the end of cheap energy, wages began to decline, and spiraling inflation ravaged the dollar.

The End of the Long Boom

During the 1970s, employment and wages stagnated while prices climbed. In 1971, inflation was at 4.5 percent but by 1980 it had reached 18 percent. Real wages dropped by two percent per year from 1973 to the 1990s, while unemployment rose from nine percent in 1975 to 15 percent in 1982. One of the reasons for this grim economic outlook was competition from abroad, especially from Japan and Germany. In 1972, Nixon
proposed a deliberately unbalanced budget, hoping that deficit spending would stimulate recovery. A trade deficit followed, so Nixon devalued the dollar and announced that henceforth the dollar would no longer be “fixed” in relation to other world currencies. Nixon also decreed a 90-day freeze on wages, prices, and rents, but in 1973 he made this freeze voluntary and inflation began to rise once more.

Gerald Ford was economically more conservative than Nixon. His answer to the problem of inflation was a Whip Inflation Now program. He cut federal spending and endorsed the Federal Reserve Board’s effort to raise the discount rate. Manufacturing began to move to the South and Southwest and even across the border into Mexico as large corporations sought low wages and tax bases.

The Oil Embargo

In 1973, the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC) began an oil boycott aimed at the United States. The prices of gasoline and home heating fuels soared. Gasoline prices went from 30 cents per gallon to over one dollar, and long lines formed at service stations. OPEC resented the creation of Israel in 1948 and their resentment intensified in 1967 when Israel seized control of the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip. In 1973, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel on Yom Kippur, the holiest day of the Jewish year. The United States supplied weapons to Israel during the 1973 war, and Ford’s Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, negotiated a cease-fire between Israel and Egypt.

The Environmental Movement

The oil embargo revealed the impact of industrial growth and the manner in which it had ravaged the environment. Conservationists urged the preservation of parklands, and individuals became more aware of the consumer and urban impact on the environment. While the United States contained only six percent of the world’s population, it consumed more than one-third of the world’s fossil fuel energy. The thinning of the ozone layer in the earth’s upper atmosphere was attributed to the propellant gases in aerosol sprays used mostly by Americans.

III. Reshuffling Politics

As Americans digested the implications of Nixon’s “imperial presidency,” and elected an obscure politician from the state of Georgia, Congress reasserted its power in an attempt to rebalance the federal government.

Congressional Power Reasserted

The Watergate scandal and the U.S. defeat in Vietnam shifted the burden of power from the presidency to the Congress. In 1973, Congress passed the War Powers Act, requiring Congressional approval to keep U.S. troops in an overseas conflict for more than 90 days. In 1976, Congress approved the Clark Amendment to cut off aid to anticomunist forces in Angola, refusing to draw the U.S. into another Vietnam.
Congress also investigated CIA covert operations, uncovering Operation Chaos and exposing domestic espionage against antiwar protestors such as Martin Luther King, Jr., and the attempt to destroy organizations such as the Black Panthers and the American Indian Movement. The Church and Otis Committees also exposed assassination attempts against leaders such as Fidel Castro and Patrice Lumumba. Finally, the Freedom of Information Act of 1974 required public release of federal documents after 25 years.

“I Will Never Lie to You”

In 1976, Gerald Ford won the Republican nomination for the presidency despite a challenge from Ronald Reagan. The Democrats nominated Jimmy Carter who, running on an anti-Watergate platform, promised the American people that he would never lie to them. Carter won by a narrow margin, receiving approximately 90 percent of the black vote. He walked from the Capitol to the White House at his inaugural parade.

Carter had been governor of the state of Georgia and was the first president from the Deep South in one hundred years. He was a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, a former nuclear engineer, and a born-again Christian. He supported civil rights for blacks while governor of Georgia, and introduced a new casualness in dress and demeanor during his one term as president.

Carter faced a series of economic challenges while President, including runaway inflation and interest rates that soared as high as 21 percent. While a social progressive, Carter was economically conservative, seeking to balance the federal budget. His reliance on his closest advisors and reluctance to cultivate relationships with Congress limited his power as president.

Rise of a Peacemaker

Carter began his term of office as a peacemaker by pardoning Vietnam-era draft evaders, and he made one of his major international objectives the protection of human rights. He appointed Andrew Young as UN ambassador and supported an end to apartheid in South Africa.

Carter fired the director of the CIA, George Bush, and ended many of the covert operations of that agency. He also pushed treaties returning control of the Panama Canal to Panama through Congress. Carter’s greatest accomplishments as peacemaker, however, were the Camp David Accords. In 1979, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, and Israeli Prime Minister Menacham Begin led the way toward peace in the Middle East. Egypt officially recognized Israel, and Israel agreed to withdraw troops from the Sinai peninsula and to stop building settlements on the West Bank.
The War on Waste

Carter urged Americans to conserve natural resources and energy. He created the Department of Energy and promoted the development of alternative energy resources. Although nuclear energy seemed to promise the most likely sources of energy, in 1979, a nuclear core reactor at Three Mile Island near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, leaked radiation and forced a major evacuation. Another nuclear incident occurred when a dam burst in New Mexico. Nuclear power plants were generating 22 percent of the nation’s electricity by 1992. The 1979 revolution in Iran brought about an increase in the price of energy, and Carter called for less self-indulgence and more sacrifice. His message fell on deaf ears.

IV. Diffusing the Women’s Movement

American women engaged in the process of “consciousness-raising” as feminism spread through U.S. society.

The Meanings of Women’s Liberation

The feminist movement of the 1970s called for liberation of women and greater social justice in private and public spheres. Between 1968 and 1973, over five hundred new feminist publications appeared, including Gloria Steinem’s Ms. magazine.

Although all women shared common concerns, the women’s movement was divided by class and race concerns that often fragmented and diluted efforts to achieve equality for all women. Most women, however, agreed that they should receive equal pay for equal work.

New Opportunities in Education, the Workplace, and Family Life

Most single-sex colleges became co-educational in the 1970s, and the percentage of female students in graduate programs soared. The lines between “men’s” and “women’s” work were blurred as women became police officers and construction workers. Women were becoming lawyers and earning Ph.D.s, although professional women were paid only 73 percent of that paid to their male colleagues. Although only 15 percent of families with children under the age of six had stay-at-home moms, President Nixon vetoed a national daycare bill in 1970.

Equality Under the Law

Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 required schools to spend similar amounts on men’s and women’s sports programs. The Equal Rights Amendment was reintroduced into Congress and then sent to the states for ratification. It has not currently received ratification by enough states to make it law. In 1973, the Supreme Court in Roe
v. Wade concluded that women should have the choice of whether or not to terminate a pregnancy. Women’s battle for equality also raised questions about military service. Although 35,000 women volunteered for service in the Desert Storm conflict, they served mostly in rear support positions and as reconnaissance pilots.

**Backlash**

Male and female anti-feminists resisted the changes brought by the women’s movement. Phyllis Schlafly led a movement opposed to feminism and the ERA. The backlash against women’s rights, however, could not stop the growing influence of women in American culture. In the early 1970s, a number of women became pastors, priests, and rabbis, and in 1982, Sandra Day O’Connor became the first female Supreme Court justice.

**Conclusion**

In the 1978 Bakke decision, the Supreme Court decided that strict racial quotas were unconstitutional but that universities could consider race as one of several factors in their admissions policies. In 1973, members of the American Indian Movement occupied buildings in Wounded Knee, South Dakota to encourage pan-Indian consciousness. Many Americans turned inward in the 1970s in the wake of Watergate, and they elected an outsider president in 1976.

**Sample Discussion Questions:**

1. Discuss Nixon’s foreign policy, his “shuttle diplomacy,” and describe his successful efforts to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and Red China.

2. Describe the events surrounding the Watergate scandal, leading to the impeachment of Richard M. Nixon. How did the Watergate scandal differ from the charges brought against Bill Clinton 26 years later?

2. Describe several CIA covert operations that were uncovered by the Church Committee in the 1970s. What measures did Congress take to end such covert operations?

3. Discuss Jimmy Carter’s rise to the presidency, and his successes and failures as president. Why was he awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2002?

4. Discuss the women’s movement and consciousness-raising efforts in the 1970s. Discuss the successes and the backlash that followed.

**Significant Themes and Highlights:**

1. Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger wove a web of secrecy around the White House, keeping their practice of “realpolitiks” closely guarded. The foreign policy proved successful as Nixon was the first American president to visit Red China.
2. Nixon’s abuse of presidential power and his obstruction of justice in covering up the Watergate burglary led to his resignation from office in 1974. His successor, Gerald Ford, granted Nixon a full and complete pardon for any crimes he may have committed.

3. Congress reasserted its power in the wake of revelations of CIA covert operations, limiting the CIA and the federal government’s power.

4. Jimmy Carter refashioned U.S. foreign policy by returning control of the Panama Canal to Panama, reigning in the CIA, and brokering a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

Show the video *History’s Mysteries – Contaminated: The Karen Silkwood Story* (A&E Home Video) during class, or show the video *Silkwood*, starring Meryl Streep, outside the classroom. After viewing the video, ask students to discuss the implications of Karen Silkwood’s death on the development of nuclear power plants in the United States.

**Further Resources:**

**Books:**


**Suggested documentaries and films:**


*Biography, Jimmy Carter,* A&E Entertainment.


Web Site Assignments

1. Ask students to read sections of the Camp David Accords at http://mfa.gov.il/mfa/go.asp?MFAH00ie0 or at the Avalon Project web site at www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/mideast/campdav.htm. Divide the class into five to seven groups and ask each group to choose one aspect of the Accords for presentation to the class. For example: Group One could discuss the standards for the conduct of relations among nations by clicking on the Charter of the United Nations; Group Two could discuss the provisions and principles of Resolutions 242 and 338; Group Three could discuss Article 33 of the UN Charter; Group Four could describe the Stationing of Forces; and Group Five could describe the situation in the West Bank and Gaza.

Connecting History: CIA Covert Operations

Ask students to locate the National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 2 online at www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB. Students are to read the introduction to this web site and then choose at least two specific topics to explore further. These include topics such as “Knowledge of Drug Trafficking and the Contras” and “Testimony of Fabio Ernesto Carrasco.” After researching the web site, students are to be prepared to discuss “The Church Committee and CIA Convert Operations” in a formal class setting.

Interpreting History: Energy Use in the United States

Ask students to read the section on energy use in the United States and then locate the Department of Energy web site at http://www.ne.doe.gov or the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission at www.nrc.gov. Students are to use these two web sites to assess the energy needs of the United States. They should consider some of the following questions: How does the NRC regulate nuclear energy? How is nuclear waste transported and stored? Is the president encouraging the development of nuclear energy? How dependent is the United States on fossil fuel? How dependent is the United States on nuclear energy? What energy sources is the United States most likely to rely on in the future?
CHAPTER 28
The Cold War Returns—And Ends, 1979-1991

Chapter Outline:

I. Anticommunism Revived

The 1980s witnessed a return of Cold War tensions, due in part to revolution and military occupation in the Middle East. Ronald Reagan expanded the nation’s nuclear arsenal and publicly discussed fighting and winning a nuclear war against the Soviet Union. In 1986, a nuclear power plant near Chernobyl in the Soviet Union melted down, killing one hundred people and irradiating hundreds of thousands more. There were also several nuclear accidents that threatened the health and well being of Americans. In 1990, Congress passed the Radiation Exposure Act, designed to reimburse Americans who may have been harmed by radiation during the Cold War era.

Iran and Afghanistan

In 1979, a revolution in Iran overthrew the autocratic regime of Shah Resi Palavi. Ruhollah Khomeini established a theocratic state in Iran, and the shah fled the country for Mexico. Several months later, the shah arrived in the United States for treatment for cancer. On November 4, 1979, young Iranian militants stormed the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and seized 52 embassy personnel. The militants held these Americans hostage for over a year, demanding that the United States return the shah to Iran. In fact, ABC created the Nightline show to keep Americans abreast of the events in Iran.

Seven weeks following the hostage crisis, the first of 110,000 Russian troops poured across the border of the Soviet Union into Afghanistan. Carter’s administration stopped trade with the Soviet Union and withdrew from the second Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty talks. Carter also boycotted the Olympic Games that were being held in Moscow. He proclaimed the Carter Doctrine, affirming the U.S. commitment to preserve the status quo in the Persian Gulf region. The CIA began funding the Afghan rebels in order to contain communism.

The Conservative Victory of 1980

In 1980, Carter won the nomination of his party for president, but he was extremely unpopular. The nation faced double-digit inflation, high unemployment, and the Iranian hostage crisis. Ronald Reagan easily defeated Carter, carrying every state west of the Mississippi and the labor vote.

Ronald Reagan grew up in Dixon, Illinois. He was the son of an alcoholic father and a religious mother. He graduated from Eureka College near Peoria, worked as a sports announcer in Des Moines, and then moved to Hollywood. He enjoyed a successful acting career, appearing in more than 54 films. In the 1930s he was a New Dealer and in the 1940s he worked for the USO (United Service Organization), but in the 1950s he
embraced the political right. He became a spokesman for the General Electric Company and supported Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election. California millionaire businessmen orchestrated his election as governor of California in 1966. He came close to winning the presidential nomination in 1976. In 1980, he defeated his closest competitor for the nomination, George Bush, and made Bush his running mate. Reagan promised less government intervention in the lives of Americans, and he promised to unleash the free enterprise system.

**Renewing the Cold War**

Reagan rejected the Nixon and Carter administrations’ notion of détente and acted as though the Chinese-Soviet rift had never occurred. He referred to the Soviet Union as an “evil empire,” echoing language used in the hit film, *Star Wars*. Reagan praised the Vietnam War as a “noble effort,” and urged Americans to overcome the “Vietnam syndrome,” to be ready to use force abroad once more. The Reagan administration began the largest peacetime military build-up in American history and allowed the CIA to launch covert operations and to aid anticomunist authoritarian governments. Although Reagan did not send soldiers to fight a prolonged war, he did send a peace-keeping force to Lebanon, where they fought on the side of Christian Lebanese forces, and he sent invasion forces to Grenada to overthrow a communist government there.

In 1979, Sandinista rebels overthrew pro-American dictator Antonio Somoza. After Reagan took office, the CIA created the counterrevolutionary organization known as the “Contras.” The Contras waged war on the new government of Nicaragua, and by 1987, forty thousand Nicaraguans had died. Christian missionaries formed the Sanctuary movement to aid Central American refugees. After media sources exposed the violent tactics of the Contras, Congress restricted aid to them in 1982 and 1984.

**II. Republican Rule at Home**

Reagan cut taxes, but military spending soared. In 1983, Reagan funded the Strategic Defense Initiative, a scientifically unfeasible project designed to use lasers to shoot down incoming missiles.

**“Reaganomics” and the Assault on Welfare**

Reaganomics involved cutting taxes and decreasing government regulation in order to encourage the growth of free enterprise. Reagan proposed a 30-percent federal tax cut. Congress voted a 25-percent tax cut over a three-year period, amounting to $750 billion over a five-year period. Economists warned that such tax cuts would produce deficit spending, but Reagan countered that tax cuts would stimulate the economy and produce more spending.

In order to pay for the huge increases in military spending, Reagan reduced spending for welfare programs such as food stamps, school lunches, job training, mass transit, and low-income housing. Congress cut more than 40 billion dollars from domestic spending
in 1981. The Reagan administration supported “states’ rights” and opposed affirmative action.

High interest rates halted the rate of inflation, but they also led to an unemployment rate of 10 percent, and to higher health care costs, all of which led to another, more severe, recession. More than 11 million workers lost their jobs, and there was a drop in exports. Federal deficits were up, especially with an increase in defense spending. Reagan backed off the spending, and in 1983 the economy rebounded.

An Embattled Environment

The Reagan administration reversed two decades of environmental measures. The president ridiculed preserving wilderness for its own sake, and allied himself with ranchers and corporations that wanted to use western lands to harvest timber, extract minerals, and use them for grazing purposes. Individuals at the Bureau of Land Management rewrote regulations to favor private enterprise and sold grazing, logging, and mining rights on public lands at far below market value.

The Secretary of the Interior, James Watts, was even more extreme in his views than those at the Bureau of Land Management. Americans reacted by joining environmental organizations such as the Sierra Club and the Audubon Society. Concerns were heightened when the Exxon Valdez ran aground in Alaska, causing a disastrous oil spill.

A Society Divided

The gap between the rich and poor widened throughout the Reagan administrations. Most Americans’ real wages declined, but the rich became even richer. Corporations consolidated and Wall Street speculation enriched the top one percent of Americans, who lived extravagantly.

Organized labor suffered during the Reagan years. Homelessness worsened in the cities, as governmental welfare dwindled and aid to the mentally ill was cut. More than one million people were living on the streets of American cities.

Despite his record, many middle- and working-class Americans voted for Reagan a second time. Reagan had great personal charisma, and many Americans were convinced that the Democratic Party no longer spoke for the working class.

III. Cultural Conflict

Social conservatives and Christian fundamentalists of the mid-1980s led an attack against feminists and pro-choice advocates. The Reverend Pat Robertson of the Christian Broadcasting Network even attempted a run for the Republican presidential nomination. Susan Faludi captured the opposition to the women’s movement in her 1991 book, Backlash.
The Rise of the Religious Right

Conservative white Protestants were deeply disturbed by the shift in mainstream American values, especially the shift toward self-indulgence and freer sexual expression. Movements within other world religions such as Hindi and Islam paralleled the religious fundamentalist movement in America. Fundamentalists supported Reagan in 1980 because of his conservative stance on gay rights, abortion, and school prayer, although his critics noted that he was divorced and attended church infrequently. Reverend Jerry Falwell emerged as the most prominent leader of the fundamentalist new right, leading a political shift to the Republican Party.

New right-wing religious organizations such as the Moral Majority shored up the political shift to the right, but there were tensions between the business and religious wings of the Republican Party. The nomination of Sandra Day O’Connor temporarily threatened to break the two wings apart, as Jerry Falwell argued that she was “soft” on abortion, but Reagan managed to hold the coalition together. The discovery of the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) in the 1980s brought an end to the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s as the AIDS epidemic spread through the gay community. Many fundamentalists believed that AIDS was God’s punishment for homosexuality. Another epidemic that spread through the United States in the 1980s was crack cocaine. Drug-related crimes and convictions soared.

Dissenters Push Back

Although many former political activists joined the ranks of the Republican Party in the 1980s, some individuals continued to work for racial and social justice, a cleaner environment, and a nuclear freeze.

Anti-racists convinced Congress to declare Martin Luther King, Jr.’s birthday a national holiday in 1983. The anti-apartheid movement, aided by Bishop Desmond Tutu, successfully reduced American investments in South Africa. In 1986, Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which enacted economic sanctions against South Africa. Such international pressure led to the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and to the end of apartheid.

Jesse Jackson formed the Rainbow Coalition and sought the Democratic nomination for president in 1988. Although his bid for the presidency was unsuccessful, the movement caused millions of African Americans to register to vote for the first time. These new voters also helped block the Supreme Court nomination of ultra-right wing former Solicitor General, Robert Bork.

The New Immigration

In 1965, immigration laws opened the doors for a flood of new immigrants to the United States. In the 1980s alone, more than six million people entered the United States legally, and another possible six million illegally. Forty percent of these newcomers were from
Asia, and 50 percent came from Latin America. Many of these newcomers were willing to work for lower wages. They found work in sweatshops, on farms, and as domestic servants. These immigrants worked hard to build lives for themselves and their families, and a number were quite successful. In 1981, Henry Cisneros was elected the mayor of San Antonio, Texas, the first Mexican American to become mayor of a major city.

IV. The End of the Cold War

Although Reagan entered the presidency declaring that the Soviet Union was an “evil force,” by the end of his second term in office, a stunning reversal had occurred. Reagan traveled to Moscow, embraced Mikhail Gorbachev in front of Lenin’s tomb, and announced that the Soviet Union had changed. In 1989, the Berlin Wall was torn down, and two years later the Soviet Union itself unraveled. The Reagan administration did not leave office without scandal, however. In 1986, Americans learned that the Reagan administration had illegally aided the Contras in Nicaragua.

From Cold War to Détente

Huge military expenditures lasting for many decades devastated the Soviet economy. The Soviet government could not provide consumer products to its people, or even grow enough food to feed its populace. The USSR’s occupation of Afghanistan proved a further drain on the overtaxed economy. The last Soviet troops left that country in 1989. Gorbachev tried to preserve the Soviet government by offering more political liberty (glasnost) to the Russians. He also tried to economically restructure (perestroika).

Reagan supported Gorbachev’s attempt to change the Soviet Union. In 1987, the two leaders signed the Intermediate Nuclear Force treaty, agreeing to remove short-range and intermediate-range missiles from Europe and allowing inspectors to monitor compliance on both sides. The INF was the first actual reduction of the total number of stored nuclear weapons.

The Iran-Contra Scandal

As an anti-Israel, anti-American, pro-Islamic revolution began to spread in the Middle East, the Reagan administration faced new problems. Relations with Iran and Libya deteriorated with the death of two American soldiers in Germany and the bombing of Pan Am Flight 109 over Lockerbie, Scotland. In 1981, radical Islamics assassinated Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. Reagan illegally sold arms to Iran in return for the return of hostages held by pro-Iranian radicals in Lebanon.

Reagan was determined to support the Contras in Nicaragua, even after they failed to overthrow the Sandinistas. The 1982 Boland Amendments restricted aid to the Contras, and in 1984, Congress banned aid to them. The president found a way around Congress. Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North of the National Security Council, working with CIA Director William Casey, began to sell arms to Iran, using the proceeds to fund the Contras. The news of the illegal operation leaked in November 1986. North testified
before Congress, painting his actions as patriotic. Many conservative Americans believed North was a hero. When questioned about the scandal, the president claimed that he could not remember details about his decisions and policies.

A Global Police?

In 1988, George H.W. Bush ran a tough presidential campaign against his opponent, Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts. He accused Dukakis of being a “card-carrying member” of the American Civil Liberties Union, an organization dedicated to defending the Bill of Rights. Bush implied, however, that all liberals were subversives. He also accused Dukakis of coddling criminals while governor of Massachusetts, citing a paroled rapist who committed a murder while on parole as an example.

In 1991, Bush appointed a conservative African American, Clarence Thomas, to the Supreme Court. A former aide, Anita Hill, accused Thomas of sexual harassment, but the Senate narrowly confirmed him.

In 1989, the Berlin Wall toppled, and in early 1990, Nelson Mandela was released from prison. In 1991, the Soviet Union broke into 16 states, and Boris Yeltsin became the Russian president.

In December 1989, U.S. forces invaded Panama, taking Manual Noriega, the Panamanian leader, prisoner. Noriega was brought to Miami, where he was tried and imprisoned for drug trafficking and imprisoned.

After the Iranian revolution, Iran and Iraq fought each other over border claims. The United States aided both sides at various times. In 1988, Iraq ended the war with Iran in a strong position. In 1990, Iraq invaded its neighbor, Kuwait. Bush sent more than 200,000 troops to Saudi Arabia to stop further aggression. Bush doubled the number of troops in the region, and on January 16, 1991, Allied planes began bombing Iraq. More than 35,000 American women served in the volunteer armed forces in the Middle East conflict. Allied troops entered Iraq in Operation Desert Storm, freeing Kuwait and placing Iraqi soldiers in retreat, but not removing Saddam Hussein from power.

Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Describe Reagan’s revival of anticommunism and explain how and why the Cold War ended.

2. Discuss the global manifestations of religious fundamentalism in the 1980s. What did the fundamentalists have in common and how were they different?

3. How and why did the Reagan administration reverse two decades consensus on the need for greater protection of the environment?

4. Explain “Reaganomics” and discuss Reagan’s assault on welfare.
5. Describe the Iran-Contra scandal and discuss Americans’ reactions to both Oliver North and President Reagan.

6. Describe the events that led to Desert Storm.

**Significant Themes and Highlights:**

1. Ronald Reagan resurrected the Cold War, calling the Soviet Union an “evil empire,” but by the end of the decade, he had reversed his stance, encouraging both *perestroika* and *glasnost*.

2. Reagan reduced welfare spending to bolster defense budgets; nevertheless, the national debt ballooned to almost three trillion dollars.

3. U.S. relations with the Middle East deteriorated in the wake of the Iranian Hostage crisis. Although the United States sold arms to both Iran and Iraq during the mid-1980s, anti-Israeli, anti-American sentiment grew throughout the decade, culminating in Operation Desert Storm in 1991.

**Enrichment Ideas:**

Show the video *Sex and Justice: Anita Hill v. Clarence Thomas* (First Run Features, July 20, 1993, ASIN 6302796369) either during class or at a designated time outside class. The instructor can offer extra credit if the video is scheduled outside the regular class time. After viewing the video, ask students to summarize the contents of the video in a 3-5-page paper.

**Further Resources:**

**Books:**


**Suggested documentaries and films:**


**Web Site Assignments:**

Ask students to locate the Anita Hill – Clarence Thomas controversy online at the following URLs: [http://chnm.gmu.edu/courses/122/hill/hilloutline2.htm](http://chnm.gmu.edu/courses/122/hill/hilloutline2.htm); [http://faculty.uml.edu/sgallagher/anita_hill.htm](http://faculty.uml.edu/sgallagher/anita_hill.htm); [http://www.mith2.umd.edu/WomensStudies/GenderIssues/SexualHarassment/hill_thomas_testimony](http://www.mith2.umd.edu/WomensStudies/GenderIssues/SexualHarassment/hill_thomas_testimony). After viewing the video *Sex & Justice,* students are to be prepared to discuss the controversy in class discussion.

**Connecting History: Desert Storm**

Ask students to locate the Military Analysis Network’s account of Operation Desert Storm at [www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/desert_storm.htm](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/desert_storm.htm). After reading the introduction, ask students to choose one of the links to information from this site. They may choose from a number of links to resources, including links to other web sites, links to Defense Department documents, links to Army or Air Force documents, and links to articles about the war. Students are to read and research the area they have chosen and write a 3-5-page paper discussing one aspect of Desert Storm.

**Interpreting History: The Iran-Contra Scandal**

After reading the textbook account of the Iran-Contra scandal, ask students to explore the documentation, locating and reading at least three documents and a part of the Senate testimony of the Iran-Contra Scandal online at [www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/publications/irancontra/irancon.html](http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/publications/irancontra/irancon.html). Students may also view one of the videos cited above for a more comprehensive overview of the scandal. Ask students to then write a 3-5-page paper describing the affair and discussing the illegalities surrounding the scandal. Students should also prepare for an in-class discussion of the overall effects of the Iran-Contra affair.
CHAPTER 29
Post-Cold War America, 1991-2000

Chapter Outline:

The national population dramatically changed in the 1990s. Anti-immigrant sentiments increased in this decade as immigrants flocked into the U.S. from Asia, Latin America, and especially Mexico. Racial tensions flared throughout the decade. Nonetheless, Americans as a whole became more tolerant of people with racial or national differences. The 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act required accommodations for disabled people in employment and access to public places. Global relations shifted in the years following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Ethnic conflicts, terrorist networks, and nuclear proliferation were the new threats facing Americans at the turn of the millenium.

I. The Economy: Global and Domestic

The economy expanded dramatically in the 1990s. Most Americans believed they were financially better off than in previous decades, but many Americans, such as poor single mothers, immigrants, and unskilled workers did not share in this economic boom and actually lost ground.

The Post-Cold War Economy

The end of the Cold War led to the closing of defense-related industries, devastating regional economies that depended on them. While the defense industry shrank, technology-based industries experienced explosive growth.

In 1988, the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act enabled Native Americans to build and operate casinos on tribal lands, bringing an estimated $4 billion to impoverished communities. Tribal governments used profits from the casinos to provide subsidized housing, health care, student counseling, etc. Many of the profits from gambling have been used to raise the standard of living in Native American communities.

The Widening Gap Between Rich and Poor

The lower 60 percent of the population experienced income decline while the economy boomed. Bill Gates was wealthier than the lower 45 percent of the people in the United States combined. The top one percent of Americans owned more wealth than the bottom 95 percent combined. African Americans, immigrants from Asia, and Latin Americans had jobs at the bottom of the economy. Recent immigrants from Asia and Latin America had jobs in the lower portion of the economy.

Labor Unions

Service workers unionized for better wages in the decade of the 1990s. In 1997, 185,000 Teamsters struck against United Parcel Service, winning higher wages and benefits, and
II. Tolerance and Its Limits

Although racist practices and laws were amended, inequalities of economic opportunity and power persisted through the twentieth century, leading to protests and violence.

“We Can All Get Along”

On March 3, 1991, Rodney King was dragged from his automobile and beaten severely by four Los Angeles policemen. The incident was captured on videotape. A year later the four policemen were tried for using excessive force and acquitted. The acquittal ignited a riot that lasted five days, left 58 people dead, and destroyed $1 billion worth of property. In addition, four thousand businesses were destroyed.

Values in Conflict

Americans became aware of their conflicting cultural values in the decade of the 1990s. In 1991, Bill McCartney founded Promise Keepers, an organization dedicated to preserving the traditional privileges and responsibilities of men in their homes. In 1995, Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Black Muslims, organized the Million Man March, bringing black men to Washington, D.C. to demonstrate their solidarity. Gay and lesbian couples fought to legitimize their unions. Vermont was the first state to legalize civil unions between same-sex couples.

Environmentalists and Native Americans’ cultural values were often conflicted as Native Americans, in accordance with earlier treaties, fished and hunted in conservatories and gathered and sacrificed golden eaglets in religious ceremonies.

Courtroom Dramas

Americans were shocked, disturbed, and divided over several riveting courtroom dramas of the 1990s. In October 1991, an Oklahoma law professor, Anita Hill, accused Supreme Court appointee Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment during his Senate confirmation hearings. Although Thomas was confirmed as a Supreme Court justice, the televised hearings made Americans more conscious of the dimensions of sexual harassment, while making them aware of the white, male dominance of Congress.

In 1994, former football star and film actor O. J. Simpson was accused of brutally killing his ex-wife, Nicole Simpson, and her friend, Ronald Goldman. Although DNA evidence linked him to the crime and he had no reliable alibi, Simpson was found innocent of the murders. Americans divided roughly along racial lines concerning his guilt or innocence. Simpson was later convicted in a civil suit and ordered to pay damages.
The Changing Face of Diversity

Despite racial division over issues such as the Simpson case, Americans were becoming more tolerant of difference in the 1990s. The number of immigrants tripled in the last decades of the twentieth century, bringing the total to 27 million living in the United States. Although there was some backlash, such as California’s Propositions 187 and 227, the Latino population was evidence of a growing political power throughout the decade. By 2000, whites were no longer the majority population in California.

The nation was becoming more physically intermixed, and people were more accepting of others with mixed-race heritage. Golfer Tiger Woods, son of a black Vietnam veteran father and a Thai mother, became the superstar of that sport. Pop star Prince highlighted racial and gender ambiguity.

III. Violence and Danger

Americans faced new types of violence and new dangers in the decade of the 1990s, including school shootings and domestic terrorism.

Domestic Terrorism

On April 19, 1995, a bomb exploded at the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 people, including 19 children. Although many assumed it was the work of foreign terrorists, it turned out that a Desert Storm war veteran, Timothy McVeigh and his accomplice, Terry Nichols, had carried out the attack. Both men were found guilty and McVeigh was executed in 2001. The Oklahoma City bomb was the worst act of terrorism in the nation’s history to that date.

In 1992, the wife and son of former Green Beret Randall Weaver were shot and killed outside their home in Idaho because Weaver failed to appear for a hearing on a weapons charge. In 1993, the FBI stormed the compound of a religious sect known as the Branch Davidians. David Koresh, the cult leader, had barricaded the compound. A fire broke out within, and 80 men, women, and children inside the compound died. The FBI came under heavy criticism for the handling of this operation.

Abortion clinics came under attack in the early 1990s with over half of them reporting some form of hostile acts directed at them. Congress passed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act in 1994 to prevent protestors from blocking the entrances to clinics.

Kids Who Kill

Although violent crime seemed to be on the decline, a rash of school shootings in which children killed other children shocked Americans. The worst was the Columbine High School shootings in a Denver suburb. Two teenage boys shot and killed 12 of their schoolmates and a teacher. They then killed themselves. Although public opinion polls
revealed that most Americans favored gun control, the National Rifle Association argued against such control. Congress passed the Brady Bill, requiring a waiting period for handgun purchases, but only two states had established controls on the purchase of guns by 2000.

A Healthy Nation?

At the end of the twentieth century, despite an obsession with fitness, many Americans were plagued with eating disorders such as anorexia nervosa or bulimia, while many others suffered from obesity. Many other Americans made use of illegal drugs such as marijuana, cocaine, and heroin. Antibiotic-resistance bacteria appeared, as did new forms of tuberculosis. In 1997, researchers in Scotland cloned a sheep, and in 2000 scientists charted the human genome. Advances in reproductive medicine such as in-vitro fertilization, the freezing and later use of sperm and egg donations, sparked new ethical concerns.

IV. The Clinton Presidency

William Jefferson Blythe IV was born on August 10, 1946 in Hope, Arkansas. His father had died three months earlier in a traffic accident. When he was four years old his mother married Roger Clinton, and 12 years later, Clinton took his stepfather’s name. Clinton excelled in high school and graduated from Georgetown University. In 1968, he won a Rhodes scholarship to study at Oxford University. In 1973, he received a law degree from Yale University. In 1974, he ran and was defeated for the Third Congressional District in Arkansas.

In 1975, he married Hillary Rodham, and in 1980 their only child, Chelsea, was born. In 1976, Clinton was elected Arkansas Attorney General, and in 1978 he became governor of Arkansas. He lost his second bid for governor but was elected on his third attempt, and he remained governor until he defeated George Bush for the presidency in 1992.

Clinton: The New Democrat

The election of 1992 was a microcosm of the culture wars in the United States, conservatism and family values versus liberalism and permissiveness. George Bush attacked permissiveness and spoke out against gay rights and pro-choice activists. Ross Perot ran on the Reform Party ticket, garnering 19 percent of the vote, and most probably attracting possible Republican votes. The Democrats took the election for the first time since 1976 Clinton and his running mate, Al Gore of Tennessee, were both in their mid-forties and represented new leadership in the Democratic Party.

Clinton’s Domestic Agenda and the “Republican Revolution”

Clinton’s domestic agenda failed in two critical areas. Clinton tried to allow gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military. He met strong resistance from the military and had to settle for a simple “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy. The other failed objective was in
the area of health care. Clinton established a task force headed by his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, to develop a workable health plan, but after a year of hearings, the task force was unable to reach a consensus with the opponents of the plan.

Clinton was able to push a bill that raised taxes on the wealthiest Americans through Congress, and within three years the economy had improved dramatically. The Family and Medical Leave Act allowed employees unpaid medical leave for up to 12 weeks. Clinton was able to appoint two new Supreme Court justices, Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen Breyer.

During the 1994 Congressional elections, Republicans attacked Clinton’s legislative agenda. Led by Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House, three hundred Republicans endorsed a “Contract with America,” which called for a balanced budget, an end to legal abortion, more prisons, increased defense spending, etc. When the voters returned a Republican majority, they declared it a “Republican Revolution.” Clinton took some of the Republican agenda as his own, such as free trade and welfare reform. In 1996, Clinton signed the Welfare Reform Act, abolishing the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program.

In 1996, Clinton easily defeated Robert Dole of Kansas, but Republicans stayed in power in both houses of Congress. Ross Perot ran again, but polled fewer votes than in 1992.

**The Impeachment Crisis**

In 1993, Bill and Hillary Clinton were investigated for complicity in a failed investment scheme known as Whitewater. A few of Clinton’s associates were found guilty of conspiracy, tax evasion, and mail fraud, but there was no direct evidence implicating the Clintons in the scheme. The investigation activated the Office of the Independent Counsel, put into place during Nixon’s administration. Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel, pursued Clinton throughout his two administrations.

Clinton’s sexual behavior was a topic of discussion throughout his administrations. Gennifer Flowers claimed that she had had an affair with Clinton, and Paula Jones filed a sexual harassment suit against him, claiming he had propositioned her. In 1998, Kenneth Starr reported that Clinton had had an affair with Monica Lewinsky, and that both had lied about the affair under oath. Starr brought charges against Clinton, and produced evidence that Clinton had indeed had an affair with Lewinsky. The investigation lasted four years, and finally, the House of Representatives impeached Clinton on December 19, 1998. The Senate, however, determined that Clinton’s offenses did not meet the required “high crimes and misdemeanors” required for removal from office.

**V. The Nation and the World**

Clinton’s foreign policy goal was to keep the peace while expanding trade. Unfortunately, he was forced to send troops abroad to Somalia, Haiti, and Kosovo, and
Trade agreements fell short of the anticipated results. Several incidents of international terrorism aimed at the United States heightened international tensions.

Trade Agreements

In 1993, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) eliminated tariff and trade barriers between Mexico, Canada, and the United States. The following year, tariffs and import quotas were reduced by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Labor unions feared these measures would damage American wages as jobs were taken out of the country. Clinton tried to establish China as a full trading partner, and although human rights activists argued against it, Congress approved the measure.

Efforts at Peacemaking

Clinton worked throughout much of his administration to establish a shared coalition government in Northern Ireland. He brought Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and Yitzak Rabin, Israeli Prime Minister, to Washington, D.C. for peace talks. Unfortunately, this effort was less successful than the Irish negotiations, as Rabin was assassinated and replaced with hawkish Benjamin Netanyahu. Violence broke out between Palestinians and Israelis in the late 1990s with no end in sight.

Military Interventions and International Terrorism

In 1992, President Bush sent U.S. marines to Somalia as part of a UN anti-hunger and peacekeeping mission. The mission became militarized when Mohammed Farah Aidid killed 50 Pakistani peacekeepers. U.S. troops were ordered to hunt down Aidid. In the process, they killed hundreds of Somalian civilians. In 1993, Aidid’s followers killed 18 American soldiers and dragged one of their bodies through the streets. This spectacle made Clinton hesitant to intervene in similar disasters.

After Josip Broz Tito’s death in 1980, the former nation of Yugoslavia began to separate over the next decade into its ethnic parts of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Serbia. Clinton reluctantly sent troops after repeated Serbian attacks on Muslim Bosnia. The 1995 Dayton Accords brought an end to the war, but Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic embarked on a crusade to drive the ethnic Albanians out of the southern Serbian province of Kosovo. Clinton sent troops to Kosovo in 1999. Milosevic left office in 2000, and in 2001 he was tried for crimes against humanity.

By the end of the decade, Americans abroad had become terrorist targets. In 1996, a truck bomb killed 19 U.S. airmen in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. In 1998, bombs exploded at U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Four men linked to Osama bin Laden were convicted of conspiracy in the attacks. On October 12, 2000, a bomb ripped a hole in the U.S.S. Cole, killing 17 Americans and wounding 39 others. U.S. officials believed the attack came from bin Laden. Earlier in the decade, in 1993, a bomb had exploded under the World Trade Center in New York City, destroying a multi-
strored parking garage. Although Clinton promised that he would find out who planted the bomb, international and domestic terrorism remained a threat at the end of the decade.

VI. The Contested Election of 2000

The Democratic candidate won the popular vote in the contested election of 2000, but as the ballot count could not be certified in Florida, the Supreme Court made the final decision in the election. They declared the Republican candidate the winner.

The Campaign, the Vote, and the Courts

The Democrats chose Al Gore, Clinton’s vice president, as their candidate, and the Republicans chose George W. Bush, governor of Texas and former President George Bush’s son, as their candidate. In this very close election, Florida emerged as the key state. By the next day, Gore was ahead in the popular vote by 500,000, but Bush was ahead in Florida. Voting irregularities surfaced in Florida, with some voters receiving “butterfly” ballots that confused them, some voters being turned away at the polls because of inaccurate and incomplete voter registration, and some voters being disfranchised because they were incorrectly listed as felons. The outcome of the election was unknown for weeks. Finally, Katherine Harris, Florida’s Secretary of State and the head of Bush’s Florida campaign, declared Bush the winner by 537 votes. Gore contested the results and the Florida Supreme Court ordered a recount. Bush appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. The U.S. Supreme Court then declared Bush the winner in a 5-4 decision.

The Aftermath

Reporters continued the hand-counting process in Florida, but no clear consensus of the winner was reached. They did encounter numerous irregularities in the process and many flaws in the election system. Many of these irregularities disfranchised African-American citizens and were a violation of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The election itself rekindled the old debate over the efficacy of the Electoral College.

Legacies of Election 2000

The election of 2000 contained a number of unusual elements. Hillary Rodham Clinton, elected Senator from New York, became the first First Lady to hold elected office. Governor Mel Carnahan, killed in a plane crashed just weeks before the Senate election, was the first deceased candidate elected to office. His widow, Jean Carnahan, was appointed serve the first two years of his term of office.

George W. Bush reversed a number of Clinton’s policies, especially the environmental policies of the past administration. Bush also got a major tax cut through Congress, and the economy entered a recession as the stock market dropped dramatically in the first year of Bush’s administration. Bush also revived the Reagan-era proposal for a nuclear shield against attack.
Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Discuss Clinton’s domestic agenda and the effect of the Republican “Contract with America” on his agenda.

2. Discuss the foreign events that thwarted Clinton’s efforts at peacemaking. Why was Clinton forced to send troops abroad and how effective were American peacekeeping forces?

3. Discuss the scandals of the Clinton administration. Do you think they warranted his removal from office?

4. Discuss the candidates, the issues, and the outcome of the presidential election of 2000.

5. Compare and contrast the acts of domestic and international terrorism that were aimed at U.S. citizens and property in the U.S. and abroad.

6. How can states avoid voting irregularities that marred the election of 2000? Should the United States retain the Electoral College?

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. Americans in the 1990s faced a series of conflicting cultural and political values. The threat of domestic terrorism, violence in schools, and a series of courtroom dramas heightened awareness of these conflicting values.

2. Bill Clinton became the second president in United States history to be impeached. Like his predecessor, Andrew Johnson, he was not found guilty of “high crimes and misdemeanors” and was therefore not removed from office.

3. By the end of the decade, international terrorist acts against United States’ citizens were a real threat. A truck bomb killed 19 Americans in Saudi Arabia, bombs exploded in two U.S. embassies in Africa, and a bomb blew a hole in the U.S.S. Cole. An even more devastating attack came on U.S. soil when the World Trade Center was destroyed on September 11, 2001.

Enrichment Ideas:

Ask students to view the video Bowling for Columbine by Michael Moore. The instructor may arrange for a viewing outside class time. Students are to be prepared to discuss the Columbine murders and the gun control issue during a formal class discussion.
Further Resources:

Books:


Suggested documentaries and films:


Web site Assignments:

1. Disputed presidential elections: Ask students to locate information on disputed presidential elections at one or more of the following web sites:

   - www.multied.com/elections/Disputedelections.html
   - www.michaellorenzen.com/1876.html

   They are to investigate at least two disputed presidential elections in U.S. history, in addition to the election of 2000. After reading about the disputed elections, students are to choose one and compare and contrast it with the election of 2000. Students are to use the information on the web site for both
their chosen election and the election of 2000 to write a 3-5-page paper comparing and contrasting the two disputed elections.

2. The impeachment of William Jefferson Clinton: Divide the class into five to seven groups. Assign each group a topic from the web site titled “Impeachment of President William Jefferson Clinton,” located online at www.lib.umich.edu/govdocs/impeach.html. Topics on this web site include the following: Final Resolution, Grand Jury, Historical Material, House Floor Debates, House Judiciary Committee, Independent Counsel, Jones v. Clinton, Key Players, Procedures, Senate Trial, Related Materials, Further Research. The instructor will choose appropriate topics from the list above for students to research and prepare for class presentation. Outcomes for the class discussion will include comparing and contrasting the impeachment of Andrew Johnson with that of Bill Clinton, and comparing and contrasting the Watergate scandal with the allegations made against President Bill Clinton.

Connecting History: Voting

For a required class discussion or small groups discussion of a history of voting in the United States, ask students to read and explore the following two web sites: www.youthvote.org/about/historyvotingrights.cfm and www.lwvabc.org/history.html. Then, ask students to read and discuss at least one of the following web sites in addition to the first two sites: www.votecobb.org/recount/history; www.dcboee.org/voterinfo/History/shtm; http://inventors.about.com/library/weekly/aa111300b.htm; www.ourdocuments.gov/content.php?page_why_these_100.
CHAPTER 30
*A Global Nation for the New Millennium*

Chapter Outline:

I. The George W. Bush Administration

The attacks on September 11, 2001 certainly changed American life. These attacks constituted only the second time that the United States had been attacked by outside forces, and they elicited both fear and anger among the American people. The economy began sliding into recession, and President George W. Bush led a “war on terrorism,” overthrowing both the governments of Afghanistan and Iraq.

The President and the War on Terrorism

George W. Bush, the forty-third president of the United States, was born on July 6, 1946, in New Haven, Connecticut. He spent his childhood, however, in Midland and Houston, Texas. He received a Bachelor’s degree from Yale University in 1968, and an MBA from Harvard Business School in 1975. After completing his Master’s degree, he returned to Midland, Texas, where he embarked on a less than successful career in the energy business. After working in his father’s presidential campaign in 1988, his own career took a more successful course. He became a managing partner of the Texas Rangers, and then was elected governor of Texas in 1994. He ran against Al Gore in 2000, and despite losing the popular vote, he took the electoral votes in Florida and thus the White House. Although he lacked the extensive national political experience of his father, and although his first term was one of the most divisive in American history, he was elected to a second term in 2004.

After the attacks of September 11, he declared “war on terror” in the United States and abroad. U.S. military troops invaded Afghanistan within four weeks of the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, hoping to capture Osama bin Laden and dismantle Al Qaeda. Unfortunately, bin Laden eluded capture, but the Taliban government in Afghanistan was overthrown.

Security and Politics at Home

In order to combat possible terrorism from potential Al Qaeda sympathizers within the United States, Congress passed the USA Patriot Act of October 2001. This law provided for increased surveillance of both citizens and aliens. Congress also created the Department of Homeland Security to coordinate intelligence, police, and military to combat possible future attacks.

The Bush political agenda included reducing spending on social programs for the poor and reducing governmental regulation of health and safety issues in the workplace. George Bush and his vice president, Dick Cheney, allied themselves with corporate interests and loosened federal regulations of environmental protective measures. The
national debt grew while the Bush administration cut taxes and increased military spending.

The War in Iraq

On March 19, 2003, American troops invaded and occupied Iraq. Although George Bush claimed that Saddam Hussein possessed “weapons of mass destruction,” and that Iraq had ties to Al Queda, no evidence has been found to support those claims. The only major power to support the invasion was the United Kingdom under the direction of Prime Minister Tony Blair. Most of the world’s leading nations refused to support the United States’ position on Iraq, and the result was a wave of anti-Americanism that spread throughout much of the world.

A deeper reason for the Iraq invasion seems to be the Bush administration’s desire to reshape the Middle East through the establishment of a democratic nation in its center. The occupation of Iraq, however, has sparked a bitter insurgency that has led to many deaths and much destruction on both sides.

The Election of 2004

Bush entered the presidential race of 2004 with the support of his party, but Democrats vowed to defeat him. Many Americans and most Europeans were worried by the growing insurgency in Iraq and by the weak economy. The Democrats chose a decorated Vietnam hero from Massachusetts, John Kerry, as their presidential nominee, and they chose a self-made millionaire from South Carolina, John Edwards, as his running mate. The president won in a narrow popular vote of 51 percent to Kerry’s 48 percent, in large part because of the national debate on issues such as gay and lesbian marriage and abortion rights.

II. The American Place in the Global Economy

In the decades following World War II, many American workers with union-negotiated wages, overtime work, and company-paid benefits were able to break into middle class incomes and expectations. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, many of the jobs that sustained these workers moved south of the border into Mexico where laborers worked for a fraction of the pay received by unionized American workers. As unionization efforts began in some of the Mexican plants, management closed these plants and moved to other locations in search of cheap labor.

The Logic and Technology of Globalization

By the end of the twentieth century, American capitalism had truly become global. Engineering developments sped up the process of globalization. Computers were integrated into both the private and public spheres, increasing the production capacity, orderliness, and efficiency of businesses throughout the world. Cable television and video recorders offered a wide variety of entertainment, and the Cable News Network
offered standardized global news around the clock. Americans came to depend on cell phones, fax machines, and pagers in the 1990s, keeping in constant touch in the business and private spheres. International travel became common for both the business traveler and the tourist. Beginning in the early 1990s, many Americans also relied on the Internet for immediate connections around the world.

**Free Trade and the Global Assembly Line**

After World War II, the United States sought foreign markets for its food and manufactured products. U.S. tariffs dropped from the 30 to 50 percent pre-World War II level to about five percent by 1990. Free trade advocates argued that global markets without tariffs offered the best products at the lowest prices to everyone. Both NAFTA and the European Union reflected the free trade philosophy. Many American environmentalists and labor leaders objected when capitalists moved all or part of their manufacturing processes abroad in search of cheaper labor and lax pollution controls. Human rights activists objected to the terrible working conditions in non-U.S. factories, especially the exploitation of child labor. Multinational corporations exploited both the labor and natural environment of developing countries, often escaping the regulation of their country of origin. Thus, they could offer lower wages, pay lower taxes, pollute at will, and evade unions. For example, the new Boeing 777, an “American” airplane, was actually manufactured in 12 different countries.

**Who Benefits from Globalization?**

Increasing globalization created great wealth but also sharpened class distinctions. The stock market skyrocketed in this decade. In 1956, the Dow Jones average stood at about 500, but by 1999, it stood at 10,000. American capitalists and consumers benefited from the integrated world economy, as globalization led to lower priced goods and services. Computers, airline travel, and gasoline were all cheaper in real dollars than they had been a generation earlier.

In 2000, Wal-Mart emerged as the largest U.S. company by cutting costs, using inexpensive imported goods, and employing a non-union workforce. Real wages declined after 1973 and union membership dropped from one-third in the early 1950s to one-tenth in 2000. Families maintained their standard of living by having multiple wage earners. Americans went ever deeper into debt, stretching their incomes with credit cards and auto and home mortgages. The gap between rich and poor widened. The voting populace decline to 50 percent in presidential elections and to one-third in off-year congressional elections. Whether or not one voted seemed tied to his or her affluence.

**III. The Stewardship of Natural Resources**

Care of the environment was the most global of all issues as humans entered the twenty-first century. In the 1960s, environmental and ecological awareness led many to advocate more responsible and sensitive handling of the world’s natural resources.
Ecological Transformations

The population of the U.S. grew from 75 million to 281 million in the twentieth century. In the 1990s alone, the U.S. population grew by 33 million.

The natural environment of the U.S. was rampantly exploited during this past century. Commercial logging destroyed almost all of the old-growth forests. Overgrazing of cattle caused widespread soil erosion. Slagheaps from mines dotted the western landscape and polluted water sources. The huge dams built from the 1930s to the 1980s destroyed wild rivers and caused man-made reservoirs to fill with water. The Ogallala Aquifer along the Rocky Mountains was drained by groundwater pumping for agricultural irrigation. Coal ore and natural gas supplied the bulk of U.S. energy sources throughout the twentieth century. Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, Canada, and Mexico provided 69 percent of U.S. oil. As fossil fuels are not replaceable, the U.S. created a lifestyle that could not be sustained in the future.

Pollution

Carbon-based emissions have caused a steady rise in the earth’s temperature, known as global warming. This “greenhouse effect” associated with the warming of the earth’s surface, is slowly melting the ice in the polar regions and thus raising the heights of the earth’s oceans. The thinning of the ozone layer in the earth’s upper atmosphere is contributing to a growth in skin cancer, especially in the southern hemisphere. The leading cause of pollution in the U.S. in the twentieth century has been from automobiles, as the number of drivers rose by 60 percent from 1970 to 2000. Roads became more congested, and 40,000 people per year were dying in automobile accidents by the end of the millenium. Smog increased in both urban and rural areas. Cancer rates increased among Americans, in part because of an extended life span and also because Americans were exposed to a wide array of environmental carcinogens. Cancer rates also soared among Americans exposed to or downwind from atomic test sites in the 1950s, among uranium miners, and among those living near toxic dumpsites.

Environmentalism and Its Limitation

As Americans were made more aware of environmental damage, they designed methods of cleaning the environment, including cleaning the lakes and rivers, banning carcinogenic pesticides and leaded gasoline, and adding catalytic converters to control auto emissions. Over the past three decades, however, the Republican Party has consistently supported exploitation of natural resources and has refused to abide by global environmental treaties designed to reduce world pollution. The Democratic Party allied itself with environmental conservationists.

IV. The Expansion of American Popular Culture Abroad

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the most pervasive global influence was American popular culture. English became the global language during the last half of the
twentieth century, and its cultural manifestations followed. Students around the globe flocked to American universities, thus heightening the influence of American consumer culture around the world.

A Culture of Diversity and Entertainment

People around the world were attracted to U.S. culture because of its racial and ethnic diversity and because U.S. television offered images of that diverse culture. American pop music, clothing, and movies spread across the globe as the U.S. became the world’s largest market.

U.S. Influence Abroad Since the Cold War

American culture was influenced by a number of elements imported by immigrants. Ironically, these very elements, including foods such as pizza, were exported abroad and American-accented English spread throughout the world. The U.S. dollar remained the world’s currency and the Internet needed no country code as it originated in the United States. Half of McDonalds’ revenues came from non-U.S. sources. American missionaries continued to work around the globe, attracting converts from areas such as Latin America and Africa. Even the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, which originated in the U.S., numbered half its adherents from abroad.

Resistance to American Popular Culture

During the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century, American standards of behavior offended the sensibilities of traditional people throughout the world. The theocratic revolution in Iran in 1979 was in part a negative reaction to American values and customs. Muslim fundamentalists rejected the values of American culture and the lack of hierarchies in that culture. They were especially offended by values that included the equality of women and the pursuit of pleasure. Osama bin Laden and other Muslim leaders also rejected U.S. support of Israel. In reaction to Americans’ fast food chains, a “slow food” movement began in France, encouraging traditional cafés and home-style meals.

V. Identity in Contemporary America

By the end of the twentieth century, American culture had become ever more racially and ethnically diverse. Latinos and African Americans were the two largest minorities, each numbering 35 million. More Americans lived in the South and West than a century earlier, with the cities in these areas growing at a rapid pace. Life expectancy almost doubled in the twentieth century, while household size dropped by 50 percent. By 2000, sixty-one percent of married women worked outside the home.
Negotiating Multiple Identities

Beginning in the 1960s, Americans used “affirmative action” policies to level the hiring and working fields for minorities. Many white male Americans argued that these practices were in effect “reverse discrimination” and agitated for an end to affirmative action. In 2000, the state university systems of Texas and California dropped affirmative action policies from the admissions procedures.

Recognizing the insignificance of racial categories and the “mixed-race” heritage of many Americans, in 2000, the U.S. government decided to allow citizens to identify themselves as belonging to more than one racial group in the 2000 census. By 2001, scientists had mapped the entire human genome, reaffirming the insignificance of classification by race, and establishing that genetic differences were more common within than between “races.”

Social Change and Abiding Discrimination

By 2000, the U.S. population had moved toward racial and ethnic integration, at least publicly. Two African Americans were serving in the president’s cabinet, and workplaces were extensively racially integrated. Women were also integrated into public life, comprising one-third of the students in medical schools and one-half of those in law schools. They were present in high political offices, were serving in the U.S. Congress, and were active in world Olympic sports events. Gays and lesbians were also more visible and prominent in the public and political arenas. Unfortunately, all or parts of the above groups suffered from violence or the threat of violence, discrimination in salaries, and racial or gender profiling. Residential neighborhoods and public schools to some extent remained segregated, and a disproportionate amount of minorities remained in the lower economic class in American society. Native Americans also shared in the mixed improvement of diverse groups. Their numbers grew from 250,000 in 1900 to more than two million in 2000, but unemployment and poverty remained to plague their communities.

Still an Immigrant Society

By the 1990s, immigrants were flocking to the United States in record numbers. The immigrant reform laws of 1965 and the post-World War II economic boom attracted newcomers from around the globe. More than one-half of these immigrants came from Latin America and the Caribbean. By 2000, California no longer had a white majority but resembled the ethnic mix of Hawaii. As in years past, many immigrants came because of religious and political persecution and in search of economic possibilities. Americans responded, as in the past, with ambivalence to these newcomers.
Sample Discussion Questions:

1. Discuss the impact of American popular culture abroad, both its positive and negative aspects. Why do some cultures resist American popular culture?

2. Describe efforts to care for the environment in the past 40 years. What are the most current challenges to the natural environment?

3. Discuss the logic and technology of globalization, especially the impact of the Internet and other technological advances.

4. What are the pros and cons of free trade? Overall, will NAFTA and the European Union have a positive impact on the U.S. economy?

5. Discuss the events of September 11, 2001, and the resulting war on terrorism.

Significant Themes and Highlights:

1. The United States occupied an important place in the global economy at the turn of the twenty-first century. Many American corporations and businesses were truly international. The international nature of capitalism and the free trade movement challenged American laborers who had struggled to achieve middle-class incomes.

2. American popular culture had become a global phenomenon in the last quarter of the twentieth century. While most cultures embraced many aspects of this pop culture, others rejected it as corrupt and sinful.

3. On September 11, 2001, the World Trade Center in New York City was destroyed and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. was damaged by terrorists using three airplanes as missiles. A fourth airplane was taken from terrorists by passengers and crashed in a field in Pennsylvania.

Further Resources:

Books:


**Web Site Assignments:**

Ask students to locate and thoroughly read the material on three web sites for class discussion. Students should read “Cosmology and the Koran” at [www.adishakti.org/pdf_files/cosmology_and_the_koran_(infidels.org).pdf](http://www.adishakti.org/pdf_files/cosmology_and_the_koran_(infidels.org).pdf), and “Why Do Hindu and Muslim Fundamentalists Unite?” at [www.punjabilok.com/faith/islam/commu_hindumuslim.htm](http://www.punjabilok.com/faith/islam/commu_hindumuslim.htm). After reading these articles, ask students to be prepared to compare and contrast religious fundamentalist movements throughout the world.

**Connecting History: History of the Internet**

Divide the class into five to eight small groups. Assign each group a topic to read for class discussion from the web site [www.isoc.org/internet/history](http://www.isoc.org/internet/history). Topics from this web site include the following: “A Brief History of the Internet,” “Internetology,” and “History and Development of the Internet: a Timeline.” Students are to read the short history provided in the text, and then use the article assigned by the instructor to provide more information on the topic to the class.

**Interpreting History: Slow Food Movement**

Ask students to read the section in the textbook on “The Slow Food Movement,” and then read the information on at least one of the following web sites: [www.slowfood.com](http://www.slowfood.com), [www.slowfoodusa.org](http://www.slowfoodusa.org), or [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slow_Food](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slow_Food).
www.ecocenter.org/200208/ readings.shtml. Students are then to write a 3-5-page paper on the slow food movement, discussing its causes and hoped-for outcomes.